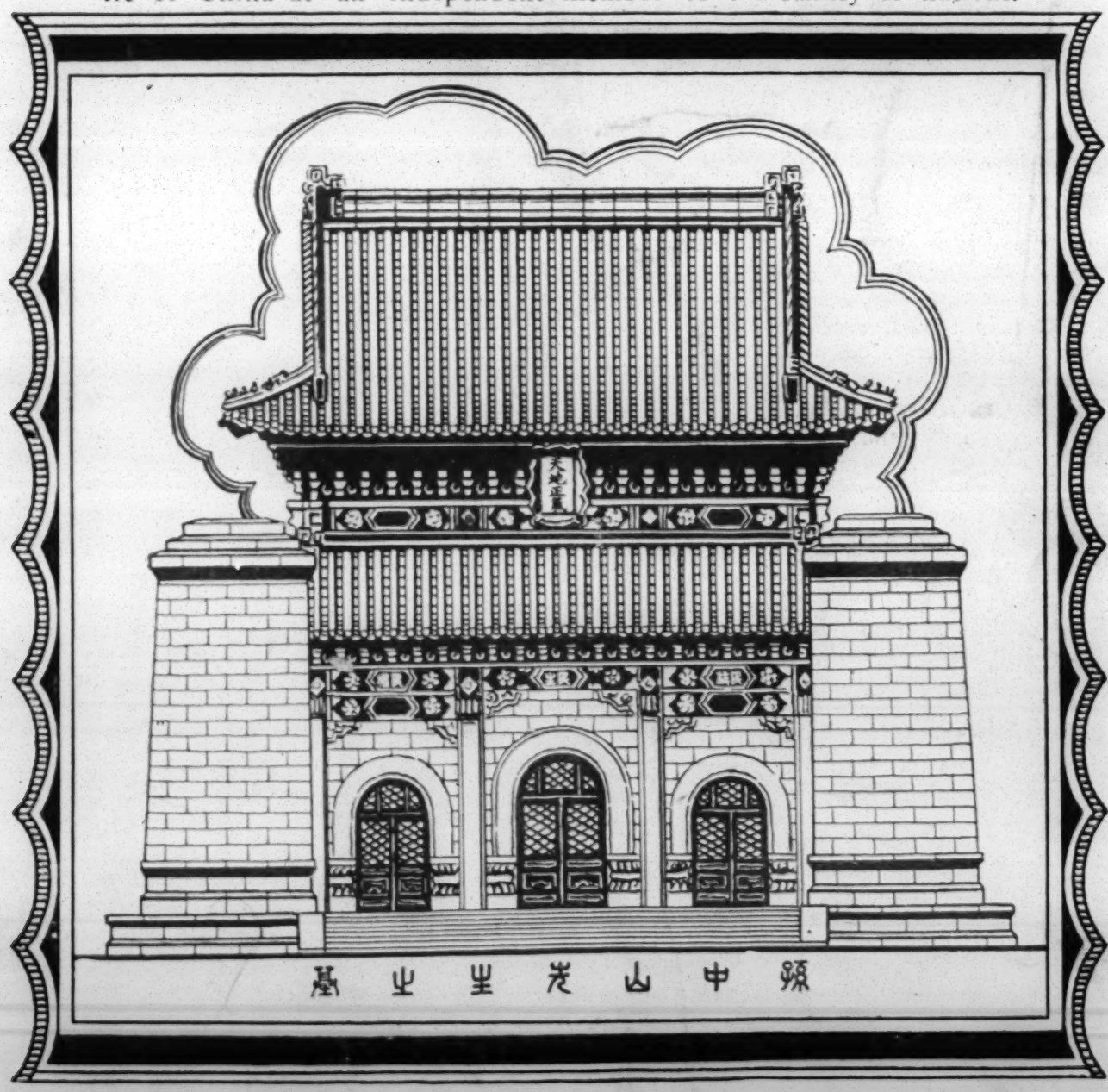
NEW CHINA EDITION of THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

新中國特刊

密勒氏評論報

Issued as a supplement to the China Weekly Review, in commemoration of the efforts which have been exerted over a considerable number of years to bring about the development and modernization of the Republic of China as an independent member of the family of nations.



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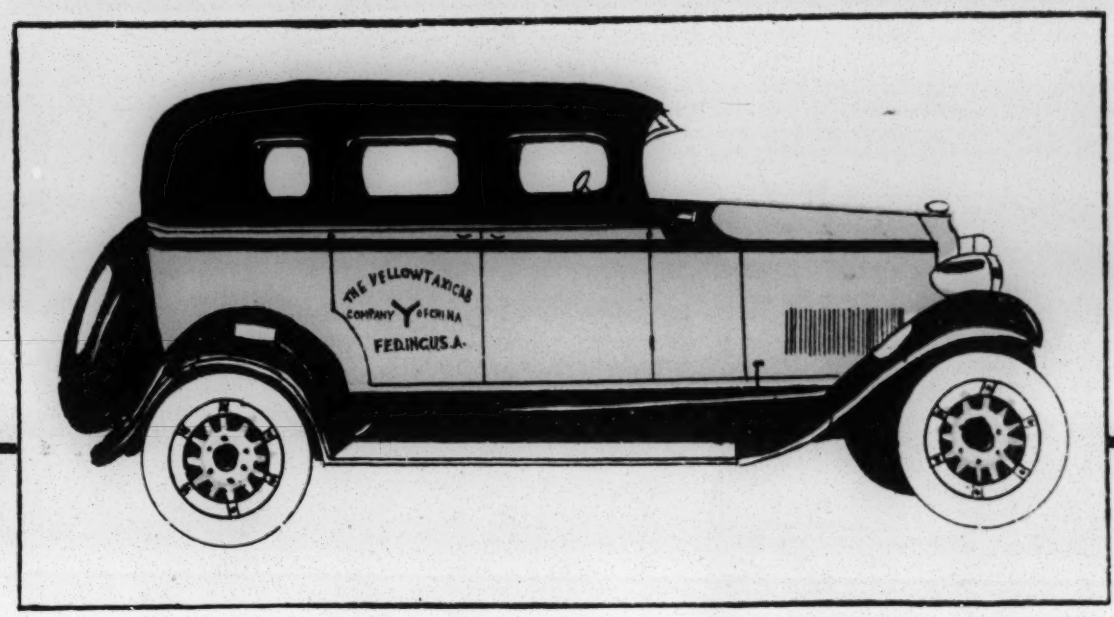

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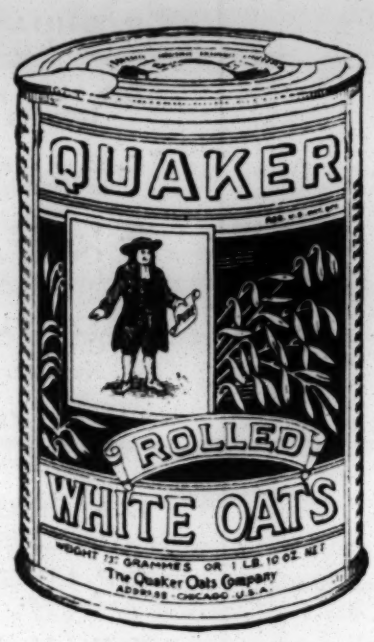
(*Continued on page IV*)



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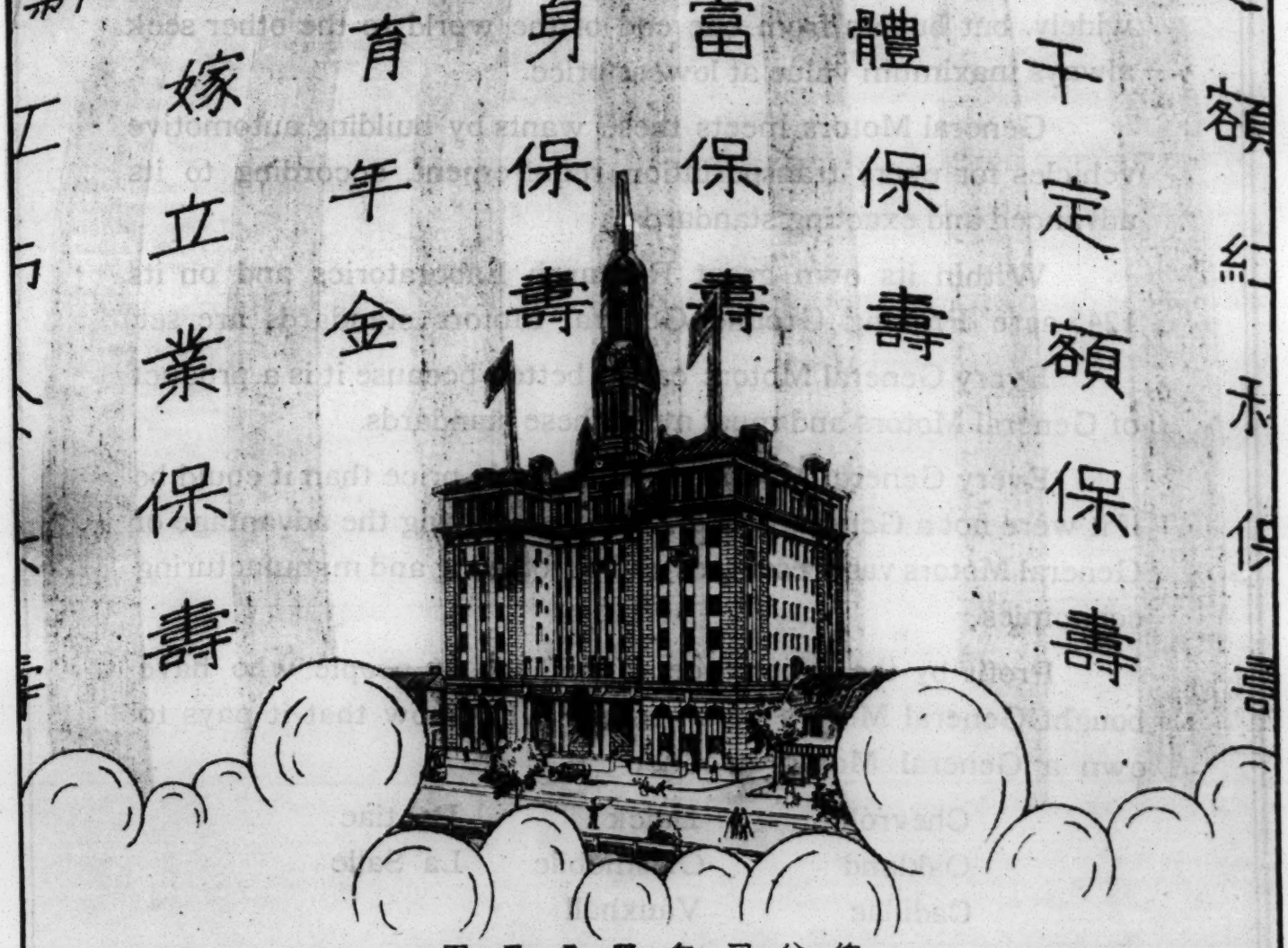

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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中華郵政特准掛號立券之報紙

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SHANGHAI, CHINA, OCTOBER 10th, 1928

Nineteen-Eleven and Nineteen Twenty-Eight

THE NATIONALIST Government sometime ago issued a mandate calling special attention to the significance of the Chinese National Holiday, October 10, which is popularly called the "Double Ten" holiday since it falls on the tenth day of the tenth month. The Government's proclamation urged the Chinese people to give special attention to the celebration this year since it is the first anniversary of the founding of the Republic to be celebrated since the coming into power of the Nationalists. General Chiang Kai-shek also sent a message to Gen. Chang Hsueh-liang at Mukden expressing the hope that the Nationalist Flag might be unfurled in the Three Eastern Provinces, Shengking, Kirin and Holungkiang, on the national holiday—October 10—and Gen. Chang Hsueh-liang accepted the suggestion "so long as no untoward obstacle arises in the meantime." The reference was to the Japanese who have thus far prevented the Three Eastern Provinces from flying the Nationalist flag. The same situation prevails in Tsingtao and Tsinan and along the Shantung Railway where the Japanese interventionists have established their 20-mile "neutral" zone within which the Nationalist Government is not permitted to function.

THE FACT that seventeen years have now elapsed since the overthrow of the Manchurian Ching Dynasty, opportunity is offered for a review of conditions prevailing at that time as compared with conditions prevailing today for it is only in this way that some idea may be formed regarding future prospects for stability of political conditions under the Kuomintang or Nationalist movement. The reports of happenings in Nanking which appeared in the Shanghai newspapers in the fall and winter of 1911-1912 present a fairly accurate picture of the hopes of the Kuomintang leaders of the first revolution. The names which appeared most frequently in the newspapers then were those of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Wu Ting-fang, the first being Provisional President and the second, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The *China Press*, which at that time was American owned and was edited by Mr. Thomas F. Millard, devoted major space to the republican developments at Nanking where a special correspondent in the person of Mr. Carl Crow, was maintained. On January 4, the *China Press* published a summary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's first proclamation in which the Provisional President explained his plans for the Government and expressed his thanks to the friendly sympathy which had been aroused abroad for the China republicans. Both America and England had expressed sympathy for the new development in China, while Japan similar to the situation today, was in opposition. A reference to Japan's antagonistic attitude appears elsewhere in these columns of *The Review*, the reaction of Tokyo seventeen years ago being strikingly similar to Tokyo's present-day reactions. Dr. Sun's proclamation started out by telling of his election as Provisional President and of the fact that he was working day and night trying to meet the desires of the people." He then stated that the abuses of the "despotic government of China had been going from bad to worse for the past two hundred years, but that now, owing to the determination of the people, the actual overthrow of the monarchy had required but a few dozen days, an unprecedented event in history for more than a dozen provinces had already joined the new government." A newspaper translation of his proclamation follows:

> "Without any organ to control and body to meet with foreign powers it is impossible to carry on our work and therefore we have to organise a provisional government. I am not going to do a thing by professing my own individual merit but I do not hesitate to attend to the organisation of the provisional government to serve the people by carrying out our duties. By serving the people we can wipe out the bad habits of despotism and establish Repulican government to benefit people to attain the aim of the revolution to satisfy the minds of the people commencing from today. Thus I proclaim my own idea frankly. I say the foundation of a state is the people. The different races such as Hans, Manchus, Mongols, Mohammedans and Tibetans are now to be united as a nation. This is what I will call the unity of races.
>
> "Since the fighting at Wu-chang has commenced over a dozen provinces have proclaimed independence and by independence it has been meant to be independent from the yoke of the Manchurian Ching dynasty but to join hands with the provinces which are on the same side and to amalgamate Mongolia and Tibet for our cause is quite the same and therefore it becomes necessary to form a Government to unite them. This is what I call the unity of territories.
>
> "Once the righteous army commenced fighting for our cause many men of arms have raisen in the said provinces but the forces of the arms are not under one control and they are not in uniform organisation though their arms are the same and thus they should be combined under common command and for common cause. This is what I call the unity of Military Adminis ration.
>
> "The area of the State is wide and provinces have their own ways and the Manchu Government has tried to effect centralisation of power under the false name of constitutional government but now it is to be arranged that each province be self-governed and they should be federated under a common central government. This is what I call the unity of internal administration.
>
> "Under the Mahchu Government in the name of enforcing constitutional Government many taxes have been raised from poor people but hereafter the national expenditure will be fixed in acoordance with the principles of finance with the view of mainatining the happiness of the people. This is what I call the unity of finance.

This proclamation is interesting because it also called attention to and condemned the anti-foreignism which had prevailed under the Manchus and which had culminated in the fanatical Boxer Uprising of

1900, In reference to this subject, Dr. Sun said. "We will try our best to carry out the duties of a civilized nation so as to obtain the rights of a civilized state. Under the Manchu government China had been obliged to submit to extreme humiliation owing to the development of anti-foreignism, but all these should be wiped out now and China should aim at the principles of peace and tranquility and to increase our friendship with foreign nations so as to place China in a respectable position in international society in order to follow the course of other nations of the world. Our foreign policy is based on this point."

THE NEXT proclamation to be issued by the new Republican Government was on Jan. 6, 1912 and carried the signatures of both Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Dr. Wu Ting-fang. This proclamation was also printed in the *China Press* and in view of its significance today from the standpoint of China's relations with foreign nations, it is reproduced in full herewith,

The hitherto irremediable suppression of the individual qualities and national aspirations of the people having arrested the intellectual, the moral, and the material development of China, the aid of revolution has been invoked to extirpate the primary cause, and we now proclaim the resultant overthrow of the despotic sway wielded by the Manchu Dynasty and the establishment of a Republic.

The Substitution of a Republic for a Monarchical form of Government is not the fruit of a transient passion. It is the natural outcome of a long-cherished desire for broad based freedom making for permanent contentment and uninterrupted advancement. It is the formal declaration of the will of Chinese nation.

We, the Chinese people, are peaceful and law-abiding. We have waged no war except in self-defence. We have borne our grievances during two hundred and sixty-seven years of Manchu misrule with patience and forbearance. We have by peaceful means endeavoured to redress our wrongs, secure our progress; but we have failed. Oppressed beyond human endurance we deemed it our inalienable right as well as our sacred duty to appeal to arms to deliver ourselves and our posterity from the yoke to which we have so long been subjected, and for the first time in our history unglorious bondage has been transformed to an inspiring freedom splendid with the lustrous light of opportunity.

The policy of the Manchu dynasty has been one of unequivocal seclusion and unyielding tyranny. Beneath it we have bitterly suffered, and we now submit to the free peoples of the world the reasons justifying the revolution and the inauguration of our present government.

Prior to the usurpation of the Throne by the Manchus the land was open to foreign intercourse and religious tolerance existed as is evidenced by the writings of Marco Polo and the inscription on the Nestorian tablet of Sian-fu.

Dominated by ignorance and selfishness the Manchus closed the land to the outer world and plunged the Chinese people into a state of benighted mentality calculated to operate inversely to their natural talents and capabilities thus committing a crime against humanity and the civilised nation almost impossible of expiation.

"Actuated by a desire for the perpetual subjugation of the Chinese, by a vicious craving for aggrandisement and wealth the Manchus governed the country to the lasting injury and detriment of our people, creating privileges and monopolies and erecting about themselves barriers of exclusion in national custom and personal conduct which have been rigorously maintained throughout the centuries.

"They have levied irregular and unwholesome taxes upon us without our consent, have restricted foreign trade to treaty ports, placed likin embargoes upon merchandise in transit; and obstructed internal commerce.

"They have retarded the creation of industrial enterprises; rendered impossible the development of natural resources, and wilfully neglected to safeguard vested interests.

"They have denied us a regular system and impartial administration of justice; inflicted unusual and cruel punishments upon all persons charged with offences whether innocent or guilty; and frequently encroached upon our sacred rights without due process of law.

"They have connived at official corruption; sold offices to the highest bidder; and have subordinated merit to influence.

"They have repeatedly rejected our most reasonable demand for better government, and have reluctantly conceded pseudo-reforms under most urgent pressure, making promises without intention of fulfilling them; and obstructing efforts towards national elevation.

"They have failed to appreciate the anguishing lessons taught by the foreign powers in the process of years, and have brought themselves and our people beneath the contempt of the world.

"To remedy these evils and render possible the entrance of China to the family of nations we have fought and formed our government, and lest our good intentions should be misunderstood we now publicly and unreservedly declare the following to be our promises:

"All treaties entered into by the Manchu Government before the date of the Revolution will be continually effective up to the time of their termination; but any and all entered into after the commencement of the Revolution will be repudiated.

"All foreign loans of indemnities incurred by the Manchu Government before the Revolution will be acknowledged without any alteration of terms; but all payments made to, and loans incurred by the Manchu Government after commencement of the Revolution will be repudiated.

"All concessions granted to foreign nations or their nationals by the Manchu Government before the Revolution will be respected, but any and all granted after the commencement of the Revolution will be repudiated.

"All persons and property of any foreign nation within the jurisdiction of the Republic of China will be respected and protected.

"It will be our constant aim and firm endeavour to build upon a stable and enduring foundation a national structure compatible with the potentialities of our long-neglected country.

"We will strive to elevate our people; secure them in peace, and legislate for their prosperty.

"To those Manchus who abide peacefully within the limits of our jurisdiction we will accord equality and give protection.

"We will remodel our laws; revise our civil, criminal, commercial and mining codes; reform our finances; abolish restrictions to trade and commerce, and ensure religious toleration.

"The cultivation of better relations with foreign people and governments will ever be before us. It is our earnest hope that the foreign nations who have been steadfast in sympathy will bind more firmly the bonds of friendship, that they will bear in patience with us in the period of trial confronting us in our reconstructive work, and that they will aid us in the consummation of the far-reaching plans which we are now about to undertake, and which they have been so long and so vainly urging upon the people of this our country.

"With this message of peace and good will the Republic of China cherishes the hope of being admitted into the family of nations not merely to share their rights and privileges but also to co-operate with them in the great and noble task called for in the upbuilding of the civilisation of the World."

(Signed) Sun Yat Sen President
(Countersigned) Wu Ting Fang
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Dated at Nanking, Fifth day of the first month of the first year of the Republic of China (Jan. 5, 1912)

NANKING AS THE CAPITAL

HISTORY is repeating itself again from the standpoint of declarations regarding establishment of the National Capital at Nanking for all of the accounts which are appearing in the newspapers today telling of the plans for the

development of the Nationalist Capital in Nanking were duplicated in similar stories which appeared in the Shanghai newspapers in January of 1912. The reports in the *China Press* told of Dr. Sun's plans for establishing the national capital in Nanking and started out "The Republic of China is less than a week old now, but in that time it has begun to set its house in order. It has equipped itself with electric lights, and in the business-like atmosphere of the place an old style Chinese offical would look as out of place as a sedan chair in London or New York." There then followed a long interview with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, it being stated that he was dressed in a military uniform devoid of braid or shoulder-straps and less pretentious than those worn by some of his aide-de-camps. In the course of the interview Dr. Sun expressed his great desire to awaken world-wide sympathy for the Chinese revolutionary movement. In reference to the appointment of officials he expressed the intention of naming "the same magistrates which had served under the Manchu regime, except where the present officials are manifestly unfit for their duties." He was then asked regarding the reform movement and immediately declared that "likin was to be abolished immediately and currency reform would come shortly," As to extraterritoriality, he stated the intentions of the government to abolish the consular jurisdictions "as soon as the reforms have been completed." The correspondent then explained in humorous vein the efforts of the government to train a republican army, most of the recruits being of the "raw" variety recruited from the riff-raff of Shanghai. However, Dr. Sun declared, "We have 100,000 soldiers at Canton; not necessarily trained troops. but all fighters just like the Boers of South Africa." The interview then veered to the subject of Japan's attitude and Dr. Sun declared that he believed the time had passed when England would follow Japan and expressed the belief that Japan would shortly follow England in expressing friendship for the new republican regime. The reporter then turned to a description of Nanking at the time of the Revolution and told of the queue-cutting vogue of hair-dress which struck the city simultaneously with the revolution. "There is now not a queue in the entire city, unless it is brought in by a countryman and he will leave without it," stated the report and explained that while Dr. Sun had issued no orders against queues, that the barbers had started to work and were doing a land-office business. Shops sprang up all over the town with signs, "Barber from Shanghai." The report closed with a description of the city which had a republican flag flying from every shop and house. It was also stated that there was a "boom in real-estate because there is every indication that no matter what the developments may be, the Republicans will hold to Nanking as their capital and to the country south of the Yangtsze as territory under their jurisdiction."

CAN NATIONALISM SUCCEED?

A CONSIDERATION of what took place at the establishment of the Republic, naturally prompts the question, Can the Nationalists succeed today with a program similar to that which Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his followers failed to put into effect seventeen years ago? Space is too limited for a consideration of the many reasons for the failure of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; his lack of an army and finance; a generally hostile world, almost universally imperialistic which was making proparations for the World War which came two years later; the actual control of China by military men who had received their training and inspiration under the Manchu dynasty; the lack of general education which is necessary for a republican form of government; and finally the lack of modern trained men to actually administer the country. There is a possiblity that had Gen. Yuan Shih-kai, the first president, who followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen as Provisional President, posssesed vision the problems of the new Republic might have been gradually worked out. But Yuan Shih-kai lacked vision and a modern outlook and shortly fell under foreign influence. The result was that he accepted foreign financial assistance and then tried to make himself emperor. The propaganda and intrigue of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his republican followers had hastened the fall of the already tottering Manchu Dynasty, but the Chinese people generally were not prepared for anything else to take its place. The result was that while the name of the Republic continued, the actual conditions prevailing in the country were probably worse than they had been under the Manchus because the restraining influence of the throne was removed and the military officials in the various provinces became petty dictators. Shortly they started their personal fights which have kept the country in turmoil up to the not distant past.

NO ONE can forecast what is likely to happen in the future, but is is possible to contrast conditions now with those prevailing in 1911-1912. The best asset which the present-day Chinese leaders possess, which was a negligible quantity seventeen years ago, is in the matter of clientelle. Seventeen years ago the number of persons in China with a modern viewpoint was most limited, certainly not more than a few hundred at most. Aside from a few mission schools and a few dozens of men who had been sent abroad, there was no possible way under the Empire for providing modern education. This situation has now been revolutionized for while the Republic failed in providing a modern government, it did open the way for modern education. Although the money available for education has been most limited, many hundred of thousands of Chinese boys and girls have managed in some way to go to school and learn something about their own country and the outside world. Missionary education helped tremendously for it enjoyed its greatest expansion following the establishment of the Republic and filled the gap in the educational system which the Republic was unable to supply. Thousands of Chinese boys and girls have been abroad to school, a movement of such magnitude probably never having been experienced in the world's history. While in 1911-1912 the number of modern trained men in the whole country could be numbered by the few hundreds, today they are numbered by the hundreds of thousands. A compilation of the biographies of the new Chinese leaders who have come into prominence in the past two years which is shortly to be issued by *The Review* as a supplement to the standard "Who's Who in China," shows that most of the men responsible for the present Nationalist movement are under forty years of age; the average age probably is around thirty-five. This means that most of these men were born about the time of the Boxer Uprising and grew up in the period between 1900 and 1912. They were boys at the time of the establishment of the Republic in 1911-1912 and most of them claim to have participated in the political uprisings at Shanghai, Nanking and Hankow-Wuchang. These men received their educations about the time of the establishment of the Republic. Then there is a smaller group of men who range in age below or around fifty. Most of them were in the first considerable groups to be sent abroad for their education.

THIS IS the chief asset which China possesses today which she did not have seventeen years ago. Then there is the Chinese press, There were practically no newspapers in China at the time of the establishment of the Republic. Today there are hundreds and while most of them are small, there are some with circulations running above a hundred thousand. The two leading newspapers in Shanghai, the *Shun Pao* and *Sin Wan Pao* have difficulty in obtaining new printing equipment fast enough to keep up with their growing circulations. The *Commercial Press*, the largest printing establishment in Shanghai which publishes magazines and school books is a monument to the growth of modern education in China. Then in addition to the domestic education China is now in active contact with the rest of the world and has her diplomats and consular officials everywhere studying and investigating in other lands. Two generations ago the modern educated man was looked upon with suspicion: today he is envied! Then there is "Sun Yat-sen-ism." While Dr. Sun was ahead of his time and failed in 1911-1912, he has become an all-powerful element in death. Sun Yat-sen-ism has become almost a religion and has provided a cohesive element which the country did not possess two decades ago. The Kuomintang which he started as a revolutionary Society, has become an all-embracing political party. Then finally there is a changed world situation. Seventeen years ago the only democratic spot in the entire Orient was America in the Philippine Islands. Today, Japan represents the only remaining spot of absoluteism in the entire Orient. The Russian Empire has gone the whole road from Czarism to communism; Germany has become a repubic; India is fighting for and is on the road to a self-governing dominion; Persia has become independent and with Turkey has thrown off the capitulations. Egypt is fighting for the same thing. President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" failed at Paris, but his doctrine of "Self-Determination' has spread to the outermost boundaries of the world, China, present-day is in contact with all this and the effect is overwhelming. Reactionary interests which formerly were able to sway foreign governmental policy against China are now becoming powerless to block reforms in their treaty relationships with this country. Even in Japan, reaction is fighting its last fight against democracy both in China and at home in Japan. The present Chinese revolution has not only succeeded from a military standpoint, but it has brought into the field a whole host of men with a modern viewpoint who have some conception of the position China with her vast resources of men and materials should occupy in the modern world. The actual revolution hasn't much more than scratched the surface, but the chances for success today are a thousand times better then they were seventeen years ago!

New China Fifty Years in the Future!

A WRITER who signed himself, "Old Foreign Resident," recently contributed an article to the *North China Star*, the American paper in Tientsin in which he pictured conitions in China in 1978—fifty years in the future! The forecast was as follows.

"With the country united, wars at an end every effort being made to restore order, such a condition in 1978 is quite probable, he says. China has immense mineral wealth, and only enterprise is needed to develop the gold, silver, coal and other mines that can be found in the country. With railroads connecting the mining districts and settlements, China should develop rapidly. Following the successful operation of the mines, the towns will be accordingly developed, big buildings will be erected, and roads will be built leading to other towns.

"In these days of rapid progress in aerial development, the Chinese will see the advantage of airplanes, and aerodromes will spring up like mushrooms, Passenger traffic and mail transportation will both be taken care of. Chinese pilots will be just as numerous as Chinese chauffeurs at present employed at Shanghai. The middle-class people will have their own planes, just as they have autos now.

"There will be a maze of railway systems all over the country. People will arrive from Europe by the trans-Siberian railway and go down south to Canton by the same method of transportation. With China's four hundred millions, railroads will not be able to cope with the traffic, and steamship lines will be just as busy. "President" and "Empress" lines will touch at all the principal ports, and passengers will travel to places all over the globe.

"Autoists will go on motor trips around the country, viewing the sights. One town will be quite close to another, as in Europe and America at present. Hotels, cafes and restaurants will be found everywhere, doing a flourishing trade from money received from tourists and wealthy people.

"There will be palatial buildings in every city. Narrow streets and tiny houses will be replaced by wide roads and substantial residences. Buildings will be on the same lines as the skyscrapers of America, with numerous elevators. Ricshas will be abolished, and only motor cars will be in use.

"The average Chinese will be educated, many of them will have a profession, and there will be few laborers compared with the number at present. Machinery will take the place of man-power. The habits and customs of the people will be greatly changed. Chinese athletes will hold their own against those of other nationalities. Universities will spring up and will be crowded with students.

"China will have a fine army and navy. They will be well disciplined and well paid. Their leaders will be trained men from military and naval academies. In short, China will be a prosperous country in 1978, quite a contrast to the present."

China and the Question of Foreign Finance

IF THE PRESENT-DAY Chinese political leaders are able to unify the country and develop a stable central government that has the support of all factions and sections of the nation, the time will shortly arrive when the Chinese Republic will be in the market for foreign capital. A report was sent out of Washington last August stating that preliminary plans had been considered for the financial rehabilitation of China "which probably will involve the biggest banking transaction in the world's history." The inspiration for this report is not known, but it is inevitable that bankers abroad should begin thinking about the financial rehabilitation of China, and it is also inevitable that there should again be talk of "international banking consortiums" and other schemes for the purpose of financing China. Two of these "consortium" projects have been launched in recent years and nothing has come of either of them; that is, nothing of a constructive nature. The First Consortium failed because America withdrew and the

Second Consertium has thus far failed because China would have nothing to do with it and because conditions in China for several years have not warranted the lending of any money to China. The promoters of the Second Consortium have, however, credited themselves with success on negative grounds; in other word they claim that China has been benefited by keeping foreign money out of the country during the course of the internal civil war. No one will begrudge the promoters of the Second Consortium of any laurels on this score because bankers usually do not pride themselves on *not* making loans: they earn their money by borrowing money from the public at certain rates and then lending it out at higher rates. This constitutes their profit and excuse for being in business! However, this is aside from the general subject of China and Foreign Finance.

THE REAL inspiration for the Second Consortium came from the foreign governments possessing "interests" in China, there being a sincere desire immediately following the World War to discontinue the old "sphere of influence" doctrine in China which all realized was likely to lead to another world struggle. The fact that no foreign loans have been made in China since the formation of the Second Consortium has undoubtedly been of benefit to China, for it has prevented bankers and commercial interests from openly supporting Chinese factions involved in the internal civil wars. We use the word "openly" because despite the consortium there has been a certain amount of foreign support such as Japan's backing of Marshal Chang Tso ling and the Russian support of the radical Kuomintangists in the South, and alleged British support of certain militarists in the Yangtsze valley, but this support has not been of sufficient magnitude to materially affect the outcome of the Chinese political situation. Obvibusly neither Japan, Britain nor Russia have benefitted from the money and effort they are alleged to have invested in backing their favorites; rather the reverse. The Second Consortium included groups of bankers in America, Great Britain, France and Japan, the object being to pool their interest throughout China and eliminate ruinous competition which was leading in the direction of a division of China into "spheres." The Chinese on their part have never given the Consortium official recognition and generally have looked upon it with suspicion, considering it in the light of an instrument of western imperialism. Space is too limited for a detailed exposition of the Consortium agreement, but the text which appears in the *China Year Book* for 1921-1922 states that,

> "Whereas the said national groups (of banks) are of the opinion that the interests of the Chinese people can in existing circumstances best be served by the cooperative action of the various banking groups representing the investment interests of their respective countries in procuring for the Chinese Government the capital necessary for a program of economic reconstruction and improved communications, and Whereas, with these objects in view the respective national groups are prepared to participate on equal terms in such undertakings as may be calculated to assist China in the establishment of her great public utilities and to these ends welcome the cooperation of Chinese capital."

THE CONSORTIUM agreement was signed on October 15, 1920 and according to the terms remained in force for a period of five years, when it was renewed for another period of five years. The so-called Council of the China Consortium met in Paris in May 1923 when the question of consolidating China's unsecured loans was thoroughly discussed. As a result of this discussion it was decided to make a thorough examination of China's floating debt "with a view to formulating in due course a comprehensive scheme of debt consolidation." The Council then issued to the press a statement of policy which affirmed the "substitution of international cooperation for international competition in the economic and financial affairs of China... a policy definitely affirmed and endorsed in a larger sense by China and the Powers in the Treaty signed at the Washington Conference on February 6, 1922. The Treaty is in effect an undertaking by the Powers to respect the sovereign rights of China, to preserve her territorial integrity and to provide her with a free and unembarrassed opportunity to develop her economic resources and maintain for herself an effective and stable government. The Consortium is an appropriate instrument for giving effect to this policy. It is not designed as a permanent organization, but rather as a temporary bridge by which China may be assisted to pass in comparative safety through the difficult period of transition from an unsettled to a settled state of government." Continuing, the statement declared that the purpose of the Consortium "was not to harvest undue profits reaped from loans forced upon China under the protection of their respective governments...On the contrary it has been by their consistently refraining from lending that their principal success has been achieved in encouraging the utilization of native savings before recourse is had to foreign capital, and to arresting the profligated expenditure which was heading the country straight for bankruptcy ... the Consortium has helped to stimulate and foster a sane and independent public opinion in China, by putting a stop to the menace of financial penetration arising from indiscriminate and unproductive foreign borrowings and is helping to conserve the integrity of the country." There then followed a statement regarding the discontinuance of the old "spheres of influence" policy and a further statement "that the aim of the Consortium is to assist China in the building up of her credit until some day like other nations she can borrow for her requirements on the strength of her national credit, without the necessity of recourse to specific security or supervision of expenditure ... it is the settled policy of the Consortium to refrain from interference in the internal political affairs of China. The present political upheaval precludes the immediate hope of giving practical effect to any Consortium proposals for administrative purposes... but it is necessary that the Groups must always stand prepared for action in anticipation of the time when China shall have again attained to such degree of political peace and security as to afford a reasonable prospect of a stable government... It is the policy of the Consortium to assist in building up the general credit of China on such secure foundations that all outside intervention may be gradually eliminated and the entire control of loan service and expenditure may finally pass into the hands of China herself....."

IN A RECENT address at the Williamstown Political Conference at Williams College, Mass., Dr. C. C. Wu, former Nationalist Foreign Minister and now special envoy to the United States, declared that the Nationalist Government is glad to welcome foreign capital and enterprise provided they came "without ulterior motives." He stated that the Chinese would not permit foreign capital to dominate their country politically or to exploit its natural resources ruthlessly. Continuing he said,

> "If a few millions lent for building a railway means the control of the railway and of the establishment of a sphere of influence over the region through which that railway passes, then we are hostile to such a foreign investment. If, as the consideration for a small loan, a mining company is made to agree that its products be exported to a foreign country at a figure below the market rate, and to continue to do so for a long term of years so that the company is always on the verge of bankruptcy, while its mine is worked feverishly day and night to export ore in accordance with the agreement, then we are hostile to such a foreign loan."

Dr. Wu expressed the opinion that the Nationalist Government should adopt some method of regulating capital and controlling railways and other public utilities. Conditions in China, in his opinion, justified state ownership and operation of railways because of the enormous influence exerted by the railways upon China public affairs as a result of the difficulty of communication in the vast undeveloped country. "That influence," he declared, "should not get into private, much less foreign, hands. We believe that much of the trouble between capital and labor in many countries is due to this cause, and that is one of the chief reasons for the existence of communism. By the regulation of capital we hope to avoid some of the pitfalls and profit by the experience of Western countries. The Nationalists do not intend, despite much criticism to the contrary, to blindly adopt Western institutions without regard to their suitability to Chinese conditions. Our aim is to retain the best in our old civilization and culture and to adopt such Western methods as would fit Chinese conditions and thus make China a modern nation politically, socially and economically. I am confident of the success of this program because we have no other wish than the welfare of the people and we believe we have the sympathy and support of the nation."

IN ADDITION to this statement by Dr. C. C. Wu the reader of these paragraphs will find further declarations in articles elsewhere in this number of *The Review* by other nationalist leaders bearing on the same subject, all being to the general effect that present-day China has no intention whatever of going back to the old financial policies of the latter days of the empire or the early days of the Republic when foreign bankers and business men staged their undignified "battle of concessions" in Peking and China was loaded down with innumerable foreign financial obligations at exorbitant rates of interest, the proceeds having been squandered in wasteful enterprises. The Nationalist Government, if we would believe the recent declarations pertaining to financial policy, intends to refund and pay off its "legitimate" foreign obligations, but at the same time it apparently intends to exercise extreme care in incurring further obligations. China's present foreign obligations, secured and unsecured, including defaulted interest, amounts to approximately $500,000,000 (gold), but whether this includes certain Japanese loans which have never been made public, is not known. From the standpoint of per capita debt, China is in a better financial position than most any other nation, but when the impoverished condition of the country is taken into consideration, the situation is serious. The incessant internal wars of recent years have impoverished the interior of the country to such an extent that the people in many interior districts have turned toward communistic doctrines as a means of relief. China will need hundreds of millions of dollars in the next few years for the operation of her government, for roads and other public works and for railroads and schools. Bankers, Chinese and foreign will be called upon to formulate plans for refunding the present debts and for making arrangements for further loans. At the present time most of China's visible sources of income are pledged to the service of current loans so that other sources of revenue will have to be developed for the security of new obligations. The country is potentially wealthy and the population numerous and industrious, but the foreign banker interested in assisting New China must take into consideration the fact that a new day has dawned in the Chinese Republic and that a new sentiment has developed among the Chinese people which is the natural result of past bitter experience. Furthermore it must be realized that present-day China is closely in touch with conditions in other so-called backward countries where contact with foreign finance has led to disastrous results from the standpoint of both borrower and lender. China undoubtedly will provide a field for vast foreign financing in the not-distant future, but whatever is done must be done with a full realization of the various elements involved, only a few of which have been touched upon in the preceding paragraphs.

Japan's Opposition to Chinese Republicanism!

THAT JAPAN'S antagonism toward the present Nationalist Government and her opposition to the unification of the Three Eastern Provinces, Shengking, Kirin and Holungkiang, popularly known as Manchuria, with the rest of China now under the control of the Nationalist Gevernment, is not a manifestation of a new Japanese policy is indicated in the record of Japan's attitude towards China at the time of the First Revolution in 1912. An inspection of the files of the Shanghai newspapers during 1911-1912 when the Chinese Republic was founded at Nanking shows that Japan strenuously opposed the formation of a republic and worked for the establishment of a modified monarchy in China, the reason for Japan's action being based on the fear that the overthrow of the Manchu regime "would reflect upon the public mind of Japan to the prejudice of the Imperial regime in Japan." The Shanghai newspapers, especially *The China Press*, which was then owned and edited by Americans, printed many reports from Japan quoting officials and the semi-official press indicating Japan's apprehensions regarding the establishment of a republic in China and also indicating that the Japanese conducted a considerable intrigue in China at the time trying to turn the new republic in the direction of a monarchy. It was Japanese intrigue which was supposed to have had considerable influence in inducing Gen. Yuan Shih-kai, the first President, to declare himself emperor and attempt to establish a new dynasty. The Japanese newspapers also expressed considerable irritation that Japan's ally, Great Britain, (the Anglo-Japanese alliance was in effect then) did not favor Japan's opposition to the establishment of a republic in China. The *Tokyo Asahi*, in commenting on the matter at that time said,

> "The Imperial Government has been working under the impression that constitutional monarchism is the best form of government for China, and that when Yuan Shih-k'ai accepted the premiership, this was understood. When London and Tokyo were in negotiation as to mediating between Peking and the

revolutionary party, the Tokyo Government proposed that whatever measures they take, the reform must include monarchism, and England replied in an indefinite way. Notwithstanding, the Japanese authorities were hopeful that China would not forsake the belief in monarchism. The recent development all tends to show that the impression was a wrong one and that the fact points to the contrary. Thus the Japanese captains of state are greatly concerned and are trying to find some solution of the matter."

AS JAPAN was unprepared for the development of a republican form of government in China 1911, so the present ruling clique in Japan is similarly unprepared for the present nationalistic movement in China which inevitably carries with it a program of social and economic reform of far reaching consequence. Space is too limited for an exposition of the present form of government which prevails in the Japanese empire which masquerades under the name of limited monarchy, but which is actually an absolute monarchy with little or no real power in the hands of the Japanese people. The Japanese Diet has no power to limit the expenditures of the army and navy and recently the militarist Premier, General-Tanaka has ridden rough-shod over the Diet and the prevailing sentiments of the Japanese press and public in the formulation of a China policy. The Emperor of Japan is a puppet in the hands of a small clique which is made up of militarists and imperialists who actually own or control most of the natural resources of the Japanese Empire. The actual political situation in Japan is most critical for there is an unmistakable revolutionary sentiment prevailing among the people which has its outward manifestations in the press, in the schools, and in the agrarian situation. The ruling clique, largely through foreign loans, has developed an artificial governmental financial structure which is all out of proportion to the actual resources of the country. This explains the constant urge for aggrandisement on the Asiatic Continent in order to bolster up the tottering Japanese economic-industrial-financial structure. This also explains why the ruling clique in Japan fears the development of nationalism and republicanism in China because it is impossible to keep these ideas out of Japan. Republicanism was first introduced into the Orient when the United States came into possession of the Philippines. in 1898. Then China threw out the Manchus and established a republic in 1911. Then came the Russian revolution which carried the ideas of communism to the shores of the Pacific. And now we have the Nationalist Revolution in China which has thrown out the old mediaeval-militarist style of republic which was really a hang-over from the Manchu regime. The Japanese Government thus finds itself isolated with the only form of absolutism in the Orient, a sort of island in the midst of a rising tide of democracy. The Japanese ruling clique has no sympathy or connection with, or conception of what is taking place elsewere among the peoples of Asia and to make matters still worse for them, improved communications and closer contact is also bringing western ideas of democracy into Japan. An understanding of these so-called fundamentals of the situation in the Far East will assist greatly in enabling the average newspaper reader to understand the difficulties which are constantly arising in the relations of China and Japan.

The Present Status of the China Treaty Situation

CHINA'S TREATIES with foreign nations may be classified under four major sub-divisions: (1) Those which have expired; (2) those which have not expired, but which have a specified duration date and are subject to renewal; (3) treaties with a specified duration and not subject to renewal, that is they are notifiable after the expiration of the stated period; (4) treaties without a specified duration.

Treaties Which Have Expired

Belgium—Treaty of Peking, dated Nov. 2, 1865, expired on October 27, 1926.
Britain—Tibetan Trade Regulations, dated April 20, 1908, expired on April 20, 1928.
Denmark—Treaty of Tientsin, dated July 30, 1863, expired on June 30, 1928.
France—Convention of Tientsin, dated April 25, 1886, expired on August 7, 1926.
" —Additional Commercial Convention, dated June 26, 1887, expired on August 7, 1926.
" —Supplementary Additional Commercial Convention, dated June 20, 1895, expired on August 7, 1926. Note—The three Sino-French treaties refer to trade relations with Indo-China.
Italy—Treaty of Peking, October 26, 1866, expired on June 30, 1928.
Japan—Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, dated July 21, 1896, expired on October 20, 1926.
" —Supplementary Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, dated October 8, 1903, expired on October 20, 1926.
Portugal—Treaty of Amity and Commerce, dated December 1, 1887, expired on April 28, 1928.
Spain—Treaty of Tientsin, dated October 10, 1864, expired on May 10, 1927.

Treaties Which Have Not Yet Expired, But With a Specified Duration and Subject To Renewal

America—Commercial Treaty, dated October 8, 1903, expires on Jan. 13, 1934.
Brasil—Treaty of Tientsin, dated October 3, 1881, expires on June 3, 1932.
Great Britain—Treaty of Tientsin dated June 26, 1858, expires on October 24, 1930.
" —Commercial Treaty, dated Sept. 5, 1902, expires on July 28, 1933.
France—Treaty of Tientsin, dated June 9, 1885, expires on November 28, 1935.
Peru—Treaty of Tientsin, dated June 26, 1874, expires on August 7, 1935.
Sweden—Treaty of Peking, dated July 2, 1908, expires on June 14, 1929.

Treaties With a Specified Duration and Not Subject to Renewal, That Is, Notifiable Any Time After Expiration of Stated Period.

America—Treaty of Wanghea, dated July 3, 1844; specified duration 12 years.
Britain—Regulations Regarding Trade, Communication and Pasturage, To Be Appointed to the Sikkim-Tibet Convention of 1890, dated December 5, 1893; specified duration 3 years.
" —Convention Giving Effect Article III of the Convention of July 24, 1886, relating to Burma and Tibet, dated March 1, 1894; specified duration 6 years.
" —Agreement Modifying the Burma Frontier and Trade Convention of March 1, 1894, dated Feb. 4, 1897; specified duration 6 years.
France—Treaty of Whampoa, dated Oct. 1844; specified duration 12 years.
" —Treaty of Tientsin, dated June 27, 1858; specified duration 12 years.
Mexico—Treaty of Washington, dated Dec. 14, 1899; specified duration, 10 years.
Sweden and Norway—Treaty of Canton, dated March 20, 1847; specified duration 12 years.

Treaties Without Specified Duration

America—Treaty of Tientsin, dated June 15, 1858.
" —Supplementary Treaty of Peking, dated Nov. 17, 1880.
Britain—Treaty of Nanking, dated August 29, 1842.
" —Convention of Peking, October 24, 1860.
" —Agreement of Chefoo, dated Sept. 13, 1876.
" —Additional Article to Agreement of Chefoo. July 18, 1885.
" —Convention Relating to Burma and Tibet, dated July 24, 1886.
" —Sikkim-Tibet Convention, dated March 17, 1890.
" —Chunking Agreement, dated March 31, 1890.

(*Continued on page 18*)

China's Treaty Question

BY DR. C. T. WANG,
Minister of Foreign Affairs

A POWERFUL mass opinion in China demands that our country's international relations be placed upon a basis of equality,and mutual respect for sovereign rights. The policy of my Government is but the crystalisation of this opinion. Our late leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, had always worked towards this end, and at his death-bed he willed that his successors continue the fight so that the aspirations of the Chinese people to free themselves from the shackles that had been imposed upon them by unequal treaties might be brought to early complete fulfillment.

Most of the existing treaties between China and the Powers were concluded more than thirty years ago under conditions radically different from what prevail today. It would be a gross injustice to ourselves to consent to exist under such an obsolete order. Now that most of these treaties have expired, or will soon expire, the justification of our demand to place our relations with other nations upon a foundation more consistent with international justice is irrefutable.

Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Nationalist Government

Treaties which have expired will not be renewed and the countries concerned have been notified of our desire to enter negotiations for the conclusion of new ones based upon equality, reciprocity and mutual respect. As to those which have as yet to expire, we have expressed our desire to the respective governments concerned to change them to conform with the new order of things.

For the maintenance of international peace, and the development of international good will, we believe that the time has arrived for the Powers to relinquish their special unilateral privileges which their treaties with China endow them: otherwise, they would find themselves constantly in opposition to the will of the Chinese people—a condition which would lead to endless misunderstanding not only between China and the Powers but also among the Powers themselves. We believe that the unequal treaties will inevitably become null and void: it is merely a question of when and how. The Powers may voluntarily and gracefully give up their untenable rights, or may find that they have to do so with the changing circumstances. But in the end they will have to treat the Chinese Government with the same consideration and respect as they now accord to any independent modern state.

Among the unequal features in our treaties with the foreign Powers, tariff autonomy and extraterritoriality stand out most prominently.

Every independent nation has the right to legislate its own tariff and to administer its customs. China has been deprived of this right since 1842. The Treaty of Nanking, which terminated what is known as the Opium War, stipulated the opening of five ports for foreign trade and the enforcement of a "fair and regular tariff"—which turned out to be the uniform rate of 5 per cent ad valorem.

Six Years to Effect Change

In 1843, the first tariff schedule was fixed upon the basis of the current prices then prevailing. In the years preceding 1858, prices began to drop, and the 5 per cent customs duty collected appeared consequently to be in excess of the 5 per cent ad valorem prescribed. A revision was, therefore, asked for by the treaty Powers and was put into force in 1858. From that time on, however, prices mounted, but no further change was made accordingly until 1902. Ten years later another attempt was made to revise the tariff in order to bring it more in accord with actual prices: but it took six years of protracted negotiations to bring about the desired change.

The first step towards tariff autonomy for China was made as a result of the World War when Germany, Austria and Hungary gave up their special rights in China. China made strong representations upon this issue at the Washington Conference. The participating Powers, however, refused to fix a definite period to put an end to the existing treaty provisions on the tariff; and the Chinese delegation declared that "China would bring the question up again for consideration on all appropriate occasions in the future."

On October 26, 1925, the Tariff Conference promised by the Washington Agreement was convened. At the first plenary session, in which thirteen countries were represented, the Chinese delegates again asked for the recognition of China's tariff autonomy. The march of events during the last three years justifies China's claim. The American Government recognised it by a treaty signed last June agreeing to the "principle of complete national tariff autonomy for China."

The unilateral, non-reciprocal, unscientific, rigid and inflexible system that had curtailed China's revenue, thus hampering the development of the country as a modern Power, must give place to a more just and equitable arrangement compatible with the status of an independent and sovereign state. In the readjustment of China's treaty relations, she

(Continued on page 22)

The Financial and Economic Policies of the Nationalist Government

THE financial and economic policies of the Nationalist Government have been indicated in various pronouncements of the Minister of Finance, Mr. T. V. Soong and in resolutions passed by financial and economic conferences which have been held during the past year under the auspices of the Nationalist Ministry of Finance.

Of outstanding importance was China's first national economic conference held in Shanghai from June 20 to June 30 which was attended by some 100 Chinese bankers, businessmen and industrialists representing various parts of the country.

Mr. T. V. Soong, Nationalist Minister of Finance who presided at the opening session, outlined briefly the chief financial and economic problems facing the country, Currency Reform, National Indebtedness, Taxation, Revival of Commerce, National Expenditures. In his opening remarks Mr. Soong stated that up to the present the sole aim of the Nationalist Government had been to raise funds for financing the Nationalist army in order to achieve military success "at all costs." Financial policy had been directed toward this single aim, the only precautions taken being to prevent undue financial and economic disturbances in the rear. Continuing, he declared,

"The Northern military campaign is now completed, happily without straining the rear to the breaking point. But with the capture of Peking, the Government may now divest itself of war psychology and devote its efforts toward reconstruction. The Government, however, is unable to effect reforms without the cooperation of the financiers, industrialists and economists. Our currency is in a chaotic condition and we must bring about uniformity throughout the provinces. We must adopt a decimal system for subsidiary coinage. We must deal with our depreciated bank-notes and establish a sound national banking system.

"In respect to our national indebtedness, while our foreign and domestic loans are relatively small in proportion to our national wealth, our loans have been badly handled. Our problem is to so restore our national credit so that we can go into the world's money markets and borrow money for reconstruction like any other country. From the standpoint of taxation, our system is unscientific and uneconomic and involved in foreign complications. We must simplify our taxation and improve our revenues without placing an undue burden upon the taxpayers.

"In reference to the question of commerce, this is a matter of primary interest for the Ministries of Commerce and Labor and Communications, but there are many associated problems which we must consider. Then considering the question of national expenditures, the completion of the military campaign has provided an excellent opportunity for shifting our expenditures from wasteful to productive enterprises."

Largely as a result of the Shanghai Economic Conference, the National Reconstruction Committee of the Nationalist Government, voted on June 30 in favor of a Soldier-Labor Policy as outlined as follows:

(1) Road Construction: The Provincial Governments to be instructed to employ the disbanded troops for the construction of roads and highways in the Provinces.

(2) River Conservancy: Part of the surplus troops should be employed in the widening and dredging of the Grand Canal and the Yellow River.

(3) Colonization and reclamation:

(a) Colonization: The outlying territories of Thibet and Chinghai

Mr. T. V. Soong 宋子文

Mr. T. V. Soong was born in 1894. He is a native of Kwangtung. Studied at St. John's College, Shanghai; Harvard A.B. 1915; student-assistant International Banking Corporation, New York; President, Chinese Students' Alliance. He returned to China and became Secretary of the Han Yeh Ping Iron & Coal Company, Ltd. Joined Canton Government as Chief of Salt Administration; in 1923 started Central Bank of China, which very soon became the most powerful bank in South China in spite of incessant civil warfare. During the great Hongkong-Canton strike in 1926 Mr. Soong became concurrently Chief of the Provincial Department of Commerce and organized the commerce of the province during the long blockade. Upon the assassination of Mr. Liao Chung-kai, Mr. Soong succeeded him andbecame Minister of Finance, and concurrently Commissioner of Finance of Kwangtung Province. The Canton government then only controlled one-third of Kwangtung. From then on Mr. Soong's career was a series of difficult achievements, financing the Eastern and Southern expeditions of General Chiang Kai-shek which unified the whole of Kwangtung Province, at the same time when Kwangtung was engaged in a virtual commercial war with Hongkong. He increased the revenue of Kwangtung from less than $20,000,000 to $100,000,000 per annum. The next great task was the financing of the Northern Expedition, which in a few months rapidly over-ran the whole of the Yangtze Valley. When the split among the Kuomintang party occurred and the government split up into the Hankow and Nanking governments, Mr. Soong retired into private life to re-emerge when the party became once more united. When the Northern Expedition was resumed he financed the seven months' campaign during which the whole of China was united under the Kuomintang. Besides being Minister of Finance, he is concurrently a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Koumintang Party and member of the Political Council, and is generally regarded as one of the most influential members of the Nationalist Government.

(Kokonor) to be colonized by surplus troops from Honan, Shansi, Szechuen and Yunnan.

(b) Reclamation: All foreshore land along the shores of Kiangsu covering 700 li in length and 200 li in width to be reclaimed by employing surplus troops.

In connection with the question of troops disbandment, the Conference passed a strongly worded resolution recommending that the number of troops in China be immediately reduced from 1,500,000 men to a standing army of 500,000 men and that national expenditures for military purposes, covering both army and navy, be limited to $192,000,000 annually.

General Recommendations

The final recommendations of the Economic Conference were reportd by the official *Kuo Min* news agency as follows:

"The resolutions on the creation of a Central Government Bank aroused the widest interest. Some of the bankers were in favor of a Federal Reserve System modelled on the American plan, but the majority of the bankers and the commercial and industrial representatives were unanimously in favor of the creation of a powerful Central Bank, representative of the interests of all sections of the country. After heated debate the latter scheme was adopted.

"The resolution calling for a Central Bank, to be a limited stock company, with the sole right of bank-note issue and a Supervisory Board formed by the Government, was passed in principle; the details to be worked out by the Committee on Currency and Banking.

"According to these resolutions, Provincial Banks will be forbidden to issue bank-notes. Provincial Banks will be required to conform to regulations passed by the Central Government.

"The regulations governing the organization and operation of commercial banks, foreign exchange banks, savings banks, and agricultural and industrial banks were likewise accepted in principle.

"With regard to Currency, regulations for making the dollar the basic coin, the limitation of bank-note issue of commercial and semi-Government banks before the establishment of a Central Government Bank, and the control of minting were passed.

"It was also resolved that there should be only one Central Mint in the country for the coinage of the dollar and subsidiary coins, that the new subsidiary coins should be kept at par, that there should be free coinage for the standard dollar.

"The actual abolition of the Tael should take place three months after the establishment of the Central Mint, but not later than July 1, 1929.

Committee on Taxation. With regard to taxation, it was resolved that the Government should at once appoint a Commission to prepare for Customs Autonomy in order to effect it before January 1, 1929.

"The resolutions concerning the abolition of likin and the establishment of consolidated Consumption taxes, and the resolution for the Unification of taxes were again discussed and after slight changes, were confirmed.

"Among the principal recommendations made by the Committee on Taxation was the Unification of Finance, under which heading the Demarcation of National and Provincial revenues and expenditure was proposed; as well as Regulations governing the administration of National revenue collection by the different Provincial Finance Commissioners and the control of Provincial Finance by the Ministry of Finance.

"Two other subjects passed were the establishment of a National Public Land Commission and the adoption of a National Budget."

The following resolutions were introduced by the Committee on National Indebtedness at the second general session of the Economic Conference providing for: (1) The liquidation of the secured domestic and foreign indebtedness; (1) the liquidation of the unsecured domestic and foreign indebtedness; (3) liquidation of the provincial domestic and foreign indebtedness; (4) liquidation of the indebtedness of the Ministry of Communication; (5) repayment of the bonds and banknotes issued by the Canton and Hankow governments, (6) raising a rehabilitation loan; (7) organization of a sinking fund board of trustees of non-official civilians.

The Financial Conference

The First National Economic Conference in Shanghai was followed immediately by a National Financial Conference which was held in Nanking July 1 to July 10. Perhaps the most revolutionary step taken at the Financial Conference, was a decision to take steps toward the abolition of *likin*, the internal transit tax which has constituted the most serious handicap to the development of commerce within the country. The *likin* or transit tax was instituted in China at the time of the Taiping Rebellion about seventy years ago for the purpose of raising funds for paying the Government troops. It has since spread all over the country until there are now more than 500 *likin* stations where taxes are levied on goods in transit through the country. Various estimates have been made regarding the total amount of money realized through the *likin* tax, the actual amount reaching the Government never exceeding $40,000,000, while it is generally believed that an equal amount is "squeezed" by the officials at the *likin* stations.

China's inability to abolish the *likin* tax has handicapped the country in its attempts to increase the Maritime Customs duties which are under foreign control, due to the fact that the Powers have insisted upon the abolition of *likin* as a prior condition for China's realization of tariff autonomy. At the International Tariff Conference at Peking in 1925, the representatives of the Powers adopted a resolution agreeing to tariff autonomy for China and China at the same time agreed to abolish *likin* simultaneously, the date for both going into effect being Jan 1, 1929.

The following resolutions pertaining to the centralization of governmental financial functions were adopted at the National Financial Conference, in addition to the action pertaining to *likin*:

(1) That all regulations governing the administration of such Central Government revenue organs in the various provinces and staff members thereof, shall be first submitted to the Ministry of Finance for approval; (2) that all Government revenue collected in the various provinces shall be remitted to the Central Treasury which shall accordingly appropriate funds for the maintenance of such organs, though in special cases the provincial governments concerned may submit special arrangements to the Ministry as regards such remittances and disbursements with a view to facilitating the administration of the ministry; (3) that separate budgets of both military and political (governmental) expenses shall be submitted to and first approved by the Government Council before any remittance can be made to the various organs; and (4) that all items of military expenditure shall be paid direct by the Central Treasury, the military authority stationed in any particular locality being absolutely forbidden to demand requisition of funds from the Civil authorities of that particular place.

Resolutions were also adopted providing for unification and efficiency of collection of various national taxes such as tobacco and wine, parcels post, stamp, kerosene and gasoline, cigarette, salt and other new national taxes to be instituted.

Abolition of the Tael

Another revolutionary action in respect to the reform of currency had to do with the abolition of the tael as a unit of exchange. The Conference urged the Government to take this action immediately and also recommended further reforms in the systematization of the national currency and the establishment of the dollar as a standard monetary unit.

Final Reorganization Program

The Nationalist Government Council upon the recommendation of the Ministry of Finance, adopted during the week of September 1-8 the following regulations pertaining to the organization of a Central Financial Reorganization Committee:

Article I. The Nationalist Government, with a view to effectively unifying the control of finance, specially appoints the Central Financial Reorganization Committee.

Article II. The Central Financial Reorganization Committee shall carry out its task of reorganization throughout the entire country according to the following territorial districts:

(a) Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, Kiangsi and Fukien.
(b) Hupeh, Hunan, Kwangtung and Kwangsi.
(c) Shantung, Honan, Shensi and Kansu.
(d) Hopei, Shansi, Jehol, Charhar and Suiyuan.
(e) Szechuan, Yunnan and Kweichow.
(f) Fengtien, Kirin and Heilungkiang.
(g) All other provinces and territories to form a division by itself.

The commencement of the period of Reorganization for each division shall be decided by the Nationalist Government at the recommendation of the Ministry of Finance, each Reorganization period not to exceed two months.

Article III. The duties of the Central Financial Reorganization Committee shall be as follows:

(a) To carry into execution all measures of demarcation of Central and Provincial Revenues.

(b) To carry out the plan of abolition of Likin and other exorbitant and miscellaneous levies.

(c) To demarcate and enforce new taxes.

(d) To improve the system of collection of revenues.

(e) To carry out currency reform measures.

(f) To consider and carry out various resolutions passed at the National Economic and Finance Conferences.

(g) To carry out all other measures in connection with the centralization of the financial administration of the country.

Article IV. The central Financial Reorganization Committee shall consist of a number of the members of the Government Council to be appointed by the Nationalist Government, the Minister of Finance being *ipso facto* a member of the Committee. The various Provincial Commissioners of Finance and the Commissioners of Finance of the Special Municipalities in each District shall likewise participate in the meetings of the Committee with reference to matters concerning their particular district.

Article V. The Central Financial Reorganization Committee shall have a Chairman to administer the affairs of the Committee and a Vice-Chairman to assist the Chairman. In the absence of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman shall act on his behalf.

Article VI. The Central Financial Reorganization Committee shall have a Secretary to manage the business of the Committee under the direction of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman with a number of staff members as assistants.

Article VII. The Central Financial Reorganization Committee shall direct and supervise, during the period of reorganization, all matters relating to the administration and appointment of personnel of both the Central, provincial and municipal financial organs.

Article VIII. Regulations governing the administration of the Central Financial Reorganization Committee shall be drawn up separately.

Article IX. These regulations shall become effective upon promulgation by the Nationalist Government.

Progress Being Made

That actual progress is being made in the field of national finance was indicated in an interview with Mr. T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance, which appeared in the Chinese newspapers on September 15, to the following effect,

> Turning to his own sphere, Minister Soong said that notable advances have been quietly made during the last few weeks. As outlined in his report to the Fifth Plenary Session, the Ministry of Finance actually controlled only the national revenue of Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhwei. Fukien has now come into line and the nominee of the Ministry is having a free hand in that province so far as national taxes are concerned. Arrangements have also been made with Kiangsi province, which is the seat of the famed porcelain industry, whereby, by the end of the month, effective control of the national revenue will revert to the Ministry. Thus by October the Ministry will have absolute control with regard to national revenue over at least five provinces.

Another significant advance is that Kwangtung and Kwangsi have agreed upon a programme of complete unification in stages; starting with the immediate handing over of the Customs Surtaxes, and the partial rendition of the salt tax. Hunan and Hupeh will almost surely follow the lead of Canton in that respect.

The Important Commissions

Two commissions have recently been mandated by the Government, namely, the Budget Commission and the Finance Reorganization Commission.

To the first, consisting of the important members of the Government and the six outstanding military leaders, is entrusted the task of framing a budget. As through the working of this Commission the responsible leaders throughout the country will be enabled to participate in national financing and to take a part in the allocation of funds, the psychological obstacles in the direction of financial unification will be overcome in a great measure.

The other organization, the Finance Reorganization Commission, is intended to be the instrument to hasten financial reforms and unification. Under this scheme the country is divided into seven or eight financial areas which will be controlled by the Commission in turn. During the time that any particular area is under the control of the Commission all the national, provincial and local revenue will be under its sole control so that drastic reforms can be carried out according to a systematic plan and without interference from any source.

"I am particularly hopeful" Mr. Soong said, "of the results of this Commission because it will enable the Central Government to supervise the reform of provincial and local finances. Take the case of multifarious taxation. There is a tendency for the public to saddle the Ministry of Finance with all the hundreds of vexatious taxes existing in the country, when as a matter of fact, all the taxes collected by the Ministry could be counted on the fingers, namely, the Customs (which include Parcel Post and Customs Surtaxes), salt, wine and tobacco, petroleum and stamps, and those taxes only effectively in the three provinces above-mentioned. The so-called fishery tax, and one other minor tax are really collected in the exclusive interest of the Ministry of Education, from which they have been recently taken over; likewise the so-called Stock Exchange Tax is only a form of license fees. There is only one more tax, and that is the only new tax established by the present Ministry, the flour tax, and that was levied at the request of the mill-owners themselves in lieu of likin. For the abolition of the multifarious oppressive taxes the Ministry must have extensive powers through the Commission, and after the abolition of the Commission, the Ministry must have effective supervision over local revenue to prevent renewed irregularities.

Abuses Will be Corrected Slowly

"Of course, nobody, and I least of all, expect all abuses to be wiped out by the creation of the Administrative Council and the various Commissions, but I think anyway we are moving in the right direction. Illegal, extraordinary and irregular taxes and financial measures have come into existence during the whole course of civil warfare, covering more than a decade. Few of them are in the category of National taxes, but have been imposed by militarists and provincial officials. We have inherited a crude and unscientific fiscal system, but we cannot change it by one swoop of the ink brush.

"It is necessary that there should be a systematic revision of taxes, following a clear-cut demarcation between national, provincial and municipal taxes. Then the system of Consolidated Taxes, which we instituted with regard to cigarettes, kerosene and flour, must replace the confusion caused by irregularities and by the persistence of likin.

Every change means the breaking of rice-bowls and the destruction of corrupt vested interests. I am not at all pessimistic as to our success, for those who are actually paying the Consolidated Taxes, under the system which we have instituted, find that, in the long run, they pay less and yet the Government receives a greater revenue. That, in my opinion, is the trend of immediate financial reforms."

New China's Industrial Program.

BY DR. H. H. KUNG,
Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor

"WHEN every man is educated and employed to the best of his ability, when land is made to yield to its utmost capacity, when all natural resources are scientifically developed and wisely utilised, and when goods are afforded easy transit and free access to markets; then....."
——*Dr. Sun Yat-sen.*

The founder of the Republic, Dr. Sun, toiled the whole of his life for one main object, namely, the WELL-BEING of all and every one of his countrymen. He was fully aware of the Herculean nature of the task he set for himself and his followers, but he never, for one moment, wavered in his resolutions; neither reverses from without, nor intrigues from within, could dishearten him. It was this transcendent, dauntless spirit that inspired and sustained his faithful followers through the Period of Military Campaign, the first of the three periods prescribed by him to complete the civic education of the nation.

Now that the Northern Expedition has come to a successful conclusion, the more important Period of Political Tutelage automatically follows, during which period, the principal aim of the Nationalist Government will be Reconstruction on all lines. While it is the duty of all right thinking citizens to do their level best to place China culturally and economically on a firm basis, it has devolved upon me to direct and forward the course in Industry, Commerce and Labor. I had on a former occasion outlined a program, which, if given an opportunity to be carried out in proper order, will, I fervently hope, contribute very much to the WELL-BEING of the nation.

Dr. H. H. Kung, Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor in the Nationalist Government.

As a first step towards the building up of industries, we consider it very necessary to make a close investigation of all natural products, constituting materials for manufacture, and to devise ways and means for their improvement and increase. Realizing that the present conditions do not lend to new enterprises, but much to labor agitation, it will be our endeavor to harmonise the interests of Capital and Labor, that both may join hands in furthering the Welfare of the Nation according to the San-Min-Chu-I.

The Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor, will, besides its routine work, confine itself for the next three years chiefly to the pursuit of a few fundamentals and endeavor to accomplish them by the following program:

1. *Formulation and Promulgation of Industrial and Commercial Laws and Regulations.* Good laws form the framework of national reconstruction. With changing conditions, revision and modifications become necessary. Below are some of the more urgent laws and regulations which are being framed up by the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, and Labor:-

Regulations governing Chambers of Commerce
Regulations for the Organization of Labor Unions and Associations
Rules for the Registration of Companies and Firms
Regulations governing Weights and Measures
Regulations governing Factories
Patent Law
Insurance Law
Trade Mark Regulations
Regulations governing Stock Exchange
Regulations governing Cooperative Stores
Regulations for the Arbitration of Disputes between Labor, Capital etc.

In order to ascertain the real needs of the people, the Ministry has organized a special committee, known as the Committee for the Compilation of Commercial and Industrial Laws and Regulations. Most of the members of this Committee are prominent Lawyers, merchants and industrial leaders. They act in an advisory capacity, holding occasional meetings to discuss the important laws as they are being formulated by the Ministry.

2. *Compilation of Commercial and Industrial Statistics.* To know the exact condition of our country from the commercial and industrial stand-point accurate data are absolutely indispensable. The Ministry is in a better position to gather information regarding the status of the commerce, labor and industry of the whole country. Special men are being sent to various places for investigation. The compilation of the following data is now underway:—*i. e.*,

Manufacturing Statistics
Business Statistics
Labor Statistics
Products Index
Index of Trade Quantity
Price Index
Wages Index
Index of Cost of Living
Commercial Year Book

In this particular work, the Ministry is seeking the co-operation of local authorities throughout the

country. The Bureau of Economic Information, which has been existing for the last eight years, has been placed under the control of my Ministry by order of the Nationalist Government. At present it issues four publications, the "Chinese Economic Bulletin" (a weekly), the "Chinese Economic Journal," (a monthly), Statistical Supplements, in the English Language, and the "Semi-monthly Economic Journal" in the Chinese Language. It also answers inquiries on economic matters.

The Bureau is being reorganized to meet the special requirements being called for under the industrial program for new China and it is hoped that new features, which make other world organizations of this nature so popular, will be added to serve the public. The Ministry itself publishes a monthly on Governmental and Ministrial orders as well as other matters of economic importance. Pamphlets are also issued from time to time.

In order to promote international trade, special agents will be sent abroad to ascertain the industrial and commercial conditions and conduct investigations in the important centres of commerce throughout the world.

3. *Standardization of Weights and Measures.* Nothing has impeded industrial and commercial progress in China so much as the lack of uniformity of weights and measures. The so-called 1-foot-rule differs in different trades as well as in different localities. Although an effort was made for the adoption of standard weights and measures in Peking, it failed in the end for two reasons: First, the order of the Peking Government was not taken up by the provinces except Shansi, and secondly, the two adopted standards (one old and the other new) did not have a mathematical relation to one another, thus defeating the very object of unification. Since the establishment of this Ministry in Nanking, a careful survey has been made of the existing systems. In the new system proposed by the Ministry and approved by the Central Executive Committee of the Nationalist Government, there are two standards, but really there is only one. The International or Metric System is to be adopted as the absolute standard for weights and measures while a popular or practical standard is to be used temporarily to lead to the universal use of the metric system. This popular standard is obtained from simple fractions of the metric weights and measures which depart very little from what the mass of the people have been accustomed to. Thus,

Absolute Standard	*Practical Standard*	*Ratio*	*Reasons for adopting the practical unit*
Length	Meter	1/3	1:3 Nearest to the average of the Chinese "foot"
Weight	Kilogram	1/2 kilo	1:2 Very near the old "Chao-ping catty."
Capacity	Liter	1 liter	1:1 Very near one "Sheng," the old Chinese quart.

Because of this very simple ratio between the popular and the absolute standard, it is hoped that in the course of a few years, when the popular standard is finally given up, people will suffer no inconvenience in adopting the metric system as the one and only standard in China.

4. *Promotion of Home Industries.* No nation can claim a place in the world until she is industrially independent. In China, imported goods are taxed much less than home-made articles. This and other handicaps place a Chinese manufacturer in a difficult if not an impossible position to compete with foreign manufacturers. The measures to be taken by the Government in encouraging home manufacture are these:

Exposition, such as Fairs, Exhibitions, Bazaars, Museums of Chinese Products.
Stimulating inventions by awarding prizes, franchises and patents.
Specification of imported goods in order to protect our merchants from unfair foreign competition, and
Specification and analysing of raw materials and finished products that are exported to foreign countries, so that our export-merchants may not suffer losses through detention or rejection.

For this purpose, testing houses and public laboratories will be set up, to protect all articles of commerce from adulteration and misbranding, and to make scientific researches of industrial processes, the results of which will be made public for the good of the whole nation. Special Committee on Commercial and industrial schemes has also been formed whose members consist of the leading manufacturers and technical experts of the country.

5. *Promotion of Harmony between Capital and Labor.* Strikes and other forms of labor agitation have long engaged the attention of European and American statesmen. Their influence is being felt now all over China. As hostility between labor and capital is suicidal, particularly at this stage when China's industry is in its infancy, no effort will be spared on the part of the Government to remove any possible misunderstanding between the capitalists and the working class, and to show them that co-operation alone is the salvation of both parties. Proper guidance will be exercised over labor unions and other industrial organizations. Where any dispute calls for government arbitration or mediation, immediate steps will be taken for speedy settlement. It will be the aim of the Government to show the nation that all citizens stand on an equal footing, and that no one class shall be allowed to gain undue advantage over another.

6. *Welfare of the Laboring Class.* As the working people form the mainstay of national industries, their welfare shall be the chief care of the Government. The Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor is devising means by which our laborers may obtain intellectual uplifting. Diligent inspection and supervision of factories will be instituted to safeguard the lives of the laborers, and most stringent laws regulating child labor with a view to discouraging as far as possible this form of labor will be enforced. In short, this Government will consider it as its chief duty to strive and work so that every citizen will have his daily comforts quite comparable to the people of the other leading nations.

7. *Foreign Co-operation.* As the promotion of commercial and industrial enterprises of great dimensions depend largely upon foreign co-operation, the employment of foreign capital and foreign ability will be encouraged. International commercial intercourse will not only be maintained but also developed provided such developments are based upon the spirit of equality and reciprocity, and provided due recognition is given to the sovereign rights of our country.

These, as I said before, are only some of the more important measures to be accomplished by this Ministry during the first three years of Political Tutelage. Much more, no doubt, requires to be done. I am confident, however, that with a foundation laid on the economic phase of the San-Min-Chu-I, commercial and industrial development, it is hoped, will take up an upward trend as a natural consequence when China enters into the third or Constitutional Period.

Nanking, September 1, 1928

The Work of the Ministry of the Interior During the Political Tutelage Period

BY HSIEH TU-PI.

THIS is only the second year since the northern expedition started from Canton under the orders of our Nationalist Party. Within this brief period, our expeditionary force successfully swept the Yang tse valley; and has now come to assume control of the whole region around Peking. This marks the beginning of the political tutelage period, within which, a certain category of political training work will be carried out by the government, in accordance with the principles of the late Dr. Sun. At this stage, the Ministry of the Interior, as one department of the National Government, has comparatively more functions to perform; and these, too, are of weightier import. We do not expect that everything will be done to the satisfaction of all from the very beginning, but we do think that as time goes on, the process of political training will be successfully completed. In going ahead with its work, the Ministry of the Interior will closely follow the dictates of the political platform of our party and the successive declarations of policy made at the different meetings of the Central Executive Committee. Meanwhile, the local circumstances and conditions of the different provinces will be taken into careful consideration. With all these in mind, we shall fix the order, by which the different political measures will be successively carried out, and, with each measure, a date will be set for its completion. The chief objective of this political schedule will be the attainment of complete local self-government in the different provinces.

Mr. Hsieh Tu-pi, Nationalist Minister of the Interior

The provinces have just emerged from military disturbances; and at this juncture, two things will have to be done immediately: one is the preservation of the public peace, and the other is the extermination of robbers and bandits. As a preliminary step towards the solution of these two problems, the Ministry has instituted measures of famine relief and reforms of the police. We believe that the assurance of safety and security must come before the accomplishment of local self-government.

Before local self-government can be successful, the government must have, at its command, a corps of competent administrators, and a set of laws and regulations that will function in practice.

The Ministry of the Interior will see to it that the provinces carefully select their prefects of the different Shiens and their assistants. Until the formation and actual functioning of the Examination Council, the provisional rules, regulating civil service examinations, as promulgated by the Nationalist Government from time to time will govern the selection of the prefects. The Ministry of the Interior will likewise institute training schools for local administrators and experts of local self-government. The purpose of these schools are for the training of men to assist the people in local self-government and in the exercise of their rights of the election, the recall, the referendum and the initiative.

As to the formulation of administrative laws and regulations, the Ministry of the Interior, until the formation of the Legislative Council, will consult the Law Codification Bureau in its work. There will be laws and regulations on local government, on land administration, on police administration and on public health. These, when promulgated by the Nationalist Government, will form the basis of the administrative activities of this Ministry.

At this stage, the Ministry of the Interior will also reform the local administration, and supervise the taking of a census. On the basis of the new administrative regulations, service records will be kept of all administrative officers, and agents will be sent to the provinces to investigate and enforce necessary reforms. It is the purpose of this Ministry to do away with the abuses of local administrators as often found under the former military regime. With regard to the taking of a census, this Ministry will require the provinces to complete their work in this connection in the near future; and will compile the in-coming data in statistical form.

Aside from the foregoing, the Ministry will carry out reforms in municipal government, improve public-health, enforce the prohibition of opium, look after the repair of public roads, regulate land administration, develop uncultivated land, and improve water-ways and irrigation. These, together with certain other measures will be taken up at the earliest opportunity, in their proper order.

According to "the outline of reconstruction" of the late Dr. Sun, a Shien is the unit of self-government. At the time when the whole number of Shiens in a province has reached the last stage of self-government, then begins the period of constitutional government. This Ministry, within the limit of its powers, will carry on its training work to the end that the people will have a comfortable living, and be well trained in the exercise of the rights of the election, the recall, the referendum and the initiative.

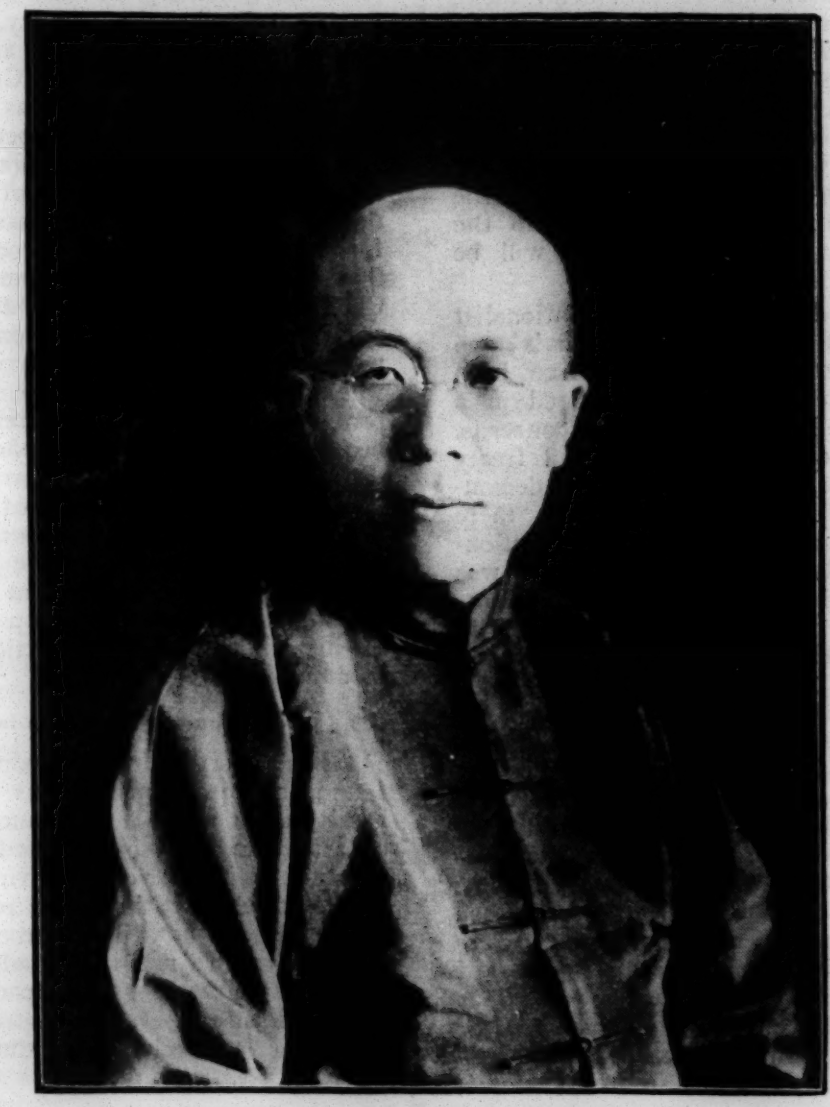
The foregoing is a mere sketch of the work of the Ministry of the Interior. At present, the Nationalist Government is just preparing a work schedule of the government as a whole, together with the order of its procedure. The schedule will be promulgated in the near future, and in that schedule, the work of the Ministry of the Interior will be detailed. This Ministry will closely follow the coming schedule in its various activities.

Foreign Relations of the Nationalists

BY C. C. WU

THE foreign policy of the Nationalist Government of China, as enunciated by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and set forth in the program of the Nationalist Party (the Kuomintang) is clear and definite. It may be summarized in a few words: "China seeks, not merely in name but in fact, the status of absolute independence and equality in the family of nations. She will regard as real friends only those Powers who treat her as an equal and respect her rights."

There is nothing very startling in this policy. It is substantially the same policy that every independent and sovereign state has adopted and is adopting in its relations with other states, and is a natural corollary of the accepted principles of international comity. For nearly a century China has been subjected to an inferior status, through unilateral treaties imposed upon her in defeat or in ignorance, and that makes her present struggle to be mistress in her own house seem to some people revolutionary or anti-foreign. The rights and interests of foreigners in China such, for example, as would be enjoyed by Americans in England, will be amply recognized and protected under the foreign policy of the Nationalist Government. Only interests which are in the nature of privileges and which have grown up under the régime of extraterritoriality since 1842 will be affected adversely. All these China avowedly intends to abolish as being incompatible with the full exercise of her sovereignty.



Dr. C. C. Wu.

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Nationalist Government, Now Serving as China's Delegate to America and Various European Countries to Discuss Questions Relating to Treaty Relations.

The unequal treaties are no longer suited to conditions in China. They are an obstacle in the path of her national progress. They complicate and endanger the friendly relations China endeavors to maintain with all foreign states. Their abrogation will benefit not only Chinese but even foreigners themselves, in spite of the hue and cry that will be made by a few "die hards."

In the first place, a new impetus will be given to the economic development of China, and in particular to her development with the aid of foreign cooperation. Nationalist China welcomes foreign investment and foreign enterprise in China. Dr. Sun is the author of a book, "The International Development of China," which, as its title indicates, advocates the development of the country's vast natural resources with the assistance of foreign capital and foreign expert knowledge. But if a foreigner, wherever he travels in China, is not amenable to the laws of the country, and, what is more, if the immunity which his person enjoys can spread like a mantle and cover his residence, his goods, and even things with which he comes into contact, then no one will be surprised if not much business is done. Thus, under the treaties, foreign enterprise has been restricted within specified small areas. While the foreigner enjoys great privileges, he is also subject to disabilities, although the latter affect less the foreigner in China, who has probably enough business to occupy him in the open ports, than the foreigner at home, who probably would like to have newer and larger markets for his products. When foreign privilege has been abolished there will be no longer any reason to limit the scope of the foreigner's enterprise, and international cooperation can be invited in opening up the whole of China.

Secondly, the readjustment of treaty relations will provide better protection for foreigners. At present foreign rights and privileges depend upon treaty safeguards and in spite of the fact that they are very often from their very nature unenforceable, frequent appeals are made to foreign governments to endeavor to secure their enforcement. If no attempt is made to enforce them, foreign "prestige" is lowered. If an attempt is made to enforce them, ill-feeling is created. This dilemma has been recognized, though somewhat tardily, by some of the Powers, and their spokesmen have declared that they will not insist upon a literal interpretation of treaty rights. The failure of the gunboat policy is gradually being realized. And even where there are big guns they cannot compel the Chinese to buy the foreigners' goods. The economic weapon is one to which industrial nations are particularly vulnerable. It would be

far better for the antiquated and unenforceable treaties to be scrapped altogether in favor of suitable new ones. Then foreigners would possess rights and interests which had been accorded to them freely and willingly by the Chinese; they would be more adequately protected in these rights and interests by China's honor and China's goodwill than by any number of battalions and gunboats.

A Situation Fraught with Danger

A third consideration is that the present treaty system, bound up as it is with ill-will, jealousy and intrigue between nations, is a constant menace to the peace of the Far East. On one side are the Powers, anxious to maintain their privileges and interests, desirous whenever occasion offers to extend them, and at the same time time jealous one of the other. On the other hand stands awakened China, impatient to shake off the shackles of the past and eager to regain her freedom. Such a situation is fraught with great dangers. The recent events in Shantung and the clash between the Nationalist and Japanese troops show that the dangers are not exaggerated. With the abrogation of the system a disturbing factor to the peace of the Far East and of the world will be removed.

A few lines should be devoted to Nationalist relations with Russia and Japan, China's two closest neighbors. Relations with Russia have been broken off due to the fact that Russia engaged in a program of interference in China's domestic concerns. When Soviet Russia voluntarily relinquished treaty rights secured under the Tsarist régime and demonstrated her sympathy for the Nationalist cause, there arose naturally a bond of friendship between Nationalist China and Soviet Russia. Later, however, it was discovered that the Communists, directed from Moscow, were engaged in propaganda incompatible with the principles of the Kuomintang. This caused an expulsion of those Communists who had gained admission to the Kuomintang. Last December in the city of Canton there was an uprising of a small group of Communists who, taking advantage of the absence of the garrison, gained control of the city for three days, during which much suffering was caused to the population. Evidence was found which implicated the Russian Consulate in Canton. On account of this, Russian Consulates in Nationalist territory were closed and the activities of Russian state enterprises were restricted. But there is no reason why the rupture of relations need be indefinitely continued. So soon as Soviet Russia gives evidence that she will not meddle in the internal affairs of China, the Nationalist Government is ready to resume relations with its closest neighbor.

Relations with Japan

China's relations with Japan are at present of interst to the whole world. After the notorious Twenty-One Demands of 1915 and the award of Shantung to Japan, relations between the two countries were strained. Since 1922, however as a result of the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Shantung after the agreement reached at Washington, matters improved. Furthermore, the Japanese Government of the day followed a policy of conciliation *vis-à-vis* China, and this was duly appreciated by the Chinese people.

In April, 1927, however, the Cabinet fell and Baron Tanaka, leader of the military group which favored the Twenty-One Demands of 1915, came into power as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. His assumption of office was marked by the announcement of the abandonment of his predecessor's policy and the inauguration of a "positive policy" toward China. Shortly afterwards, when the Nationalist forces marching on Peking entered the province of Shantung, he dispatched troops to Tsinan, its capital, on the pretext of protecting Japanese residents there. It was the official duty of the writer, as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government, to protest against this infringement of China's sovereignty and to state that should any untoward consequences arise from this illegal and provocative act, the Japanese Government must shoulder the responsibility. The Japanese troops were later withdrawn without any serious incident.

This year, when Nationalist forces again approached Shantung in their effort to gain control of Peking and unite the country, the Japanese Government repeated its manoeuver, and a similar protest was addressed to the Japanese Government. The very event for which warning was given last year took place. The Tsinan clash between Nationalist and Japanese troops is too recent to need narration. Regardless, for the moment, of the controversial questions of the immediate responsibility for the incident, for "war guilt" and "war atrocities," the fact remains that the Japanese and Chinese soldiers clashed on Chinese territory. If we were to admit the right of any Power to send troops to protect its nationals anywhere they may happen to be in China, then China would soon be overrun by alien armies and the independence and territorial sovereignty of China would become a mere farce. If Japan, on the plea of protecting a thousand or so nationals (mostly small shopkeepers who if apprehensive of danger can easily be evacuated) residing 260 miles inland, can send two to three thousand troops there regardless of China's rights, what is there to prevent another Power from sending twenty thousand troops a thousand miles into the interior to "afford protection" to half a dozen of its nationals?

Japans Pretensions in Manchuria

But the crux of Sino-Japanese relations is to be found in Japan's pretensions in Manchuria. Japan has economic interests in Manchuria. She has need of Manchuria's resources and raw materials. But from that it is a far cry to a virtual assumption of a protectorate over the three provinces. The recent announcement that Chinese troops, whether northern or southern, are not to be admitted to Manchuria, coupled with the fact that Japanese troops are being dispatched there in increasing numbers—all this, be it remembered, in admittedly Chinese territory—is, to say the least, startling.

If Shantung and Manchuria are not to become the Alsace-Lorraine of Asia, a solution of the problem must be found. If relations between China and Japan are not adjusted to their mutual satisfaction, the peace of the world is not secure. If Japan's problem is economic, the solution should be economic, without importing into it political considerations. May not future statesmanship find an answer to these vexed questions along economic lines?—*Foreign Affairs.*

WHAT CHINA NEEDS TO-DAY

What is needed to-day, it seems to me, is a deep conviction which should amount almost to a religious repentance that we Chinese are backward in everything and that every other modern nation in the world is much better off than we are. We must know ourselves. We must confess that we are terribly poor and that our people are suffering miseries which justly horrify the civilized peoples.—*From Dr. Hu Shih's Preface to Julean Arnold's "Some Bigger Issues in China's Problems."*

International Financing for the Industrial Development of China

BY SUN FO

DURING the eve of the Manchu Regime, the first spark of industrialization took place in China in the forms of various state and quasi-state enterprises; railways and steamship lines, iron and steel works and coal mines, arsenals and docks all began to bedeck the Empire but they were soon found toiling under a corrupt and decadent political system. Then came the 1911 Revolution with its almost immediate reverses in the hands of Yuan Shi-kai and his military satellites. It has taken the Kuomintang fully seventeen years to wipe out these reactionaries and establish its undisputed political authority over the whole country. Although much to the sacrifice of our economic progress, we have, in these long years of bitter struggles, achieved a great political revolution; and a new, healthy political order is necessary for proper economic development.

How would Nationalist China carry out her program of economic reconstruction and development? This is necessarily a question of world interest.

In 1921 Dr. Sun Yat-sen wrote his "International Development of China". It was then his desire that international capital should come to China to develop railroads and highways, river conservancy and irrigation, new ports and modern cities, basic industries and public utilities. The whole program suggested is as follows:—

Mr. Sun Fo, Son of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and Frominent Member of the Kuomintang

1.—The Development of a Communication System

(*a*) 100,000 miles of railways

(*b*) 1,000,000 miles of macadam roads

(*c*) Improvement of existing canals

1.—Hangchow-Tientsin Canals

2.—Sikiang-Yangtze Canals

(*d*) Construction of new canals

1.—Liaoho-Sunghwakiang Canal

2.—Others to be projected

(*e*) River conservancy

1.—To regulate the embankments and channel of Yangtze River from Hankow to the sea, thus facilitating ocean going ships to reach that port at all seasons.

2.—To regulate the Hwangho embankments and channel to prevent floods

3.—To regulate the Sikiang

4.—To regulate the Hwaiho

5.—To regulate various other rivers.

(*f*) The construction of more telegraph lines and telephone and wireless systems all over the country.

2.—The development of harbors

(*a*) Three largest ocean ports with future capacity equalling New York Harbor to be constructed in North, Central and South China.

(*b*) Various small commercial and fishing harbors to be constructed along the coast

(*c*) Commercial docks

3.—Modern cities with public utilities to be constructed in all railway centers, termini and alongside harbors

4.—Water power development

5.—Iron and steel works and cement works on the large scale in order to supply the above needs

6.—Mining development

7.—Agricultural development

8.—Irrigation work on the largest scale in Mongolia and Sinkiang

9.—Reforestation in Central and North China

10.—Colonization in Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kokonor and Thibet.

Detailed descriptions of these different projects are given in his book. The nature of the whole plan, in the words of our great leader, is a "rough sketch—from a layman's thought with very limited materials at his disposal; alterations and changes will have to be made after scientific investigations and detailed survey." It shows the stupendous requirements to modernize China. It will be the acme of economic rationalization when fully carried out. In its policies of reconstruction and economic development, the Nationalist Government will essentially follow this plan as its supreme guidance.

Working Schedules Necessary

Naturally, working schedules will have to be

carefully mapped out in order of the important and urgency of these different projects. As means of communication are a prime mover to drag a country out of its economic stagnation, construction of sufficient trunk lines of railways with highways serving as their feeders should engage our serious attention at present. In Dr. Sun's plan, seven great systems of railways are to traverse the whole of China. As North China is comparatively better served with railways at present than South China, special preference should be given to regions in the latter, specially to those places where even proper means of water transportation are lacking. In this respect, some trunk lines of the Southwestern System, which is to cover Kwangsi, Kweichow, Yunnan, southeastern Szechuen, southweastern Hunan and the western half of Kwangtung, should be constructed to tap the rich mineral resources in these regions and to provide rapid means of transport in place of the present tedious travel requiring weeks to reach these inner provinces. Turning back to the north, the Northwestern System is all important to open up Mongolia and Sinkiang and to release the population pressure in China proper by colonization of these grazing land and irrigable tract. As to the existing railways, the completion of the unfinished section of the Canton-Hankow Line and the extension of the Lunghai Line to Lanchow should merit special attention.

Then the improvement of the present telegraph system and the extensive introduction of long distance telephones and wireless service should contribute much in promoting greater efficiency and stronger unity of the national life. Some of the projects have the great advantage of being immediately very profitable.

General Chiang Kai-shek and his Wife, the former Mei-ling Soong, who is a Sister of Madame Sun Yat-sen

(This picture was taken in Shanghai shortly before their marriage in December last)

Industry and Agriculture

Concerning other parts of Dr. Sun's plan, that which will directly help agriculture and promote industry should form the complement to the communication program and should be as equally urgent. River conservancy and land irrigation to add more acreage to agriculture, better mobilization of coal resources and proper harnessing of water power provide cheap motive power for industry; these are the agencies through which national production will be stimulated and increased. Past studies have shown the Hwaiho regulation and Sikiang regulation to be immensely profitable. Possibilities of the North River, of Kwangtung for hydroelectric development has also been carefully studied and found to be very attractive. Incidentally, increased national production means greater purchasing power, and that in turn means bigger international trade.

Enough have been mentioned to indicate the vast opportunities of profitable investment. To show our readiness to accept foreign capital upon equitable and business-like terms, we can do no better than to refer again to the words of our great leader. He tells us that" the Chinese people will welcome the development our country's resources provided that it can be kept out of Mandarin corruption and ensure the mutual benefit of China and the countries cooperating with us." He further says that "international cooperation of this kind cannot but help to strengthen the Brotherhood of Man." For the realization of the worthy objects of such financing, all necessary safe guards will be granted to the lenders, who should provide us with "organizers, administrators and experts." In other words, we welcome sound business arrangements.

The Need of Information

Looking over the activities of the international capital market in recent years, we find it has been principally absorbed in the herculean task of the reconstruction of post-war Europe. Capital did not merely flow passively to openings already safe and lucrative, but, on account of preponderant interest involved, it actually went to put things to order. Now Europe has fully revived, and in some quarters there is even an alarm against American financial imperialism. But New York and London will keep on busy finding outlets for the immense accumulation of wealth in America and England. Hand in hand with financiers, there are also producers of industrial equipments who constantly seek wider and greater markets. As to the China market, what is mostly needed at present is information. Always more *Information*, better collected and more widely distributed.

Finaliy, let us consider the economic development of China as a world problem. Commenting on the purpose of his book, Dr. Sun tells us that it is his desire "to contribute my (his) humble part in the realization of the world peace—for the good of the world in general and the Chinese people in particular." The mere thought of the size of China and her population will prompt one to the correct appreciation of the question. I have no doubt that far-sighted and well-meant statesmen will actively help in solving it.

Nanking, Oct. 6, 1928.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE CHINA TREATY SITUATION

(*Continued from page 7*)

Britain—Convention Respecting Tibet, dated April 27, 1906.
Netherlands—Treaty of Tientsin, dated October 6, 1863; revision allowed on occasion of revision of treaties between China and other powers.
France—Convention of Peking, dated Oct. 25, 1860.
Japan—Protocol Regarding Japanese Settlement at the Open Ports of China, dated Oct. 19, 1896.
Portugal—Peking Convention, dated Oct. 15, 1902.
Switzerland—Treaty of Amity, dated June 13, 1918.
Powers—International Protocol of Peking, dated Sept. 7, 1901.

Note—The foregoing information was supplied by the Treaty Commission of the Nationalist Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Future of Radio in China

BY CHANG JEN-CHIEH (張 人 傑)

The utilization of short electromagnetic waves below 100 metres marks the opening of a new era in radio engineering. Cheapness in construction and simplicity in operation win their popularity in China during the Nationalist Revolutionary Campaign. Portable sets are found in every important tactical unit while fixed stations have been established in all the leading cities for military communications. The expansion of radio has done much in military operations. The messages between the front and rear which could not be handled otherwise are transmitted with perfect ease. The usefulness of radio telegraphy was made known to all during the famous Battle of Luntang in the autumn of 1927. When the Northerners had crossed the Yangtze River and cut off all the wire connections east of Nanking which was then in a state of extreme danger, the dispatch of troops in the Nationalist Army was entirely carried by means of the Hertzian waves in the air. The outcome was a decisive victory over the anti-revolutional troops and ended the second stage of the Northern Expedition.

Radio's Strong Foothold

The strong foothold of radio in the military field reveals its possibility as a means for ordinary public correspondence. A bill has been passed by the Central Political Council to entrust to the National Council of Reconstruction the task of developing the new art. Following this authorization, an act governing the radio industry has been passed by the Nationalist Government and promulgated by the said council. In this act, the categories of radio stations are clearly defined, and the general regulations to be observed are provided. A bureau is to be organized under the Council for the administration and construction of the radio facilities. The entire territory of the Republic is to be divided into five Radio Inspecting Districts, with Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhwei as the first district, Hopei, Honan, Shansi, Shantung, Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan as the second district, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Fukien, and Kiangsi as the third district, Hupeh, Hunan, Kweichow, Szechuan, Sikiang, Shensi, Kiangsu, Kokonor and Tibet at the fourth district, and Mukden, Kirin, Amur, Sinkiang and Mongolia as the fifth district. The Inspectors' Office will be established in Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton, Hankow and Mukden respectively for these districts. The stations opened for public service are to be owned and operated by the Bureau of Radio Communications, while broadcasting stations may either be owned by the government or by private business organizations. Services of a special character, such as the stations attached to the Army and Navy, may be operated by the respective authorities, but the right of supervision is reserved for the Bureau in order to bring all the stations to a fairly uniform standard. Ships over 500 tons are to be compelled to instal radio sets with a view to safeguard the lives and cargoes abroad. The Bureau is also authorized to allocate frequencies or wavelengths for the various services and the ratification of call letters of the newly installed stations. This paves the way for future expansion and the maintainance of "air order".

According to the provisions of this act, the Bureau of Radio Communications was organized and Mr. Li Van-yih appointed the Director. Mr. Li, the former Chief of the Department of Communications of the Military Council, is well known as the pioneer in radio field in China. Under his direction, the tactical radio in China has attained its present state of development.

The Bureau's Achievement

The first and the most important achievement by the Bureau is the establishment of a radio network for public correspondence. Within less than a period of two months, new short wave stations have been completed in Nanking, Shanghai, Peiping, Tientsin, Hankow, Canton, Taiyuan, Chungking, Yunnanfu, Kweihwa, and Kalgan. These stations are used exclusively to handle public correspondence. The revenue for the first four stations in August amounted to about $20,000. The traffic condition is promising in every respect. The Bureau is planning to erect stations in other important political and commercial centres to meet further demand.

As our country has no independent international communication facilities of her own, the Council is comtemplating to build a high power short wave station in Shanghai for handling the traffic between China and foreign countries. A radio factory will soon be started to supply the vast demand for radio articles, and an operators' training school has been opened in Shanghai. The Council is also ready to lift the ban on imported radio articles on which the tariff rates to be levied have been formulated by the Bureau and submitted to the National Tariff Committee for reference. The old stations will soon be supplied with new equipments for their damped wave sets in order to comply with the provisions of the International Radiotelegraph Convention at Washington, 1927, and the Service Regulations annexed thereto.

The Bureau is also drafting a set of regulations which will be promulgated later by the Council with the approval of the Nationalist Government. The more important ones are enumerated as follows:

1. Regulations governing the Ship Stations.
2. Regulations governing the Amateur and Experimental Stations.
3. Regulations governing the Broadcasting Stations.
4. Regulations governing the Radio Operators' Training Schools.
5. License for the installation of Broadcasting Receivers.
6. Radio Engineers' Certificate.
7. Radio Operators' License,
8. Table of the Allocation of Frequencies.
9. Rules governing the Allocation of Call Letters.

The above summarizes briefly the efforts rendered by the Bureau and the plans to be carried out.

From my point of view, this present state of radio development barely begins its brilliant future in this newly unified country of the East. It will certainly be fruitful both in the point-to-point and in the broadcasting services. The degree of success depends, of course, on the exertion of our efforts as well as on the hearty help and appreciation of the public.

The Nationalist Policy Towards China's National Indebtedness

BY CHEN PING-TSANG (陳炳章)

THE Chinese Government began to borrow heavily since the Second Year of the Republic (1913).[1] At that time, the Government's credit was good and the borrowing was comparatively easy. But when a government resorted to borrowing without at the same time devising a fundamental project to restore itself to its own feet, the borrowing was likely to develop into a habit. With China, in fact, the practice soon became a constant necessity. Since the Fifth Year of the Republic (1916) the Government has found itself unable to meet the deficit in the budget except by contracting loans to effect temporary relief.[2]

Undoubtedly, lack of appropriate division between National and Provincial revenues, lack of tariff autonomy, corruption and wastefulness in national expenditure, lack of proper encouragement of industrial development, as well as the ever-increasing burden of loan obligations itself, have all contributed to the financial stringency of the Government.[3] But it was, above all, the recurring civil wars with the attendent extravagance in military expenditure which necessitated the rapid increase of national indebtedness on the one hand and frustrated all attempts at financial reorganization on the other.[4]

Burden of Loan Obligations

The continuation of the practice of borrowing to meet deficits, during the last ten years or so, has placed the Government in the unenviable position of having to evade the incessant demands of its creditors, who look with equal apprehension on the defaults in payment of its loan obligations. This has involved endless complications in dealing with the compounding of overdue interest. Thus a report of the Financial Readjustment Commission avers that a funding of all the outstanding inadequately secured loans would require for interest alone, at the assumed rate of 7 per cent per anuum, a sum of 42 to 50 million dollars a year.[5]

But it is not the size of National indebtedness that is so alarming to the Government: owing to her large population and rich resources, China's national indebtedness is comparatively small, the amount per capita being only $5 or $6 as compared with Great Britain's £168, the United States' G$160, and France's 68 francs per capita.[6] More important and embarrassing is the fact that the burden of loan obligations coupled with the hypothecation of its principal revenues for loan service has left the Central Government hardly sufficient means to maintain itself. As matters now stand, the Inspector-General of the Maritime Customs, an Englishman, withholds from the Customs, the largest source of revenue, sufficient receipts to meet the interest and sinking funds for foreign loans, and the Chinese Government gets only whatever is left over. Against such surplus, moreover, domestic loans have been constantly issued, with the result that the Customs receipts have all been spent in advance.[7] Again the Government has borrowed against the salt revenue, the next largest revenue, until now two-thirds of its receipts, collected and handled by an inspector-ate with an Englishman at its head, are withheld for interest and sinking funds on secured debts.[1] Likewise, many other revenues of the Government, like the Wine and Tobacco Tax, are heavily hypothecated. Add to this the fact that a good portion of the National revenues is withheld by the Provinces for their own use, one can see that the Government is without any reliable fund which it may freely use for its own maintenance.

Peking's Unsuccessful Attempts to Readjust China's Loans

The first concrete project to readjust China's loan obligations was formed in the 10th Year of the Republic (1921) when the former Peking Government was urged to take action by the imperative necessity of readjusting its domestic loans, which had been raised excessively as a result of the foreign markets being inaccessible. In March, 1921, a Presidential Mandate was issued approving the proposals of the Ministry of Finance for the readjustment of China's Domestic Loans other than the 3rd, 4th and 7th Year Short Term Bond Issue Loans.[2] Accordingly, $24,000,000 was defrayed out of the surplus of the Maritime and Native Customs revenues and the Salt revenue, in addition to the Wine and Tobacco revenues and railway surplus from April of the same year. Subsequently, however, different Governmental Domestic Short Term Loans were raised and the loan service system was further disorganized.[3]

In December, 1922, a joint memorandum was presented to the Peking Government by the Japanese, British, American and French Ministers regarding the readjustment of Foreign loan repayments which were in arrears. On receipt of the memorandum, the Peking Government asked the Financial Committee and the Financial Debating Commission to draft a readjustment plan but did not receive any concrete reply from them.[4]

In August, 1923, these commissions were abolished, and the Financial Readjustment Commission was appointed with a view to radically readjusting Chinese finances Since its establishment the Commission has published several reports on official inquiries into Chinese finances with recommendations for their readjustment. With regard to China's loan obligations, however, the Commission did not make any tangible proposal, but remarked "It is hoped that the sympathetic cooperation of all the foreign and domestic creditors may be secured to work out a practical scheme of consolidation, either by converting the short term loans into long term loans, or by substituting lower rates of interest for the higher."[5] At any rate, the financial scheme of the Peking Government made little progress, and during the last two years when the Peking Government became disorganized, the Consolidated Loan Service as well as other loan service, was further interrupted.[6] There the matter of readjusting China's loans rested until the Nationalist Government supplanted the Peking Government a few months ago.

Two pertinent questions naturally arise now: (1) What are the loan obligations devolving on the Nationalist Government as successor to the defunct Peking Regime? (2) What is the Nationalist Policy toward these loan obligations?

1. Chia Shih-i: The Financial History of the Chinese Republic, Vol. II, p. 125 ff. (in Chinese.)
2. Report of Financial Readjustment Commission, China Year Book, 1925, p. 709.
3. Ibid pp. 709-710; "Financial Reform in China", Chinese Social and Political Science Review, April, 1928, pp. 261-272.
4. "Resolutions regarding National Expenditure", Report of National Economic Conference, June, 1928, p. 171 (in Chinese); P. T. Chen, "Past and Future of Nationalist Finance", The China Critic, Vol. I, No. 12, August 16, 1928, p. 228.
5. China Year Book, 1925, p. 709.
6. "Resolutions regarding National Indebtedness", Report of National Economic Conference, p. 144.
7. Chinese Bankers' Weekly, Vol III, No. 1

1. "Financial Reform in China," Op cit.
2. China Year Book, 1923, p. 752.
3. See below.
4. "Truth About Chinese Finance," Japan Magazine, May 1926, p. 226
5. China Year Book, 1925, p. 711.
6. See below.

I. Present Position of China's Indebtedness.

In discussing the present position of China's indebtedness, one encounters the difficulty of obtaining full, accurate and up-to-date data. A detailed study cannot be made in this brief review.

Report of Peking Financial Readjustment Commission

According to the statistics collected by the Peking Financial Readjustment Commission and published in April 1925, the outstanding indebtedness of China amounts to over $1,634,400,000, of which about $1,029,200,000 is adequately secured, and approximately $605,200,000 inadequately secured, domestic and foreign loan obligations and short term advances from banks. These figures do not include the loans of the Ministry of Communications. Of these the Ministry has found itself unable to meet $187,000,000 while it has no means of consolidating them. [1]

Report of National Economic Conference.

On the other hand, the Committee on National Indebtedness in its report to the National Economic Conference (based on the latest reports of the Peking Ministries of Finance and Communications) places the outstanding indebtedness of the Ministry of Finance at approximately $1,615,000,000, of which over $1,077,000,000 is secured, and $538,000,000 inadequately secured, foreign and domestic debts. The foreign and domestic indebtedness contracted by the Ministry of Communications, on the other hand, is estimated at about $597,000,000. The two Ministries thus bear a total indebtedness of over $2,210,000,000. These figures, however, represent the position of indebtedness between the 13th and 14th Year of the Republic (1924-25) and do not include the indebtedness of the Provinces. [2]

The exact position of the inadequately secured foreign loans has given rise to much international controversy. For instance, according to the revised returns of the indebtedness of the Peking Ministry of Finance published by the Financial Readjustment Commission in July, 1927, the total amount of such loans calculated to the end of 1925 is $407,156,308.63. On the other hand, at the corresponding rates of exchange, the sum total of the lists presented by the foreign delegations to the Peking Tariff Conference (1926) is $564,676,951.43. [1] The difference of $157,520,642.80 is due probably not only to dissimilar rates of exchange but principally to the inclusion in the lists of the foreign delegation of loans contracted by the Provincial Governments and obligations to commercial firms; namely, obligations for which the Central Government, in the opinion of the Commission, cannot be held responsible.

The above calculations are referred to not as showing the exact position of China's indebtedness but rather as indicating the lack of authoritative statement regarding the same. Aside from such controversies as to whether loans contracted by the Provinces and obligations to commercial firms should be charged to the Central Government and such differences as to the exact terms of the unsecured or inadequately secured loans, there are yet unsolved questions regarding loans that are of somewhat obscure origin and those that are regarded by the Chinese people as infringing on China's sovereign rights. Indeed, when the exact amount of China's indebtedness is determined by the Government and its creditors, a great obstacle would have been overcome in the task of readjustment.

Outstanding Internal Loan Obligations.

In view of the large reliance which the Central Government has placed on internal loans in recent years, a brief review of the outstanding obligations of these loans will be of particular interest. Here fairly accurate data are available. Two elaborate lists of Chinese Domestic Loans as of January 1st and April 1, 1927, respectively, have been compiled by E. Kann and the Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Research [2] In the following list [3] we shall endeavor to bring the data down to January 1, 1928, as indicating roughly the obligations devolving on the Nationalist Government as successor to the defunct Peking Government.

1. China Year Book, 1925, p. 709: "Tale of China's Squandering," North China Daily News, April 1, 1925.
2. Report of National Economic Conference, op. cit. p. 144-5.

1. China Year Book, 1928, p. 560.
2. China Year Book, 1928, pp. 620a, 622a.
3. Cf. Chinese Banker's Weekly: "Payment of Internal Loans during the 16th Year of the Republic", Vol. XI, No. 50; "Principal and Interest Payments Falling Due in the 17th Year of the Republic on Internal Loans," Vol. XII, No. 4; "Receipts and Disbursements under the Consolidated Loan Service during the 16th Year of the Republic," Vol. XII, No. 6.

List of Chinese Domestic Loan Bonds Issued by the Peking Government, Outstanding on January 1, 1928.

Name of Bond	Date of Issue	Issue Price	Rate of Interest	Amount Authorized	Amount Issued	Amount Outstanding Jan. 1, '27	Amount of Payments Falling Due Jan. 1—Dec. 31, 1928		Date of Payment	
							Principal	Interest	Principal	Interest
5th Year Nat'l Loan*	11/3/16	95	6%	$20,000,000	$20,000,000	$ 6,377,582	$ 6,377,582	$ 281,364	31/3, 30/9 (1926-28)	31/3 31/3
7th Year Long Term Nat'l Loan†	27/4/18	100	6%	45,000,000	45,000,000	45,000,000		2,700,000	30/6 31/12 (1928-37)	31/6 31/12
Consolidated 6% Nat'l Loan†	3/3/21	100	6%	54,392,228	54,392,228	39,162,404	6,527,067	1,958,120	1/12 (1921-30)	1/6 1/12
Consolidated 7% Nat'l Loan†	3/3/21	100	7%	13,600,000	13,600,000	9,792,000	1,632,000	571,200	31/8 (1921/30)	28/2 31/8
Currency Reorganization Loan†	19/9/20	100	6%	60,000,000	60,000,000	10,788,200	10,788,200		31/3 30/9 (1921-26)	31/3 30/9
10th Year 96 Million National Loan×	11/2/22	84 up	8%	96,000,000	$56,391,300 Y39,608,700	$56,391,300 Y35,251,800			31/1 31/7 (1923-29)	31/1 31/1
14th Year Nat'l Loan§	16/3/25	88	8%	15,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	2,100,000	1,200,000	31/3 30/9 (1928-34)	31/3 30/9
Consolidated 6% Nat'l Loan, 2nd Series‡	2/6/21	100	6%	25,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000			1/1 (1931-35)	1/1 1/7
Consolidated 7% Nat'l Loan, 2nd Series‡	2/6/21	100	7%	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000			31/9 (1931-35)	31/3 30/9

Security

*Redemption: Deferred Russian Indemnity. Interest: Cancelled German Indemnity
†Consolidated National Loans Sinking Fund
×Salt Surplus
§Cancelled German Indemnity
‡Unsecured

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CHINA'S TREATY QUESTION

(*Continued from page 8*)

must give first consideration to the question of tariff autonomy.

The Right to Sovereignty

The right to exist as a sovereign political unity is the most comprehensive right of a state. The right of jurisdiction within its own territory is an indispensable corollary. This fundamental right of jurisdiction precludes the idea that any person residing within the limits of the territory of a sovereign and independent state may be exempted from the application of its laws. Yet such a situation exists in China under a system known as extraterritoriality.

The history of extraterritoriality in China also dates back to the middle of the last century. When this privilege was granted, there were only five treaty ports, that is, places where foreigners could reside and trade. Now there are about fifty treaty ports and as many other cities opened to foreign trade on China's own initiative. This means an increasing number of persons within Chinese territory over whom she has practically no authority.

The evils of this system have been realized long ago, and in 1902 Great Britain gave its consent to abolish her extraterritorial rights upon the successful judicial reform to be undertaken by China. Subsequently, the United States and Japan in 1903, and Sweden in 1908 also agreed to relinquish them under the same conditions. After the World War, Germany, Austria and Hungary lost their extraterritorial rights in China. Russia voluntarily relinquished her extraterritorial rights and recognized China's right to tariff autonomy in 1924. At the Washington Conference, China once more submitted her plan for a progressive modification and ultimate abolition of the abused system: and in pursuance of a decision of the Conference, the International Commission on Extraterritoriality in China met in Peking in January, 1926.

This Commission made certain recommendations and thought that their compliance would warrant the Powers to relinquish their rights of extraterritoriality. The main objection to the immediate abolition of the system seemed to be based upon a doubt regarding the ability of the Chinese courts to administer justice.

Courts Are Adequate

In this they are wrong. Germans and others, since the abolition of this special treaty privileges do not appear to have suffered in consequence. When Turkey compelled the Western Powers to give up the old treaties which secured similar privileges for foreign residents in that country, the same predictions of disaster were made. They were made with quite as much reason, but have been falsified. It is specially interesting to note that the Powers have given up their extraterritorial rights in Persia in conformity with an agreement on May 10 this year.

The system of extraterritoriality necessitates a multiplicity of courts and laws enforcible in one and the same locality, giving rise to a legal situation most perplexing even to those trained in law. The uncertainty of the law to be applied in case of divergence of opinion over the terms of contracts entered into by parties of two or more nationalities works untold disadvantage to the commercial activities of all concerned. The scarcity of foreign consular courts requires cases to be brought to and tried in the chief treaty ports, where it is impossible to obtain the attendance of all the necessary witnesses or to produce all the necessary evidence. The derogation of China's sovereignty, the abuses to which the system is opened to, and the injustice and hardships which foreigners and Chinese alike suffer as a consequence of this extraordinary mode of legal procedure all point out that an end must be put to this system of extraterritoriality, when China's treaty relations come up for readjustment.

In conclusion, let it be said again that the aspirations of the Chinese people require an immediate and total abolition of unilateral obligations. China's present international relations are anomalous. With certain states, she is an equal: with others, she is not. It is true that some of the Powers enjoying unilateral privileges have taken steps to show their willingness to comply with China's wishes. In the end, no doubt all others will follow suit.

Termination and Revision of China's "Unequal" Treaties

BY R. T. HUANG, J. D.

On July 7th, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government of China made the following declaration:

"All treaties whose term has expired will be declared null and void and new treaties are to be concluded in their place with the foreign Powers concerned. As regards those treaties whose term has not yet expired, the Nationalist Government will propose their immediate revision in accordance with proper diplomatic procedure."

Following this declaration, diplomatic notes were delivered to Ministers of Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, Spain, Portugal and the United States notifying them and their respective governments of the intention of the Nationalist Government to terminate or revise all the existing treaties of commerce and to conclude new ones.

As indicated in these diplomatic notes, these treaties under consideration are all treaties of commerce. Evidently the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has decided to confine its present program of termination or revision to treaties of this nature; and both from the standpoint of expediency and degrees of importance it is only logical that the Ministry so does at the present time.

Two Theories of Revision or Termination

The declaration of July 7th divides these treaties into two classes according to its theory of revision or termination. The first class consists of those treaties whose term has expired. They are declared to have no more binding effect. In their place, a set of interim regulations in the form of modus vivendi have been promulgated to govern the relations between China and the Powers whose treaties are terminated by the declaration of July 7th. These regulations read as follows:

> "Article I. The words "foreign countries" and "foreigners" used in the following articles refer specifically to those foreign countries and the nationals of those foreign countries whose treaties with China have expired, but have not yet been replaced by new treaties.
>
> Article II. The diplomatic officials and consuls of foreign countries resident in China shall receive the treatment accorded to such officials and consuls by the principles of international law.

Article III. The persons and property of foreigners in China shall receive protection according to Chinese law.

Article IV. Foreigners in China shall be amenable to Chinese law and subject to the jurisdiction of Chinese law.

Article V. All the goods imported into China from foreign countries or by foreigners as well as all the goods exported from China to foreign countries shall, before the Chinese national tariff comes into operation, be subject to the customs tariff now in force.

Article VI. Foreigners in China shall, in accordance with the regulations now in force, pay all the taxes which should be paid by Chinese.

Article VII. All matters not provided for in the foregoing articles shall be dealt with in accordance with international law and Chinese law."

The second class consists of those treaties whose term has not yet expired and their immediate revision will be proposed in accordance with proper diplomatic procedure.

In terminating the treaties of the first class, two theories are followed. Some of them have expired by reason of their own termination clauses. Others are declared to have expired on ground of *Rebus Sic Stantibus* although by their revision clauses they may yet have remained in force. In terminating treaties on the basis of their termination clauses, the problem is a technical one, namely, that of following or interpreting these clauses. In interpreting these termination clauses, one is at once confronted with the question whether these clauses limit the scope of revision to tariff or commercial articles alone or they may be extended to include all the articles contained in them. Termination clauses in which words are to the apparent effect that only the commercial and tariff articles are to be affected are contained in treaties with Denmark (1863), France, Great Britain (1902), Italy (1866), Japan (1896), Netherlands (1863), Norway (1847), Portugal (1887), Spain (1864), and the U.S.A. (1903). It is a cardinal rule of interpretation of treaties in international law that liberal construction be adopted and that consideration must be taken of all parts of the treaty. The commercial and tariff articles being the essential parts of these treaties, the revision of these articles cannot leave the other parts intact; otherwise the remaining parts would be incomplete and short of the purpose for which they were originally made. Moreover, from the texts of the treaties themselves, it may be reasonably inferred that the intention of the parties to these treaties was not merely to revise the tariff and commercial articles but also other parts that have close and necessary relationship to the tariff and commercial articles. In other words, these clauses amount to termination and not merely revision clauses.

The Sino-Japanese Treaty Most Peculiar

In interpreting the revision clauses, another question is not free from difficulty. Some of these termination clauses contain the expression that termination may be effected at the end of each decennial period upon notice within six months *before* the end of the period; others upon notice within six months *after* the end of the decennial period. Of this last category, the Japanese treaty stands out as the most peculiar; and in the language of the *Weekly Review* the revision clause contained therein is a "tricky" one. That clause reads as follows :

"It is agreed that either of the high contracting parties may demand a revision of the tariffs and of the commercial articles of this treaty at the end of 10 years from the date of the exchange of ratifications, but if no such demand be made on either side and no such revision be effected within six months after the end of the first ten years, then the treaty and tariffs in their present form shall remain in force for 10 years more, reckoned from the end of the preceding ten years, and so it shall be at the end of each successive period of ten years." (Article XXVI, Treaty of 1896.)

Japanese Interpretation Not Logical

The contention of the Japanese Government as contained in a note published on August 7, is that "the treaty can neither be abrogated nor terminated without special mutual consent and agreement between the two parties.....that if the negotiations for revision are not completed in 6 months the treaty and the tariffs shall remain in force a further 10 years;" and that "this admits of no doubt, that the treaty and the tariffs shall remain in force.

Whether the argument put forth by the Japanese Government against termination is tenable or not may be best explained in the light of past facts and circumstances.

Students of Sino-Japanese relations must have taken notice of the fact that the Peking Government had notified the Japanese Government at the last expiration date of the treaty, October 26, 1926, of its intention to revise the treaty; and Japan agreed to it. Immediately both countries appointed delegates to draft a new treaty to take advantage of the 6 months' period provided by the revision clause of the treaty. The delegates representing the two governments met frequently during the period. Because of the inability of both parties to agree upon the terms of the new treaty, the Japanese delegates requested and the Chinese Government granted an extension of three months and then another extension of a similar period and so on. Altogether 5 successive extensions of 3 months were agreed upon. The last extension was up on July 20 of this year. On July 19, Dr. C. T. Wang, new Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government notified the Japanese that there could be no further extension of the negotiations and that the time had arrived for re-drafting a new treaty.

Sino-Japanese Treaty Expired

From the facts stated above it is clear that when the two countries manifested their common intention to conclude a new treaty to supersede the old one, they have impliedly agreed to terminate the old one. Moreover, by waiving the limitation of six months' period for revision, as provided by Article XXVI, they have also waived the condition contained in the article XXVI, namely, unless the new treaty is made the old one should remain in force. The logical result of this reasoning is that having by common consent terminated the Treaty of 1896, all they have to do now is to agree upon the substance of a new treaty. For the Japanese Government to bring out Article XXVI again as their alibi for resisting termination of the old treaty is to mislead the public, and to ignore reason and common sense.

Doctrine of Rebus Sic Stantibus

Another theory, by which the termination of these treaties can be effected is the well-known doctrine of Rebus Sic Stantibus. The Doctrine may be explained like this, that treaties are made with implied conditions that when circumstances in which or with reference to which they are made have so radically altered that they become incompatible with the independence, welfare and development of a party state, that party state may request the opposite state or states for revision or termination; and if the request is denied, the first party may declare the treaty null and void. This doctrine is as

old as International Law itself, and was early recognized by Grotius in his book entitled, "De Jure Belli et Pacis" (1625) and has been consistently upheld by writers on International Law. In practice, it has also been upheld. Some recent cases may be cited here. In 1870, Russia declared null and void her obligation under the Treaty of 1870 on the ground of *Rebus Sic Stantibus*. She had been obliged to observe restriction in respect to keeping armed vessels in the Black Sea; but in declaring the treaty null and void as to herself, she pointed out that a material change in the conditions contemplated by the treaty had been brought about by the subsequent union of the Danubian Principalities, acquiesced in by the Great Powers as well as changes in the conditions of naval warfare incident to the use of ironclad vessels. Russia was allowed to have her way. (Vide Holland, "European Concert in the Eastern Question".) In 1908, Austria-Hungary by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovinia refused to be bound by the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, which bound Austria-Hungary to respect the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan. The obvious ground of Austria-Hungary's action was based on change of conditions in Turkey, which in turn would affect Austria-Hungary's position in Bosnia and Herzegovinia. At the same time Bulgaria refused to be bound by the same treaty for similar reason. In 1914, Germany refused to be bound by the Treaty of 1839, neutralising Belgium, on the ground of change of physical and military circumstances in Belgium. In 1915, Greece refused to be bound by the Treaty of 1913 with Serbia, whereby Greece would be obliged to aid Bulgaria in resisting attack upon Bulgaria. (For other cases, Vide Garner's article entitled, "Rebus sic Stantibus" in the American Journal of International Law, April, 1927.)

Normally, one party to a treaty cannot abrogate it unilaterally without the consent of the opposite party or parties. A treaty in this respect is like an ordinary contract. If it has not expired, it cannot be unilaterally rescinded without cause. It would be only a breach of the treaty. International relations would be thereby jeopardised. But just as contracts have implied conditions subsequent, the happening of which would *ipso facto* vitiate the contract, so treaties have implied conditions upon which a claim for termination of the treaty may be based.

Doctrine of Rebus Sic Stantibus Applied

In applying the Doctrine of *Rebus Sic Stantibus* as basis for revision of China's time-worn commercial treaties, Dr. C. T. Wang, for instance, in his note to the Italian Minister correctly said:

> "It has been more than 60 years since the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation was concluded at Peking between the Plenipotentiaries of China and Italy on October 26, 1866 (the 18th day of the 9th moon of the 5th year of Tung Chi). During that long period of time, conditions in both countries, political, economic, as well as commercial, have either undergone fundamental changes, or entirely ceased to exist. It may be noted that the stipulations contained in the Treaty of 1866 have by their very nature close relationship to the circumstances prevailing at the time of its conclusion. Now that such circumstances have altered, it is clear that in the common interest of China and Italy the said treaty shall not be allowed to continue in existence."

It is a well-known fact that the existing commercial treaties of China were made at or with reference to a time, during which her international relations were abnormally limited in scope; her social, political and economic developments were yet unstarted; her foreign commerce was negligible and the number of alien residents within its jurisdiction was small. Purely as a sort of *modus operandi*, the terms of tariff and extraterritoriality were agreed to by herself. But, students of social, political and economic conditions of China have witnessed fundamental changes within the last twenty years. Her international relations were extended; her foreign commerce increased by hundredfold; the number of alien residents within her jurisdiction was greatly multiplied; and her social, political and economic developments can be witnessed on every hand. These changes, vital and fundamental, have made these existing commercial treaties not only time-worn, out-of-date, but also onerous, unjust and injurious to her development as a free nation. These changes are the circumstances within the scope of the Doctrine of *Rebus Sic Stantibus* on which China's claim for revision of these commercial treaties is based. It is up to the Powers to consent to this claim. Otherwise, by the same Doctrine China is justified in declaring them null and void.

The fact that there is a revision clause in a treaty providing for periodical revision not only does not obstruct the application of the Doctrine of *Rebus Sic Stantibus* but also evidences the intention of the parties to give effect to the doctrine. So Dr. Wang continued,

> "The necessity for a readjustment of the treaty relations between our two countries is all the clearer, when it is remembered that periodical revision of the Treaty of 1866 is expressly provided for in the 26th article thereof."

Termination by Diplomatic Procedure

The second class consists of those treaties whose term has not yet expired. Although they may also be declared null and void according to the Doctrine of Rebus Sic Stantibus, the Nationalist Government may propose their immediate revision, as they did to the United States and Great Britain, in accordance with proper diplomatic procedure.

All treaties are made by mutual consent; so they can also be rescinded in similar manner without any other cause. It may be that by proper diplomatic procedure the Nationalist Government may secure the consent of the various Powers with which we have made treaties to their termination. It may be that there are some Powers wise enough to see that greater commercial advantages can be secured without these unequal treaties. It may also be that there are some Powers so friendly and sympathetically disposed toward China's cause that they voluntarily release China from the obligations of these unequal treaties. As early as September 4, 1925: F. B. Kellogg, the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States, said, "The United States is now ready to consider the Chinese Government's proposal for the modification of the existing treaties." Substantially the same statement was made by him before the annual meeting of the American Bar Association at Detriot on January 27, 1927. So the U.S. Government through Minister MacMurray voluntarily agreed to revise the old treaty recognizing tariff autonomy of China. The British Government has been reported to follow the footsteps of the United States and to do likewise. Such revision can be accomplished by friendly diplomatic procedure without resorting to any technical doctrine or process of law.

Revision Procedure Neither Hasty Nor Radical

The program for the revision of treaties as announced by Dr. C. T. Wang, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government, cannot be considered, as has been by some, radical, abrupt or sudden, especially viewed in the light of international cooperation since Versailles, Geneva and Locarno. The drafters of the Covenant of the League of Nations,

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The Meaning of Chinese Nationalism

BY. T. W. HU.

NATIONALISM, in ordinary cases, is but a feeling, and in China that feeling has produced most vital movements during at least the last three hundred years of her history. For nationalism with the Chinese, contrary to popular notion, is no novelty. It came down to us directly from philosophers like Wang Chuan-Shan and Hwang Li-Chow in the early seventeenth century. It was in the early seventeenth century, it will be recalled, that China was conquered by the Manchu freebooters from the North. Being unable to reconcile themselves to an alien and uncivilized rule, these philosophers, Wang, Hwang, and many others, started a strenuous seditious movement against their Manchu conquerors almost as soon as they were conquered. And some of them even went to Japan to solicit for military aid, but were destined never to come back again. For, this movement was doomed to immediate failure largely on account of the Chinese being not a military people. But the important thing for us to notice is that the failure of the movement did not mean the death of its spirit. On the contrary, the spirit of the movement, namely the nationalistic spirit, was definitely preserved, perpetuated, and propagated by means of secret societies, instituted by the philosophical revolutionaries themselves. These secret societies, among which I might mention the "Glorious Gate Society" as the most typical and most notable example, were destined to honeycomb the whole of the Empire and later to overflow the national boundary into foreign countries, especially Japan and the United States.

The "Secret Society" Method

This "secret society" method of propagating nationalism produced two very important effects on the political affairs of China whichc annot be overlooked if we are really to understand the future developments in that country. The first of these is that the nationalistic sentiment which began with a few sensitive intellectuals soon became the common property of the masses. The peasants, the laborers, and those usually branded as outcasts and "good-for-nothing" all became enrolled in the various secret societies working for the one aim of overturning the reigning dynasty. The second effect is, however, not so favorable from the standpoint of Chinese nationalism, because men of the intelligentsia soon began to turn away from the secret societies on account of the low calibre of their membership. Men like Tso Chung-tang and Tseng Kuo-Fang rendered signal services to the Manchu dynasty not so much, perhaps, because they were loyal at heart to their alien rulers, as because they were disgusted with the hopeless secret societies wherein they could not even find a single man educated enough to discuss with them the Confucian philosophy, or to don the robe of a "Budding Genius", the lowest of academic degrees in classical China. So, speaking generally, we might say that during the 17th and 18th centuries there was seething beneath the easily observable surface of the Chinese society a strong nationalist sentiment which had gradually percolated the lower strata of the population and which was craving for some way of expression almost all the time, until, with the advent of the 19th century, it was bound to lay dormant by a combination of circumstances, among which the unlettered membership of the secret societies, the age-long bulwark of Chinese nationalism, was by no means the least important.

Thus matters stood until the nationalism of the Chinese received a fresh impetus from a hitherto somewhat unknown quarter. The period from 1840 to about 1900 constitutes beyond doubt the most epoch-making period in Chinese history. In a little over sixty years China had had a little military argument with each of the important military powers and in practically every case she had had to take the share of the vanquished. Her littoral cities and strategic ports were taken away from her; her finances were put under foreign control; her mines and other treasures were leased out; her economic resources were drained away to fatten the pockets of those whom she as yet knew nothing about; and, worst of all, her jurisdictional control within the Empire was being fast destroyed by the introduction of the extra-territorial arrangement, thanks to our traditional friend, the United States of America. The effect of this Western Impact upon Chinese nationalism is very much like that of the Napoleonic regime upon the nationalism of European countries: in the one case as in the other, nationalism resulted not from conducive encouragement but from disparaging suppression. The moment the Powers began to talk about the partitioning of the Chinese Empire, that moment we saw the revival of the nationalist spirit among the Chinese people.

Militarism Developed

But before I turn my attention and that of my readers to the concrete manifestations of Chinese nationalism, let me say a word about another historical phenomenon of great importance in view of its bearing upon the present Nationalist Movement. This is the phenomenon of militarism. Today China, or the major part of it, is carved out into a number of areas, each ruled by a war-lord with hired armies and amidst peoples whom they know none too well. To many, the existence of such a militaristic rule is a living refutation to the age-long assertion that the Chinese are a traditionally non-military and peace-loving people; but they entirely overlook the fact that this militarism is a purely exotic institution. It was directly imported from foreign countries, chiefly Germany, Great Britain, and Japan. Toward the close of the 19th century, circumstances had forced upon the Chinese the conviction that it was cheaper after all to arm themselves than to trust in the honor and honesty of the foreign powers. So our Manchu rulers began to put up what they euphemistically called the "model army", recruited from men of no enviable reputation, drilled by Japanese drill-masters equipped with Krupp guns, and supplied with British cannons. With the belief in "military preparedness" deeply entrenched in the minds of our officials, the seeds of this new militarism soon found a rather fertile soil to develop themselves in the China of the closing 19th century. And under the patronage of such men as Li Hung-chang and Yuan Shih-kai the old scholarly type of officials was fast giving place to the militaristic upstarts in high positions throughout the length and breadth of the country and especially in North China.

Thus it came about that when the new century opened itself there was already created in the Chinese Empire a sort of triangular situation, a situation represented on each side of the triangle by nation-

alism, militarism, and imperialism respectively. It was under these circumstances that the early "Rights Recovery Movement" took place around the year 1906; and, as a result, certain trade agreements with various foreign nationals notably the Chino-Belgian contract for the building of a railway from Canton to Hankow, were abolished; and the building rights became lodged in the local and provincial gentry, who were by their inherent nature deadly opposed to the foreign imperialists on the one hand and to their own militaristic governors both in Peiping and in the provinces on the other.

However, it remained for the Revolution of 1911 to bring into sharper relief against each other the three contending forces already in existence. That revolution was most noteworthy not only because it was the first successful nationalist movement in three hundred years of Chinese history but because it removed from the political arena of the day an alien dynasty which had hitherto remained to the hopeless complication of the real issues. Henceforth, the fight in China has become clearly invested with a two-fold aspect: internally it is a fight between nationalism and militarism, and externally it is a fight between nationalism and imperialism. And with the increasing ascendancy of each of the three forces this fight has been much intensified since the Revolution just alluded to.

Genealogically, the Nationalist Movement of contemporary years is just a part and parcel of that which has been on since 1911. But there is one unique feature which sets it apart from all other similar movements that one may be able to find in the political annals of the Chinese people, and that is, the combination of the internal and the external fight in one. Formerly, the fight against imperialism had been left to be undertaken by unofficial bodies, like the gentry, the students, and the associated enterprises of various kinds, and the like. It was not until 1924 that the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party, announced their determination in a programme of twenty-one articles to fight the two arch-enemies of Chinese nationalism all at once, namely, militarism and imperialism.

China's Moral Faith

The reason for such a determination is obvious. There are palpable facts which have irresistibly driven us to the belief that throughout all these long years militarism and imperialism must have been working hand in hand and that striking at one of them in isolation would bring us nothing but dismal failure. Japan's support of Chang Tso-ling, Great Britain's support of Wu Pei-fu and later on of Sun Chuan-fang, the Powers' support of the Tuchun system as a whole, and their continued recognition of the Peiping militarist government are among the most notorious of instances which have pointed us to such a conclusion. The militarists, bolstered up with gold and gunpowder by the foreign imperialists, have sapped the blood of the people, gnawed away the vitals of the nation, and demoralized and corrupted the collective personality of the whole race. The Chinese people have from time immemorial believed that "for war you must have a cause that can be named." It is that sort of moral faith—faith in the ultimate triumph of right and conviction in the justice of their cause—that has carried the day so far for the Nationalists.

Starting from the tropical city of Canton in the summer of 1926, the Nationalist armies swept over half of China and reached the Yangtse valley within three months. For a time the world was stunned by this unprecedented success and many went on wild suppositions in order to explain it. But the truth of the matter is that militarism, being inherently incongruous with the Chinese spirit, has never taken root in the Chinese soil and that a spiritless rotten mummy can not but go to ashes before the on-rushing force of a moral power.

In the spring of 1926, that is, within ten months after their start from their southernmost base, the Nationalists had made the whole of the Yangtse and south of it a solid Nationalist bloc: it was a record-breaking achievement since the Revolution of 1911. But, alas! every rose has its thorn, and the road to Peiping was by no means so over-strewn with roses. While the Nationalists were preparing to continue their northward drive for the unification of China under one Nationalist government, two most unfortunate incidents happened: one was the split within the rank and file of the Kuomintang itself over the question of communism. The effect of this incident upon the present situation has been grossly exaggerated by our foreign critics. In truth, it amounts to nothing more than an internal question of the Kuomintang as to what should constitute the qualifications or disqualifications for membership in that party. This question and the way it is handled are, of course, bound to produce most serious consequences in the future, but just at present they are not as yet very keenly felt. The real cause responsible for the present stagnation of the Nationalist drive has to be sought in quite another direction. Apparently, the great success achieved by the Nationalist armies in the summer and fall of 1926 has again aroused the fears and suspicions of certain imperialistic powers. Therefore, when Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers were overrunning the northern half of China on their way to Peking, they were judiciously blocked in Shantung by our aggressive little neighbor, who had transfered 2,000 bluecoats from Manchuria and stationed them in certain strategic points in that province in order of course, merely "to protect the lives and property of her own citizens." In this, be it noted, she was just playing an old game, a game which she had played in 1925 with great results for herself.

Japan's Interference

The result of the game she played last summer was probably equally satisfactory to herself and certainly more disastrous to China. For, ever since that time the Nationalists have had to remain content with the control over only half of China, that is, along the south of the Yangtse. Hence the universal verdict that the Nationalist Movement has failed. The Nationalist Movement has failed because the Nationalist armies failed to reach Peiping as quickly as they reached the Yangtse. But we must remember that the Nationalists are still in control of the more important part of the country and are doing their best to heal their own recent breach and thereby consolidate their position in that area. We must be slow to pronounce anything a failure before it has really failed.

Moreover, speaking from the point of view of nationalist sentiment, we may say that the Nationalist control has already been extended over the whole of China. The only stumbling blocks are the militarists who are playing the catspaw for certain imperialistic powers, the dogs-in-the-manger.

If Chinese nationalism fails, it means the bankruptcy of the moral force among mankind; it means that sheer might, brutality, avarice, corruption and everything that immorality signifies should reign supreme; it means a day, to use a Chinese classical expression, "when men shall lead beasts to eat men and then shall eat each other." The signi-

ficance of the Chinese struggle is far more than political, far more than economical, far more than social, and far more than even all these combined. The real significance lies in the fact that it is a moral struggle: it represents a force that ought to be held dear to all our hearts—that ought to dominate the destinies of the whole of mankind, not to speak of China. Internally, nationalism means democracy. Externally, it means independence. Both internally and externally, it means humanitarianism; it means all what Jesus meant when he said, "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and Render unto God what is God's."

A recent American author, writing on ancient Chinese political thought, says: "Man acting as is his right as a 'political animal' has responded to a given stimulus in much the same way in the East as he has in the West." For this point of view the doctrine of nationalism would seem to furnish a good illustration. In point of fact, China emerged as a nation as early as 221 B. C. from the old imperialistic State of some twenty centuries' standing. From the Chin dynasty to the close of the Manchu dynasty—a period of another twenty centuries—the first premise of nationalism had gradually become firmly established largely through the writings, *ex cathedra*, of the prosperous non-Confucianists, to the effect that there must be ultimately unconditional allegiance due to a single political sovereign of a national as contradistinguished from universal character.

The Philosophies of the Past

Early in the seventeenth century, Chinese thought was dominated by a group of brilliant thinkers such as Wang Yang-ming, Wong Chuan-shan, and Hwang Li-chow, to whom an allusion has been made in this article. These philosophers occupy exactly the same position in the history of Chinese political thought as Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Beccario in that of Western political ideas. Hwang's Essays on Kingship and on Law especially reminds one in a most vivid way of the works of Althusius and of Rousseau. In his writings is clearly discernible the second premise of nationalism, to wit, that the political sovereign capable of receiving the ultimately passive allegiance from the citizenry at large must be the corporate institution of the nation itself rather than the personal authority at the head of it.

As we have seen, fate had Hwang and his comrades pitilessly banished from the world of political activity before his theories had any chance of going beyond the circle of the bare handful of his followers, far less of being translated into the institutional life of the Chinese Empire. Consequently, the second premise of nationalism did not become really established in China until the year of grace of 1911, and then not by any lineal descendant of the Hwang school of thinkers but by our famous Dr. Sun Yat-sen who had got the idea directly from Europe and America in the years, as he himself pointed out, following his kidnapping in London in 1896. And since then the idea of national as opposed to personal sovereignty has taken such deep root in China that even the notorious Chang Tso ling, who often confounded imperial lust with imperial trust, did not dare to proclaim himself emperor in name, although he amused himself the best he could as such in fact.

To the proper doctrine of nationalism, the German premise which I discussed in a former article would seem to be a superfluous and useless appendage. And yet it is precisely the German premise that one refers to when he speaks of nationalism in the Occident. If this Teutonic hallucination is taken to mean nationalism itself, then it needs to be pointed out at the outset that the Chinese conception of nationalism is radically different from its Western prototype. As a matter of fact, the Kuomintang is dubbed the "Nationalist Party," and its revolution, the "Nationalist Movement," only by foreign observers whose understanding of the situation is rarely, if ever, more than partial. In a time when the fundamental question of world peace is hinged around the problem of China, it is utterly imperative that the world should get a clear and correct understanding of what the Chinese are arriving at.

Not a Partisan Issue

If what I have said and what I am going to say has stamped or will stamp upon me an indubitably partisan character, then let me say before I proceed any further that I have no personal predilection for the present status of the so-called "Nationalist Movement." Fortunately, the saving grace of the situation is offered by the fact that nationalism (as propounded by the late Dr. Sun) is not a partisan issue: not only do the Kuomintang and the communists share in an urgent common desire for the realization of the nationalist ideal, but even "the late Chang Tso-ling and Dr. Wellington Koo, Marshal Wu Pei-fu and Prince Tuan and the shade of Yuan Shih-Kai could all join in that chorus." Just at present there seems to be a cloud of pessimism over the well-wishers of China, both native and foreign, on account of the untimely disruption that took place last year within the rank and file of the Kuomintang itself. But I believe that the power the Nationalist Movement has released with the masses is sufficiently strong to bring about a day in the not distant future when, to use an expression of Mme. Sun Yat-sen's, "wiser counsels should prevail in the country." that is, when her noble husband's ideal will be realized in its unspoiled shape and to its logical extent. Therefore, the ideal that I am going to discuss in this article should by no means be taken as a realized fact or an institutionalized phenomenon, but as a tremendous living force which, in its earnest effort to take on some tangible form, is fast undermining those other forces which it has chosen to call its enemies among at least a quarter of the human race regardless of their distinctions in rank, in class, in belief, or in political affiliations.

The kernel of that ideal is found in the belief in an world-order wherein each nationality, *i.e.*, each group of people having common interests in blood, livelihood, language, religion, and custom, should form an organized unit, independent by itself and equal in dignity and power to all other similar units, —organized by the natural strength of population and the institutional means both political and economical. This, in brief, is the Chinese conception of nationalism, and it has several points which merit our close analysis.

America's Example

In the first place, this doctrine entirely identifies the 'nation' with 'nationality,' and to this, of course, a serious objection may be raised: in America, for instance, there are more negroes than in Africa, more Jews than in Jerusalem, more Irish than in Ireland. And Switzerland has no common language but three languages existing side by side. Shall we say therefore that America is not a 'nation'? Or Switzerland is not a 'nation'? Dr. Sun had such objections clearly in view when he iterated the point it is not necessary for a nation to be composed of a single people having

such common interests as the above mentioned; it is only necessary that they should form the centre, the backbone of a nation. He pointed out the fact that the Anglo-Saxons form the center of the American nation, the Latin race forms the center of the French nation, and the Slavs the center of the Russian nation. In China, of course, the center are the 'Sons of Han' or the 'Chinese proper,' who used to occupy the north-central portion of the Empire. Evidently in accordance with this theory, the nations of the world may be classified under four different headings:—

(1) That which contains a single nationality; *e.g.*, Japan.

(2) That which embraces several original nationalities but all assimilated into one; *e.g.*, the U. S. A.

(3) That which has within its fold many unassimilated nationalities but all centering around a preponderatingly most important nationality in view of their numbers as the backbone of the nation; *e.g.*, the Chinese in regard to the Manchurians, Mongolians, and other lesser peoples within China.

(4) That which is composed of more nationalities than one but with the numerically unimportant one as the center of the nation; *e.g.*, the British Commonwealth with the people of the British Isles as the center and the Hindus as a submerged element.

Races and Nations

It is evident that the degree of genuine nationhood diminishes as we come down the list in the order given above, until it reaches the vanishing point with the last type of nations, which are in reality big empires, pure and simple. Every nation, in order to be true to itself, must endeavor to approximate the first type. Even the position of the third-class nation, as a nation, is hardly tenable in any permanent sense. China, for instance, is in a precarious situation in that any of the racial minorities may become nationally conscious in a sufficient degree to assert their own independence, in which case China will be faced with the alternative either to forego her sovereignty over them or to proclaim herself an Empire outright. In order to avoid such a dilemma, Dr. Sun proposed that measures be taken to assimilate them into the Chinese stock and that before such a process took effect they should be treated as absolute equals to the Chinese. It must be said, of course, that the racial groups within the Chinese nation are already well assimilated—at least as well assimilated as those in the United States, which Dr. Sun put in the second class. But let us presume the worst to happen, that is, let us suppose that during the interregnum the Tibetans or the Manchurians should become sufficiently assertive to declare their independence, what should China do, in order to be consistent with her own theory of nationalism? The only answer to that is that she would let them go, provided always, of course, that their national consciousness is of a genuine and spontaneous character —not the product of the malicious exploitation and artificial instigation of some aggressive powerful neighbor who, as we say in Chinese, "like a drunken coxcomb has not his mind in the cup."

Secondly, it is a world order, be it noted, that is ultimately looked forward to in the Chinese doctrine of nationalism. China, in the Chinese mind, is neither a perfect organization nor an absolute and supreme end in itself. It is only one unit to constitute with other similar and equal units a better and happier "Society of Nations" than at present obtains. "After China has acquired its full national life," said Dr. Sun, "we must keep in view yet another responsibility toward the world. If the Chinese can not or will not fulfill that responsibility, the increased strength and wealth of China would mean only the increased disaster for the world! Precisely what is that responsibility, Here is his answer: "It consists in our determination, even before we have obtained the maturity of our nationhood, to help the weak and assist the unfortunate so as to build up upon our original peaceful and ethical culture a world brotherhood —a Society of Equal Nations. Let this be the cherished hope and shouldered responsibility of our four hundred millions!" It was in pursuance of Dr. Sun's teaching that the Kuomintang, in its Second Party Congress, January 1926, passed a resolution to gradually evolve the Chinese anti-imperialistic movement into a worldwide emancipation delivering out of their downtrodden situation all the subject peoples of the world, including those in the colonies, semi-colonies, and even the oppressed majorities within the imperialistic nations themselves.

As we have seen, the orthodox doctrine of nationalism in the Occident is in effect one of national egotism, according to which the national ego is either a self-centered and self-sufficient saprophyte living perpetually in "splended isolation" or a self-seeking and self-aggrandizing parasite encroaching constantly upon the subsistence of its kin. From this idea the Chinese conception differs radically: the Chinese ego is neither selfish unto himself in that it does look forward to a world order nor harmful toward others in that the world order it looks forward to is one of universal brotherhood.

Dr. Sun Not a Visionary

The world-emancipation idea would certainly appear to lean toward the Soviet or Lenin's conception of a world-revolution. The important difference lies, however, in the fact that Dr. Sun (nor any one following him) never subscribed himself to the theory of an enforced nationality. He was insisting that nations have to be built up by dint of the natural possession of common interests, real or psychological. And when he talked about "our responsibility to help the weak and assist the unfortunate," he was referring to those whose consciousness of nationality is already in existence or at least in growth. To Sun and his Chinese disciples, it is as much tyranny to artificially and forcefully arouse the national consciousness of a people when it is not in view as it is to invidiously and ruthlessly suppress it, when it is. In this, the sanity of Sun's philosophy is quite self-evident, and in my mind the well-nigh universal charge that he was an unmixed visionary has never been substantiated.

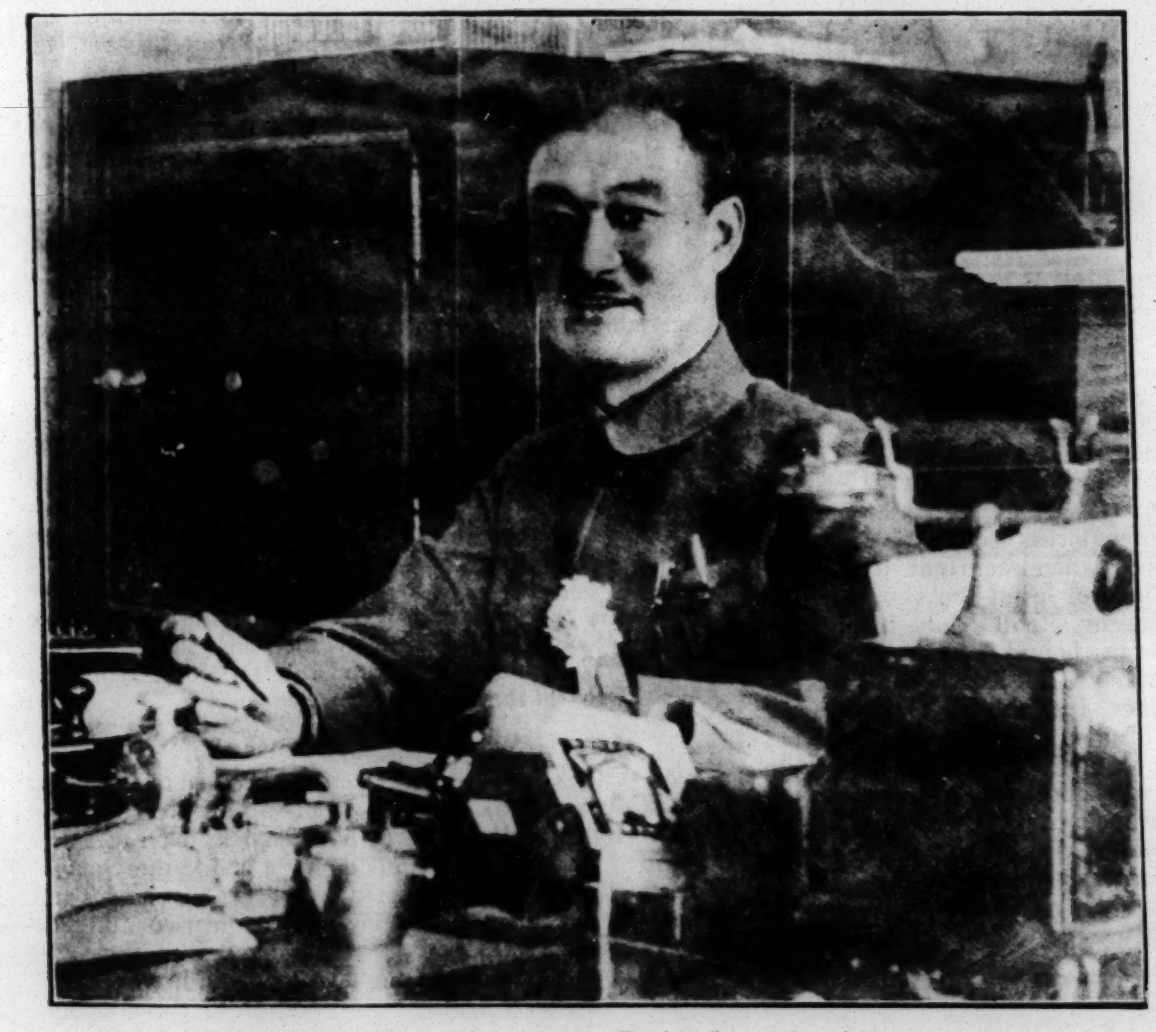
Finally, there is a third point about Chinese nationalism which is worth our attentive examination: the life of a nation is, in the Chinese theory, to be sustained by the natural strength of population and by means of political and economic sovereignty. The traditional importance attached to territory is dropped or rather assumed, and the significance of economic sovereignty is exalted and given a prominent place in the maintenance of national existence. Any impairment of any of the three essentials of a nation would imply a diminution of its own existence to the extent of that impairment. This idea, perhaps more than any other, has awakened the Chinese masses and swept over them with the amazing spell of a new nationalistic feeling, and is especially responsible for the particular tone of the contemporary Nationalist Movement in that country.

(*Continued on page 33*)

A New Regime in Hankow

By an Old British Resident.

TO those who, like the writer, had watched the growth of Hankow from the days when less than half the present Special Administrative District No. 3 constituted the only part of the present Concessions and Special Districts which had been developed, the sudden retrocession of the British Concession in the early months of 1927 seemed to hold a menace to good order in the chief business district of the great port at the junction of the Yangtse and the Han rivers. And the experiences of the first half of that year, when the S. A. D. No. 3 was overrun by troops and pickets and demonstrators of all kinds, coupled with the failure of several successive Directors to make good, produced a feeling akin to despair. For the taxes paid by the ratepayers were not being used according to the budget and the sums due to the Waterworks were reaching an amount which would have justified the Waterworks Company in cutting off the supply during the hot weather.



Dr. L. N. Chang, Director of the Former British Concession of Hankow (Now Known as Special Administrative District No. 3.)

Nor was this state of affairs without its reaction in the other Concessions and Special Districts, as well as in the Chinese city. For the security and order of the area within which the leading banks and shipping companies, the Post office, and the Telephone and Telegraph Administrations are all located, is a matter of concern to all. It is true that outwardly life in the other sections seemed unchanged, save that everyone was facing the crisis brought about by the fall in the value of Chinese paper currency and wondering whether trade could be continued, but everyone felt that a breakdown in the administration of S. A. D. No. 3 meant trouble everywhere.

It was at this critical juncture that a fresh vacancy in the Directorate led the Minister for Foreign Affairs to select Dr. L. N. Chang as the man who might turn the experiment in joint Sino-foreign administration of an ex-Concession from an apparent failure into a success which would demonstrate the feasibility of this method of administration in other places. Holding degrees in Arts from the University of Virginia and Laws from Yale, with a Doctorate of Laws conferred on him after examination by Decree of the former Imperial Government, and having had much experience in dealings with both foreigners and Chinese, he was well equipped for the post. And his work as Chairman of the Chinese delegation to the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu in 1925 had shown him the value of cooperation between persons of varying races in solving the social and economic problems of the world. Moreover, he had from the time when the former German Concession came under Chinese Administration been the Legal Adviser to the Director there and had prepared the regulations for the joint Municipal council which, owing to the circumstances of the time, were not put into force until 1927, and he was called in in his legal capacity to help in solving the problems which arose when the former Russian Concession was reorganised on a Sino-foreign basis. In connection with this work, Dr. Chang spent time in Peking and Tientsin studying police methods, and the experience he then gained has been put to practical use in his present position as will be seen later in this article. He assumed office in Hankow on the Double Ten Festival, the 10th of October, 1927. If in what follows the chief emphasis is laid on the progress of the S. A. D. No. 3 it will be because it is in that District, rather than in Hankow as a whole, that one can see the outworking of the spirit of the New China most clearly.

A Municipal Mosaic

Hankow has always exhibited a mosaic of municipal methods because the five Concessions and the Chinese city each followed their own lines. In the two Concessions which remain, the French and the Japanese, there are still such variations as one would expect from the characteristics of the two nations, and in the one case all the Councillors are Frenchmen acting with the Consul-General while in the other they are all Japanese business men. The S. A. D. No. 1 which passed out of the hands of the Germans during the Great War, is still controlled by Gen. Keng Pei-chou with an elected Council, consisting of two Germans, one British and three Chinese; and S. A. D. No. 2, which was returned to China by the Soviets, is managed by a Council consisting of one Russian, one Japanese, one Britisher and three Chinese under the Chairmanship of Dr. Sung Sze-biu, the Director. After the burning of Hankow in 1911 what is known as the Model District was gradually developed by a group of Chinese gentlemen, and that District and the Chinese city are now controlled by the Wuhan Bureau of Public Safety, which has invited a number of leading citizens to form a Municipal Council and assist in the administration of this large area.

Making Police Work Easier

Dr. L. N. Chang in S. A. D. No. 3 has working with him a Council consisting of three Chinese members on the ordinary lines.

In thinking of the district just mentioned, one notes two matters which have been arranged since January, 1927, and which have rendered effective police work much easier. The Bund foreshore was, under the terms of the Chen-O'Malley Agreement, brought under the control of the S. A. D. No. 3 Police, however low the water may be, and this has enabled Dr. Chang to suppress some very serious nuisances which occurred when the right to control that frontage was in dispute. And the shops facing on the Taiping and Sinseng Roads, though built on land lying just outside the bounds of the old British Concession, are now allowed to pay a shop tax in addition to the entrance fee which was formerly levied. In return the Municipal police are instructed to go to the aid of any shopkeeper calling for help and to suppress any disturbances on that side of the street on which the former British police force could not function. This privilege is much appreciated by the shopkeepers who formerly lived in a sort of no-man's land.

The boundaries of the S. A. D. No. 3, while still strictly defined on maps and plans, are also becoming a little more elastic in practice along the back maloo. For many years the British Concession was separated from the Chinese territory by a low wall surmounted by iron railings, just as the Russian Concession was separated from it by a high brick wall. An arrangement has been made in each case under which, as the old and somewhat disreputable property is pulled down and modern-style buildings are erected, the division is removed and access to the Municipal roads is allowed.

If Dr. Chang has taken any one word as his motto as he toils in his office, it is the word "Co-operation." In all conversations on Municipal Matters this word is constantly on his lips. He approached the authorities of S. A. D. No. 2 with a suggestion that the road which divides the one District from the other, and which is conjointly patrolled, should be named "Co-operation Road" instead of "Boundary Road", and though the matter has not yet been officially decided by the other District he has led the way by altering the name plates on the side of the road which he controls. He is very keen on maintaining cordial relations with the Garrison Commander, who has reciprocated by sending officers to the aid of Dr. Chang on one or two occasions when matters have been a little critical.

Notable Example of Co-operation

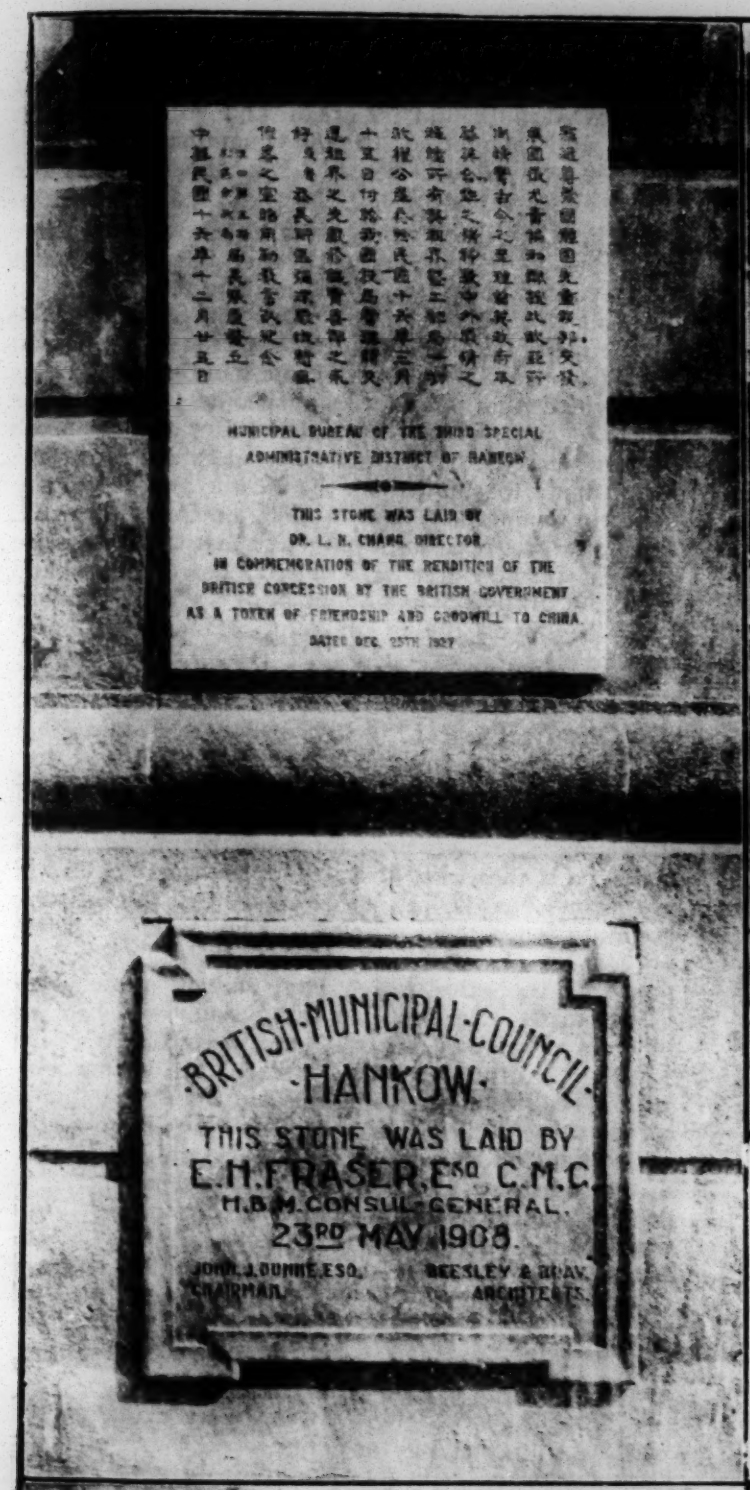
One of the most noteworthy of these occasions was the time when it was decided to dispense with the presence of five hundred men under General Tang Shen-chi, who had earned the hearty dislike of all classes of the community. They had occupied almost the whole of the Sing Chang Li, a large island of houses and shops on the back roads of the District, and had used the woodwork as firewood and so damaged the brickwork that the owner has found it wise to pull down all that remains of the buildings and rebuild them. They had also occupied the former British Volunteer Head-quarters which are situated in the very heart of the District. It was the custom of these men, on the slightest suspicion that they were going to be interfered with, to suddenly proclaim martial law in the streets surrounding the Volunteer Head-quarters and between them and their comrades on the back road, thus stopping the through traffic on three main roads. Dr. Chang put all possible pressure on the military authorities to remove this menace, and re-doubled his exertions when the position of General Tang Shen-chi himself became quite unstable. He naturally feared that the downfall of the General might lead to looting on the part of his troops.

The story of all that took place is too long to tell in this article. The Director did his best to establish good relations with the men in the heart of the District and in this he succeeded beyond all expectations. On one occasion it was even arranged that these troops and the Municipal Police actually paraded together and march through certain roads so as to allay the fears of the populace that the troops and the police were likely to fight. And methods such as this resulted in the escape of the S. A. D. No. 3 from the ills that befel the Chinese city.

When Danger Threatened

When General Tang Shen-chi decided to withdraw to Hunan his men looted his head-quarters, burned down buildings which they had used as barracks and seemed likely to do serious damage inside the Special District. It became necessary to erect barricades and arm all the police. At one time about two hundred soldiers surrounded the Municipal Buildings and demanded that Dr. Chang should provide for them. Few sights have brought more relief to the dwellers in S. A. D. No. 3 than the sight of the last of these men, appeased by the united exertions of Dr. Chang and the Garrision Commander, loading up their kit and marching away to the river-bank. Traffic was held up, Chinese were abruptly ordered to get out of carriages and ricshas, coolies were compelled to put down their loads and shoulder cooking pots and bags of rice. The man who resisted found himself looking down the barrel of an automatic. But the great thing was that they were going and arbitrary martial law and bugle practice half the night, to say nothing of rudeness all day long were to be things of the past. It was a great triumph for Dr. Chang that the matter ended thus, for the men were in the mood to set fire to the premises and loot the neighborhood till they were stopped by force.

To return to the subject of co-operation, Dr. Chang has constantly maintained cordial relations



Upper Left.—The Bi-Lingual Tablet of Good-Will on Municipal Building, Special Administrative District, No. 3.

Center Left.—Municipal Buildings on New Year Day, 1928.

Lower Left.—S. A. D. No. 3 in Khaki opposite Star Memorial Tablet in the British Consul General Compound on King's Birthday.

Lower Right.—Barricade in S. A. D. No. 3.

with the staff of the British Consulate, and he pays high tribute to the readiness of Mr. Harold Porter in particular to help him in every possible way. And the spirit which actuates him can be seen in the following quotation from the speech which he made at the first meeting of Ratepayers at which he presided.

"As an act of goodwill and friendship, an agreement, commonly known as the Chen-O'Malley Agreement, was signed on the 19th of February 1927, whereby Great Britain generously handed back to China the British Concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang. Under the authority of this Agreement and the Municipal Regulations and Byelaws made thereunder, this Bureau with its Sino-British Council came into existence on March 15, 1927, to take the place of the British Municipal Council, which functioned since 1862 for more than a cycle of the old Cathay."

"If we were of a historical turn of mind, we could see that the history of relations between China and Great Britain can be really divided into two periods; namely. B. C. and S. A. D,, which, at first blush, may simply mean "British Concession" and "Special Administrative District"; but on second thought, we can see that they mean much more. They mean "British Comity" and "Said and Done". The British Government and people by this friendly act have done what they have repeatedly said through Sir Austen Chamberlain that they would do; and we, Chinese, in recognition of this, are also trying to do what we said we would do. To perpetuate this friendlygesture on both sides, a marble commemoration tablet was placed upon the Municipal Building of this District on December 25th 1927, a Chinese National Holiday on which General Tsai Ao raised the standard of opposition against the monarchical dreams of Yuan Shih-kai and brought republicanism to stay in China, and a universal holiday on which Christ was born to bring peace and goodwill on earth. May this good understanding and friendship between China and Great Britain endure so long as the sun shines on this bilingual tablet!"

Chinese Criticism

To refer for one moment to disagreeable things, it is very disheartening and depressing that this readiness to work with the foreigners, to whose labors the growth of the Special District from a mud flat to its present order is due and whose business has brought so much prosperity to the port, should be the matter which is most freely criticised in some Chinese newspapers published in Hankow. It is hardly right to refer to their articles as criticism, for they often descend to the abyss of scurrilous abuse. They are never tired of harping on the theme that Dr. Chang does not realise that the British Concession has ceased to exist and to blame him for the continued enforcement of the old British Municipal Regulations against Chinese. They write as if the goal of all endeavor should be the overthrow of that quiet and order which make the Special District a decent place in which to live.

But the ridiculous thing about these attacks is that it is not by the will of Dr. Chang or by the action of the old ratepayers, but by the terms of the Chen-O'Malley Agreement itself that the former Municipal Regulations, with a few exceptions specially mentioned in the Agreement, all remain in force. In insisting that the Regulations be observed. the Director is only carrying out the instructions of his own Government as embodied in an Agreement signed as recently as last March. Surely the editors of these newspapers would not urge that men who sell diluted milk should be commended or shop-keepers who sell ice-cream containing the necessary ingredients to cause a funeral should go scot free? One very cheering thing this hot weather is to know that samples of milk and ice-cream and so on are often taken and submitted to the examination of Dr. Skinner, who also is consulted constantly about the sanitation of the District.

There are those who grumble at the state of some of the roads in the Special District, but they are not ratepayers. The latter took a definite decision to suspend work on the roads until the finances of the Municipality had been restored. As some Tls. 64,000 had disappeared in the first six months of 1927, it was evident that public works must be postponed for the most part. It is very satisfactory that there has been no increase of taxation. but persistent efforts are being made to supplement the income for the year by collecting monies not paid in 1927 during the unrest. So much progress has been made that the Debenture Interest for the first half of 1927 has been paid and there is sufficient money in hand to allow of work being begun on the re-surfacing of one of the most used roads.

Discipline in the Police Force

One great test of the efficiency of a Municipality is the discipline and activity of its police force. Under Superintendent P. L. Wang and Deputy Superintendent Captain Y. H. Fung the Director has developed a very efficient force numbering 229 of all ranks. Of these 140 are ordinary constables and 57 are armed guards. Robbers and sneak-thieves have certainly found them efficient. Limitations of space prevent a detailed account of each of the four principal robberies which have taken place. On Christmas Day last the Dah Dung Bank was held up by eight armed men who got away with $14,000. On January 11, three gunmen entered the Chung Foo Union Bank Building and secured dollars and notes to the value of $9,000 from an exchange shop which is a tenant of the Bank. In this case the employees of the shop were so scared that no one remembered to press the electric alarm button till the men had left the premises! The next attempt was made on the King Cheng Bank which faces one of the boundary roads of the S. A. D. No. 3, but was entered from the rear of the premises which abut on a road in the Chinese city. In this case the robbers failed to secure any booty.

A series of robberies like this were evidently the work of one gang and the police worked unremittingly at the problem, with the result that on January 15th, about twenty days after the first robbery, Captain Fung ran to earth six bandit-soldiers. The arrest was made in face of grave risks, and if one of the gang had not dropped his automatic due to a kick of the police, the Captain would probably not have lived to tell the tale. These men confessed that they were the men who held up the King Cheng Bank four days before their arrest and declared that they were acting on the orders of their commander. They were later found to have been the perpetrators of the robbery at the Dah Dung Bank, and when the employees of the Exchange Shop in the Chung Foo Bank Building were called in they were able to indentify some of these men as having taken part in that robbery too. It was soon discovered that the commander had left for Honan with most of the spoils, and these men who were his tools met their fate at the hands of the Garrison Commander. The speedy rounding up of this gang ended for the time all armed robberies within the area of S. A. D. No. 3. It ought to be mentioned in fairness to the police of the other

(*Continued at foot of next page*)

THE MEANING OF CHINESE NATIONALISM

(*Continued from page 28*)

Dr. Sun's analysis of the Chinese population is most pathetic. "The Chinese population," said he, "stands now as it stood 200 years before in the reign of Kien-Lung; and shows every sign to stand 200 years hence as it stands now,—at the figure of 400,000,000 and always 400,000,000! As a matter of fact, "An American observer, Mr. Rockhill has put the estimate in recent years as low as 300,000,000." "When we remember that in the last hundred years the American population has increased 10-fold, the British, 3-fold; the Japanese, also 3-fold; the Russians, 4-fold; the Germans, 2-fold; and even the French, by one-quarter,.....we would shiver to the uttermost of our souls for fear that in the short course of a hundred years we would be overwhelmed by the sheer force of foreign populations."

"If we do not wish to see with folded hands our race pass tranquilly into history (and many famous and noble races have passed tranquilly into history), we must protect and perpetuate ourselves through means political and economical. Politically, we have been chained by tariff fetters, strangled by extra-territorial constrictions and disemboweled by the diplomatic manipulations of the "most favored nation" clause granting away our inherited rights in a mass. And our territorial losses have been innumerable: to start with, there are Wei-hai-wei, Port Arthur, Dairen, Tsing-Tao, Kowloon, and Kwang-wan; earlier in point of time, we lost Korea, Taiwan, and Peh-hu; earlier still, we lost Annam and Burma; earlier still, our losses were Hongkong. Heilung-kiang, and Ussuri; and earlier still, Ili valley, Hohen, and the north of the Heilungkiang (territories lately occupied by the Far Eastern Republic); and, what more, we lost our suzerainty over Liu-Chiu, Siam, Nepal, and numerous other tributary states."

China's Economic Losses

Economically, we have fared even worse: "In rough round figures, we may put our annual economic losses to the foreign powers under the following headings:—(1) $500,000,000 in foreign merchandise purchased; (2) $100,000,000 in internationanal exchange, in the floating of foreign bank-notes, and the accrued interests of re-loaned deposits in foreign banks; (3) $100,000,000 in increased cost in the transportation of our exports and imports; (4) $4 or 500,000,000 in rentals, taxes, and land values in the various kinds of territorial concessions; (5) $100,000,000 in monopolies and special trading rights granted to foreign nationals; (6) several tens of millions in speculative and other improper enterprises conducted by foreigners in China." "These six items constitute an annual loss of no less than $1,200,000,000 and increasingly laying our people poor and destitute."

"The Chinese people have been tramped under feet by these three big forces of oppression simultanously for almost a century; and if the decline of population is enough to bring about our extinction, the political imperialism of the foreign powers is enough to hasten its coming, and their economic exploitation, to aggravate its mercilessness. If we can successfully combat the economic imperialism of the powers, we may yet be able to divert the fate of racial extinction and achieve self-preservation." The proposed means to gain this end is the "Abolition of Unequal Treaties," which I offer to discuss in another article.

Now, I hope I have made the case sufficiently clear how much of the Chinese nationalism is indigenous, and how much, exotic; how much of it is pro-Chinese, and how much, anti-foreign; how much of it is narrowly nationalistic, and how much, broadly idealistic. The ultimate goal of it all, be it reiterated, is world-brotherhood—a grand idea inherited from the ancient Classics. Chinese nationalism may more appropriately be called "a-better-world-order-ism" and, if transplanted into any of the Western countries, would probably be called the most idealistic sort of internationalism. The "tragic ignorance," as our Mr. Eugene Chen denominates it, of the world concerning the true meaning of Chinese nationalism has aligned against it many elements whom a little sympathetic understanding would fetch across the boundary; and apart from those who are wont to regard everything in the wor d of today as a source of millenium in itself, who would deny that nationalism of the Chinese type is just the thing that we most urgently need?

NEW REGIME IN HANKOW

(*Continued from page 32*)

Special Districts that they too have shown conspicuous bravery on occasions and that two members of the Force in the S. A. D. No. 1 have lost their lives in conflicts with gunmen.

The King's Birthday

It was no small honor to the Municipal Police that a contingent of the men took part this year in the ceremony on the King's Birthday in the grounds of H. B. M. Consulate-General. A concert which was arranged for the purpose of securing funds for a Recreation Ground for the Force was heartily supported and this Ground is affording much pleasure to the men.

Allied to the Police Force is the staff of the Fire Brigade. The Brigade inherited the excellent equipment secured by the former Council, and under the leadership of four active volunteer foremen the twenty two members of the Brigade have done good work. They met with serious difficulties earlier in the year because of the low pressure in the mains, but this has been largely rectified. At the big fire in the godowns of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Co., Ltd., and at the yet more spectacular fire when a godown was destroyed in the Chinese city not far from the boundary of S. A. D. No. 3 they demonstrated that they are capable of handling serious situations with coolness and nerve.

A review such as this is necessarily imperfect, but it will suffice to show that in Hankow the New is blending with the Old on thoroughly sound lines. During 1927 ample proof was furnished to all and sundry that the Newest when taken alone in large doses did not make for the welfare of the public. Now that wiser counsels prevail, and in the whole area which is known as Hankow one and all are striving to introduce the New to supplement and improve the Old and ceasing to try and destroy the Old before the New has been tested, there is every reason to hope that peace and quietness will prevail.

Hankow, September 1, 1928

TERMINATION AND REVISION OF CHINA'S "UNEQUAL" TREATIES

(*Continued from page 24*)

aware of the existence of many "unequal" treaties such as those between China and these Powers abovementioned, stipulated in the Covenant by Article 19, "that the Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." It is a well-known fact that the friction between China and the Powers, and the various national movements involving the safety of alien residents in China are over the "unequal" terms contained in these treaties. The terms of these treaties as explained above, no longer applicable to modern conditions in China, are conditions "whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." Therefore, their revision is within the contemplation of Article 19 of the Convenant of the League.

The program, moreover, is the culmination of repeated attempts on the part of the Chinese to revise their treaties. Its announcement is by no means unanticipated by the Powers. In 1902 and 1908, the period of revision of some of the commercial treaties; in the Peace Conference at Versailles, 1919; and again in the Washington Conference of 1921, the Powers promised to release China from the obligations of these unequal treaties. In 1925 Sino-Belgian treaty was terminated; and in 1926, Spain, France, Japan and Portugal were notified. The decision on the part of the New Nationalist Government of China to revise and terminate the commercial treaties but the logical and inevitable result of these attempts on the part of China to revise its "unequal" treaties. This has long been expected, and is therefore by no means radical or sudden.

Shanghai, August 28, 1928.

The Lung-Hai Railway

The Lung-Hai railway is the only railway line in China running in an east and west direction. As has been the case with many railway lines in other parts of the world, America included, the construction of the Lung-Hai line has been a matter of gradual development, but it is destined in time to become a great East to West trunkline, which will undoubtedly in the not distant future be part of a trans-Asian line to Europe, and a strong rival of the trans-Siberian route.

The eastern terminus of the Lung-Hai railway is the city of Haichow, one of the principal salt-shipping ports in China. It lies about ten miles from the mouth of a small river emptying into the Yellow Sea north of the Yuchow promontory. The line, as at present completed, reaches Kuanyintang, almost five hundred miles to the west, and construction now in progress will bring it within a few months to Tungkwan on the Shensi border, and to Sianfu, the capital of Shensi, within a year or two. Beyond Sianfu the line is projected to Lanchow, the capital of Kansu.

Starting from the east, the Lung-Hai railway is divided into the following sections: Lung-Hai East section connects Haichow with Hsuchow, where it joins the north and south running Tientsin-Pukow railway, about one-third of the distance north of Nanking on the route to Tientsin and beyond Hsuchow to Kaifeng, the capital of Honan; (2) the Peinlo section connects Kaifeng with Chengchow, where it crosses the north and south running Peking-Hankow railway about half way between those two cities, and beyond that with Loyang, (3) and the Lung-Hai West Section, which connects Loyang with Kuanyintang and which will shortly reach Tungkwan as a result of construction now in progress.

A brief account of the negotiations which preceded the construction of the Loyang-Tungkwan section is typical of the way in which the whole line was developed. As far back as 1906 the gentry of the province of Honan requested the Governor to establish a line to connect these two cities. In the following year the Emperor appointed Liu Ko, an officer of the Board of Rites to raise funds for the projected line and in March 1908, Li Chih-shih, one of the surveyors on the Peking-Mukden railway was deputed to survey the route. The capital for the line was to be raised by increasing the likin on salt by four cents a catty (one and-a-third pounds). In November, 1909, Chan Tien-yu was engaged as consulting engineer and Hsu Wen-chuan as construction engineer and construction was begun at Loyang. During the revolution of 1911 part of the construction work was destroyed.

Construction work was again commenced in the summer of 1912. In February 1913, steps were taken by the Peking Government to purchase the line from the Honan shareholders. Shareholders were paid in all $1,916,129 (including outstanding interest), but out of the total indebtedness to the province for capital raised on salt, amounting to Tls. 1,500,387, there remains a balance unpaid up to the present of about Tls. 300,000.

The Lung-Hai railway had its inception as spurs of the Peking-Hankow line, the spur east of the Peking-Hankow line connecting Chengchow with Kaifeng and the spur to the west connecting Chengchow with Loyang. The construction work was entrusted to a Belgian syndicate, which furnished the capital in the form of a loan to the Chinese Government. Work on the line was started in 1905 and it was opened to traffic at the beginning of 1910.

Under the terms of a subsequent loan agreement with the Belgian syndicate, work was started in 1913 on pushing the line east from Kaifeng to Hsuchow, but the work was delayed owing to the incidence of the war in Europe so that the latter point was not reached until 1916. Simultaneously the line west of Loyang was extended to Kwanyingtang, which was reached in the same year.

The financing ability of the Belgian syndicate having been considerably crippled as a result of the war, the Chinese Government in 1912 sent Mr. Sao-tseng Sze, at that time the director-general of the Lung-Hai line, to Europe to press for the speedy fulfillment of the agreement made in 1912 with the Belgian Syndicate. Eventually it was decided to bring in a Dutch Syndicate, partly for financial reasons, but particularly because the work to the east would include the building of a harbor on the Yellow Sea, work in which the Dutch are experts.

It was arranged that the Belgian Syndicate should have control of foreign interests in the line generally, but the construction of the line east of Hsuchow to the coast and the building of the harbor were to be under the control of the Dutch Syndicate. The line was constructed east of Hsuchow-fu along the old bed of the Yellow river, the section eastward to the Grand Canal being opened to traffic in the beginning of 1923. The section between the Grand Canal and Haichow was completed and opened to traffic in the summer of 1925.

Materials for construction of the line were brought from many sources. Rails were first supplied from the Hanyang iron works, but the greater part of the rails are of Belgian manufacture. The sleepers (ties) include Oregon pine, Japanese oak and German creosoted timber. The bridge steel comes partly from Belgium and partly from Holland, under the terms of the loan agreements.

Present plans of the Lung-Hai railway include the development of a modern harbor at Silientao, the completion of which it is hoped to have coincided with the completion of the line west to Sianfu, from which city a large amount of freight can be secured. When completed, Silientao harbor will undoubtedly prove a formidable competitor to Shanghai. Temporarily a port, suitable only for junk traffic, and small steamers known as Tapu, is being used.

The Haichow neighborhood is mainly devoted to agriculture. The main industry, as previously mentioned, is the production of salt, an idea of the importance of which may be gained from the fact that the Government revenue from the salt in the Haichow district is about $30,000,000 annually. Under normal conditions the transportation of salt ought to bring considerable revenue to the railway.

Haichow and vicinity have been the scene of much development in recent years. Motor roads have been built in various directions and eventually there will be a road suitable for motor transportation to the flourishing cotton city of Nantungchow on the Yangtsze river.

One of the busiest sections of the Lunghai railway is that which connects Hsuchow on the Tientsin-Pukow line with Chengchow on the Peking-Hankow line. Although the journey is rather a roundabout one, this part of the railway brings Shanghai and Hankow into rail connection, and in normal times the mails between those two cities are sent over the railway and make better time than if sent by steamer on the Yangtsze. The route is as follows: Shanghai to Nanking over the Shanghai-Nanking railway; ferry across the Yangtsze to Pukow; Tientsin-Pukow railway to Hsuchow; Lung-Hai railway to Chengchow; Peking-Hankow railway to Hankow.

In the brief historical sketch which follows, Dr. C. T. Wang, former director general of the railway, gives details of the financing and construction of the various sections of the line and also discusses its future prospects.

BY DR. C. T. WANG,

Former Director General of the Lung-Hai Railway (Now Minister of Foreign Affairs)

THE name "Lung-Hai" is the abbreviated title for "Lung-Tsing-U-Hai" (隴秦豫海). The first three characters are old denominations for the provinces crossed by the Line *i.e.* 隴 (Lung) Kansu; 秦 (Tsing) Shensi; 豫 (U) Honan. The last character: 海 (Hai) means "Sea". The combination of the two characters 隴海 (Lung-Hai) conveys the idea of the road connecting Kansu province with the Sea.

It is claimed that the Lung-Hai was originally projected by the old Russian régime in 1898 and was to be connected to Europe through Samarkand in Russian Turkestan and Kashgar in Sinkiang. The importance of an International Line of this magnitude is obvious to anyone in view of the enormous advantages it would offer over the trans-Siberian route. If such a Line were to be built, travellers would be able to visit in comfort historic lands which only the greatest adventurers have reached so far. On the other hand, it would open unlimited possibilities for trade and hasten the development of the vast and fertile territory of Sinkiang.

Pien-Lo Section.

Loan Agreement: On November 12th, 1903, a contract was signed by representatives of the Chinese Imperial Railways and of the Compagnie Générale de Chemins de fer et de Tramways en Chine (Belgian Syndicate), for the construction of two Branch "Lines" on the Peking-Hankow Railway. These "branches" were to start from the Peking-Hankow Line, at a point South of the Yellow River and extend as far as Kaifeng to the East and Loyang to the West. The cost of the construction from Kaifeng to Loyang was estimated at £1,000,000—or Gold Francs 25,000,000.—not including equipment and rolling stock.

This sum was secured through the sale of 50,000 Gold Bonds of Frs. 500.—each, bearing interest at the rate of 5% per annum.

Construction: Chengchow was selected as the place "South of the Yellow River" at which the new Line was to cross the Kin-Han. Surveys were made and the work started in 1905. On January 1st, 1910, the new Line was opened to traffic. The main Line has a length of 115 miles (184 Km.) of standard gauge 4' 8 1/2" (1m. 435). The final cost, including equipment and rolling stock, amounted to Frs. 410,00,000.—

The section between Chengchow and Kaifeng is almost flat, but West of Chengchow, the country is undulated and has necessitated the construction of many structural works *i. e.* bridges, tunnels, embankments, cuttings etc. Between Kunghsien and Szeshui, in particular, on a distance of 10 miles, the Line is passing through not less than eleven tunnels of an aggregate length of nearly two miles. There are besides, in the same section, three bridges 5 x 30 meters each and one 6 x 30 meters, of steel construction.

Scenes Along the Lung-Hai Railway. Images of Buddha in Honan

Extension: Article 23 of the Pien-Lo Agreement reads as follows:

> "In case the Belgian Syndicate should execute satisfactorily the construction of the Kaifeng-fu to Honanfu Line, by strictly complying with all the provisions of the present contract, in such case, and should the Chinese Government decide to extend the Railway from Honanfu to Sianfu, the Directorate General of the Chinese Imperial Railways hereby agrees to give an option and reserve the preference to the Belgian Syndicate for the loan covering said enterprise, in accordance with the provisions and terms of the present contract."
>
> "It is understood, however, that in case the Chinese Government should be in a position to provide from its own resources or through the issuance of shares to its own nationals, the funds necessary for the construction of the proposed extension, the Belgian Syndicate shall not avail itself of the above privilege."

Lung-Hai Loan Agreement of 1921

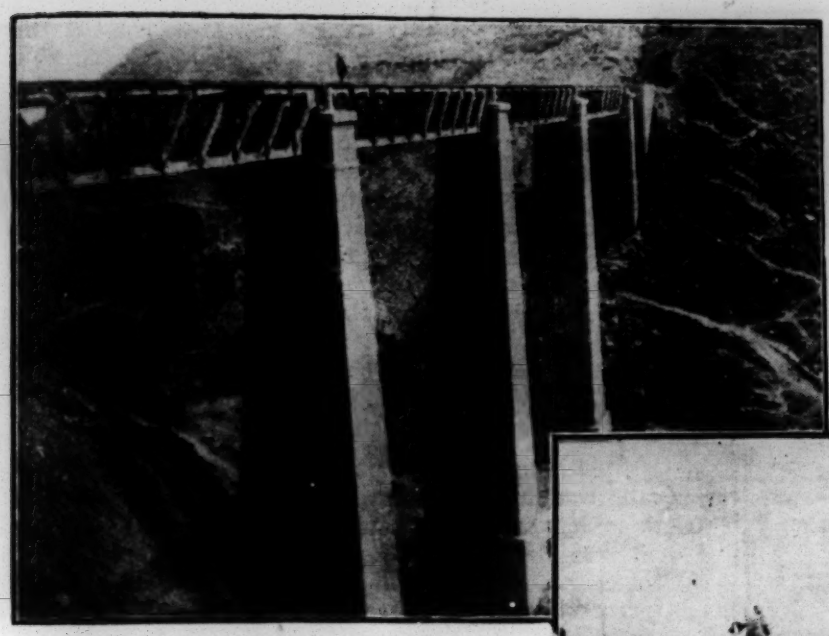
Loan Agreement: On September 24th, 1912, a new agreement was made between the Chinese Government and the Belgian Syndicate, to carry out the provision of article 23 of the Pien-Lo Contract and, in addition, to extend the Eastern section of the Pien-Lo from Kai-feng to Hsuchowfu, where a junction was to be made with the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, then under construction. The agreement reads:

"The Chinese Government:

> "having decided to execute, without further delay, the construction of a transversal trunk Line of which the Pien-Lo and the Lotung shall be the central sections;"
>
> "recognizing that the Belgian Syndicate has executed to our satisfaction the construction of the Line from Kaifeng to Honanfu;"
>
> "considering that certain provisions of the 1903 agreement are presenting several serious disadvantages, in particular the admission of a foreign Company to share in the profits of one of their Lines;"
>
> "with a view to unifying, as far as possible, the construction, the equipment and the operation of the great transversal Line to be built, in particular by the incorporation of the 1903 agreement above referred to into a new contract;"
>
> "has concluded with the Belgian Syndicate the present agreement having for object to connect by rail the City of Lanchowfu, Capital of Kansu with the Sea, passing through Sianfu, Tung-Kwan, Honanfu, and Hsuchowfu, the Government reserving the right to all profits and other advantages accruing from the operation of the Line, while granting to the Belgian Syndicate certain compensations for giving up its lawful rights under the 1903 agreement."

In consideration of the cancellation of certain special rights and privileges conferred upon the Belgian Syndicate by the 1903 agreement the Chinese Government granted to said Syndicate the construction of the Eastern extension of the Pien-Lo up to the Sea, including the construction of the Port and the construction of the Western extension as far as Lanchow, Kansu province.

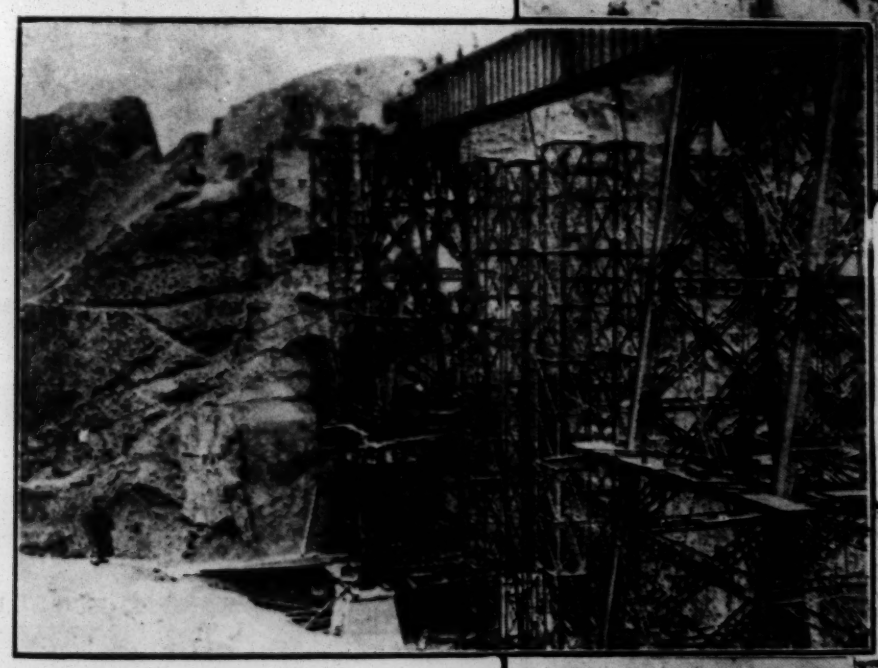
The original amount of the loan was placed at Gold Francs 250,000,000 or £10,000,000 to be issued in the form of first mortgage Bonds of various denominations bearing interest at the rate of five per-cent. per annum. However, only £6,000,000 of this has actually been issued. In 1916, in view of the



Bridge Along Lung-Hai Railway

changed financial conditions, the Belgian Syndicate was permitted to issue seven per cent. Chinese Treasury Bonds to the extent of Frs. 10,000,000 and another Frs. 20,000,000 in 1919. The loan is secured by a first lien on the property of

After a Heavy Rain_fall



Bridge On Lung-Hai Route
Under Construction

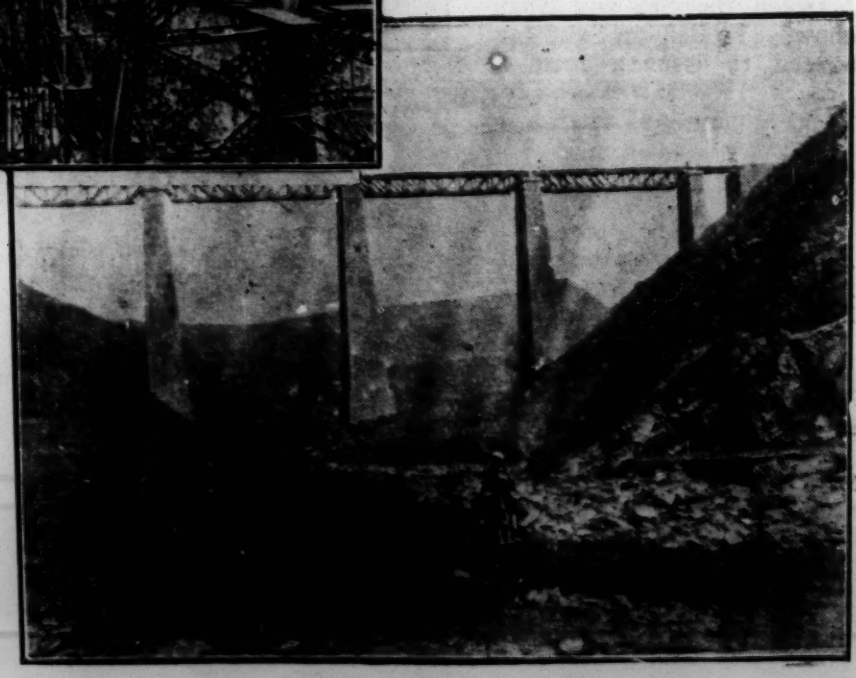
he Railway, both fixed and movable and s further guaranteed by the Chinese Government. The Belgian Syndicate is acting as Trustee for the bondholders.

Construction Work under the 1912 Agreement: The year following the conclusion of the above mentioned agreement, the preliminary surveys having been completed, everything was made ready to start the construction. The work was only just beginning to take shape when the Great War broke out. However, part of the funds had already been transferred to China. The construction was therefore able to continue, on a reduced scale, and Hsuchowfu was reached during the year 1916. On the Western side, the work was also under way and Kwanyintang was reached in 1916 as well. Due to the impossibility of transferring funds from Europe during the war and the period immediately following it, all construction work was interrupted from 1916 to 1920. The Line in operation during that period extended from Hsuchowfu to Kwanyintang on a length of 343 ½ miles (553 Km.)

Lung-Hai Dutch-Belgian Convention of 1920.

The Chinese Government, greatly concerned over the interruption of the construction since 1916, delegated Mr. Sao-Tseng Sze, then Director General of the Lung-Hai, to negotiate for the speedy execution of the Loan Agreement by September, 1912.

On May 1st, 1920, a Convention was concluded at Brussels betwene



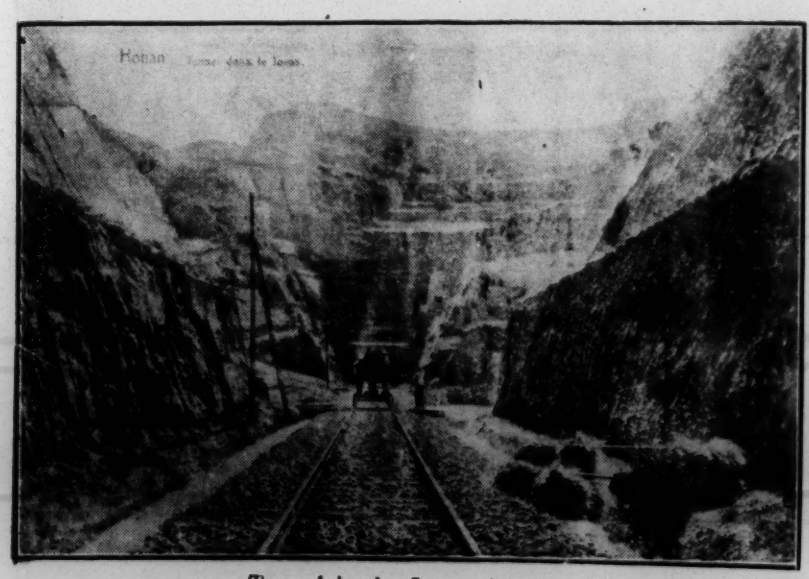
Another View of Bridge on Lung-Hai Route

Sung Dynasty Tombs, in Honan Province

Mr. Sao-Tseng Sze, representing the Chinese Government and representatives of the Belgian Syndicate and of the Netherlands Harbor—works Company, the latter acting in its own name and on behalf of the Netherlands Syndicate for China. According to the terms of this Convention, the contracting parties agreed to co-operate in the execution of the Loan Agreement of September 24th, 1912, covering the construction of the Line from Kansu to the Sea and of the Seaport. However, until further arrangements, this co-operation was restricted to the construction of the Seaport and the Railway Line between the Sea and Shanchow. The Belgian Syndicate agreed to issue a loan of Francs 150,000,000, half of which amount, at least, was to be used for the Western section *i.e.* between the then terminus (Kwanyintang) and the Yellow River. The Netherlands Syndicate agreed to issue a loan of Guilders: 50,000,000 half of which, at least, was to be used for the construction of the Seaport and the section between the Tientsin-Pukow Line and the coast. The Belgian Syndicate and the Netherlands Syndicate respectively were to issue immediately a first instalment of one-third of the loans referred to. These issues, amounting respectively to Frs. 50,000,000 and Guilders: 16,667,000, took the form of eight per cent Chinese Treasury Bonds. The loans to be issued under this Convention were to be governed by the Contract of 1912 and to have equal rank with the issues made under the latter Agreement.

Although a new party—the Netherlands Syndicate, was introduced into the enterprise, as a result of this Convention, it was agreed that, in the general interest of the Railway, the management was to remain unchanged. The management of the foreign interests remained vested with the Belgian Syndicate. As regards the construction of the Railway East of the Tientsin-Pukow Line as well as the construction of the Port, a special régime was adopted, according to which the foreign staff employed on the said works

Scene on Old Highway in Honan Province



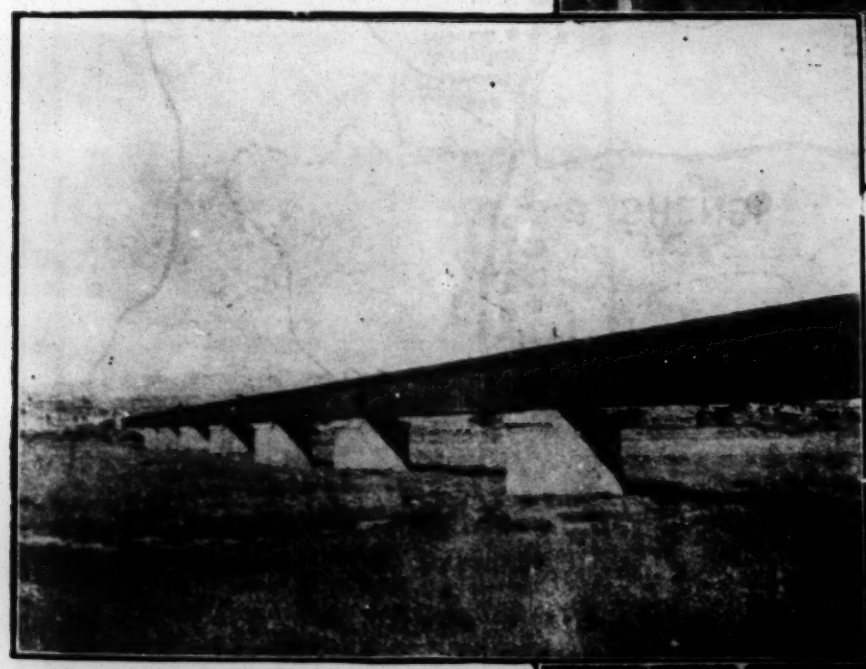
Tunnel in the Loess Country

was appointed by the Netherlands Syndicate. This staff was under the supervision of the Engineer-in-Chief who delegated the management of the Eastern Section to an "Engineer Chief of the Eastern Division", of Dutch nationality.

Construction Work under the 1920 Convention: This Convention called for the execution of three distinct enterprises: the construction of one section from Kwanyintang to Shanchow, about 30 miles of track; the construction of another section between Hsuchowfu and the coast, 124 miles of track and the construction of the Port. Early in 1921, construction work began almost simultaneously on the Eastern and the Western sections. On February 1st, 1923, the first part of the so-called "Sea-section" (from Hsuchowfu to the Sea), extending from the Tientsin-Pukow to the Grand Canal was opened to the traffic and amalgamated to the part of

Bridge Over the Lo Ho River

the Line in operation. In May 1924, the Western extension between Kwan-yintang and Shanchow was completed and placed under the authority of the Operating division. In July 1925, the section between the Grand Canal and the Sea was completed and opened to traffic.



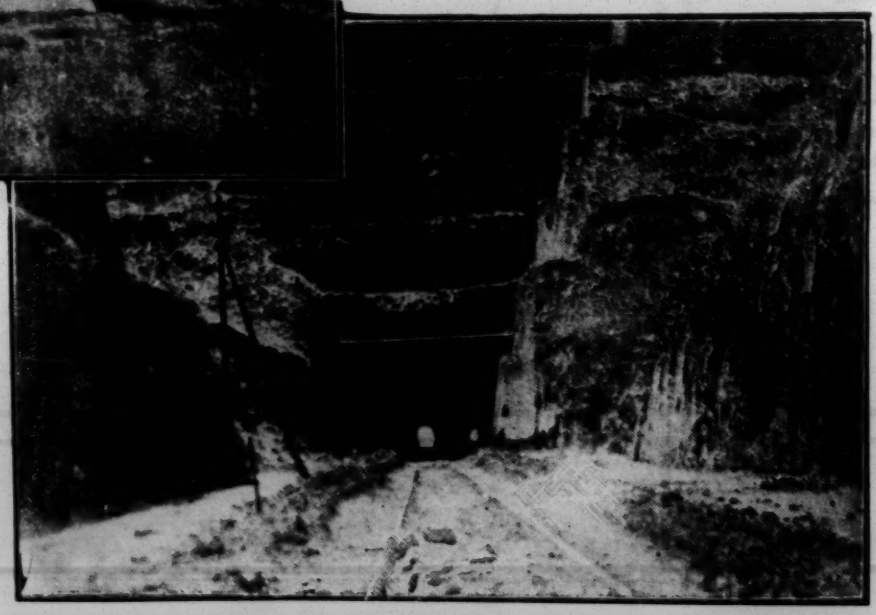
Another Type of Bridge On Lung-Hai Railway

On the section Shanchow-Sianfu, construction work was started in October 1924, when the present civil strife began. As a result of the disturbed conditions which ensued, the difficulty of getting the materials coupled with financial embarrassment, the work was considerably handicapped and had to be greatly interrupted during the last ten or twelve months. While much of the embankments, cuttings, tunnels, etc. have been completed as far as Tung-Kwan, the track has only been laid down up to Lingpao, 16 miles West of Shanchow. In June 1926, trains were running between Tapu and Lingpao on a length of 513 miles (825 Km.). Due to unsettled conditions, and to the impracticability of raising loans for the purchase of rails, bridges etc. no further extension of the Line under operation has been possible since then.

From a purely technical point of view, the Eastern section does not offer anything of particular interest. The Western section, however, has necessitated the execution of considerable structural works and has presented many difficult problems. A glance at one of the pictures accompanying this article, showing the nature of the Loess country

A Cutting Through the Loess Country on the Western Section of the Lung-Hai Railway

through which the Line is passing, West of Loyang, will give an idea of the difficulties. From Loyang to Miao-kow, a distance of 64 1/2 miles, the level of the road had to be raised from 500 feet to 2,200 feet above the sea level (an average of 28 feet per mile). From

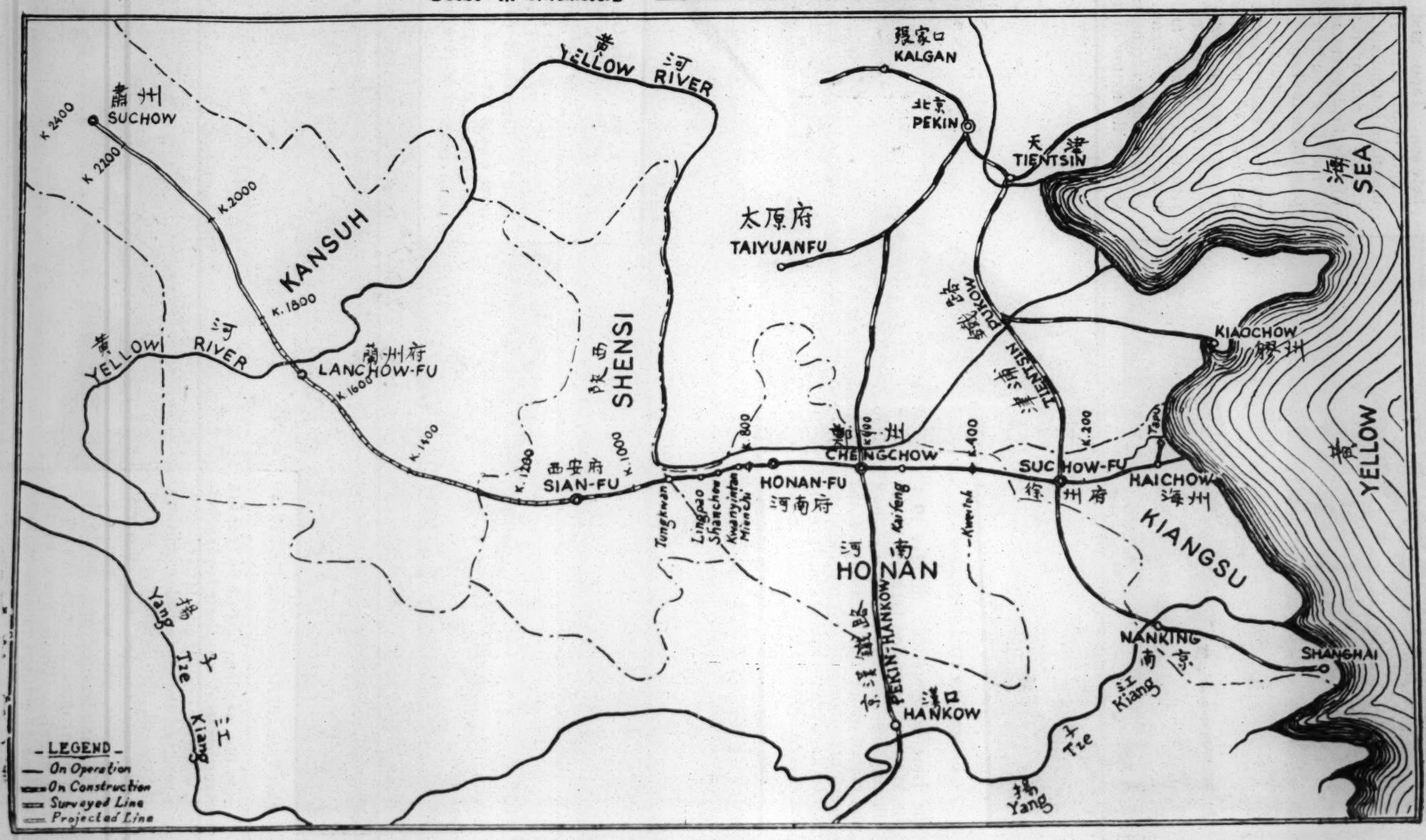


Tunnel Along Lung-Hai Railway

MAP OF THE LUNG-TSING-U-HAI RAILWAY

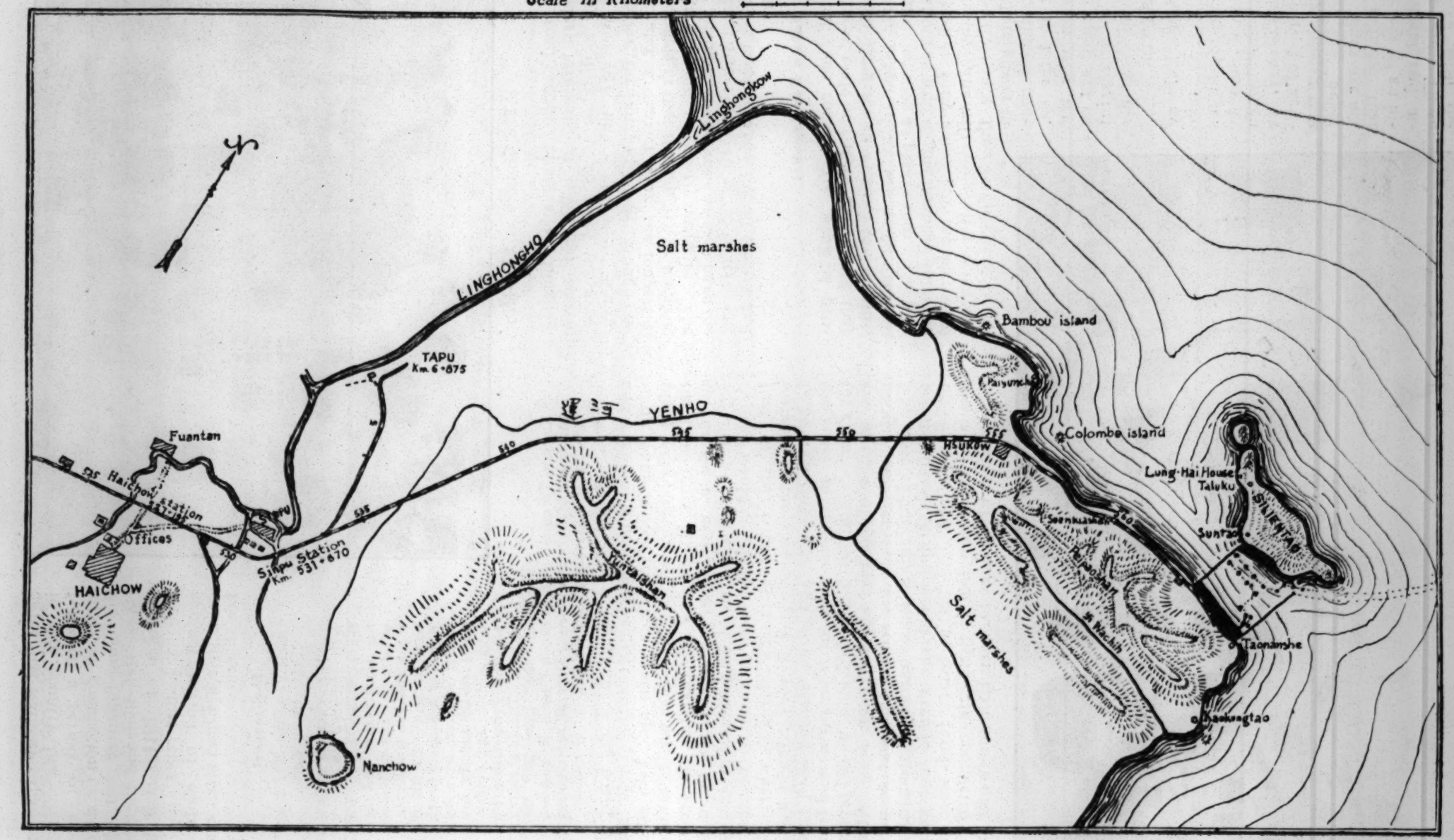
From Kansuh to the Sea

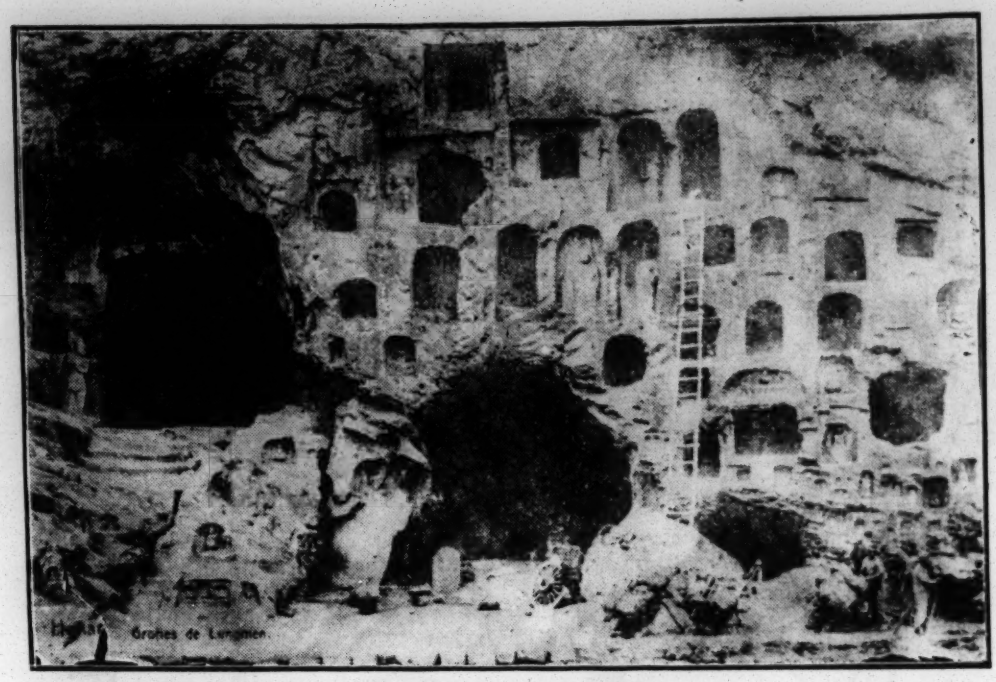
Scale in Kilometers 100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500



LUNG-HAI RAILWAY EASTERN TERMINUS

PRESENT AND PROJECTED





The Grottoes at Lung-Men

Miaokow, the road again plunges to Lingpao, the present Western terminus, at 1000 feet above the sea level, on a distance of 38 miles (an average of 31 1/2 feet per mile). Between Kwanyintang and Lingpao, the Line is passing through one tunnel one mile and a quarter long, the longest in China. Other tunnels in that section, five in number, have an aggregate length of nearly one mile. The most important bridges in the same section have the following characteristics: one 10 x 30 meters; one 4 x 30 meters + 2 x 8 meters; two 3 x 30 meters and two 2 x 30 meters.

Future Development.

At the present time, construction work is proceeding on a reduced scale and it is anticipated that the Line will reach Tung-Kwan within a few months. Meanwhile, active preparations are being made to extend it to Sianfu as soon as practicable. The present Administration, as well as the financial interests behind the enterprise, fully appreciate the increased earning capacity the Line will enjoy after it reaches the Shensi Capital: hence their willingness to do everything in their power to attain this goal. Should conditions warrant it, later on, there is no reason why the 1912 Agreement could not be carried out to a successful completion by building the Line up to Lanchowfu.

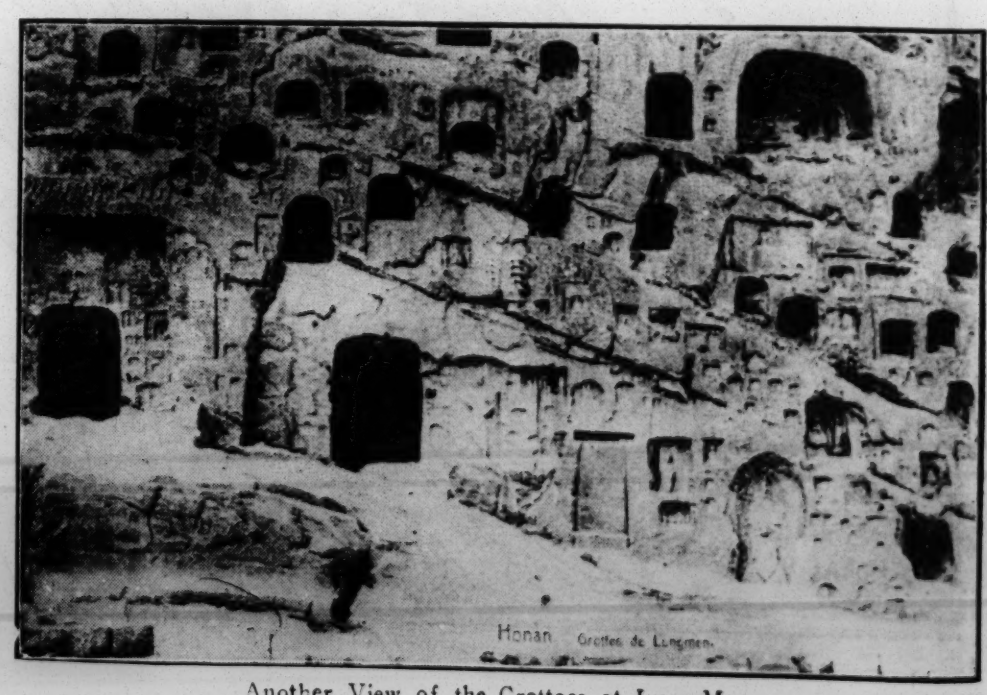
While no large Railway financing is likely to take place until general conditions have improved, it may be safely predicted that when the present crisis is over, we shall witness a period of activity in Railway construction such as China has never known before. Signs are not wanting to indicate that China is on the eve of an intensive agricultural and industrial development. Those who are familiar with the history of the development of the Chinese Railways will agree that Railway expansion in this country has always followed a period of civil strife or commotion *i.e.* after the Sino-Japanese war, the Boxer Rebellion and the Revolution of 1911. If it be true that history repeats itself, another period of Railway enterprise in China is not very far distant.

The Seaport.

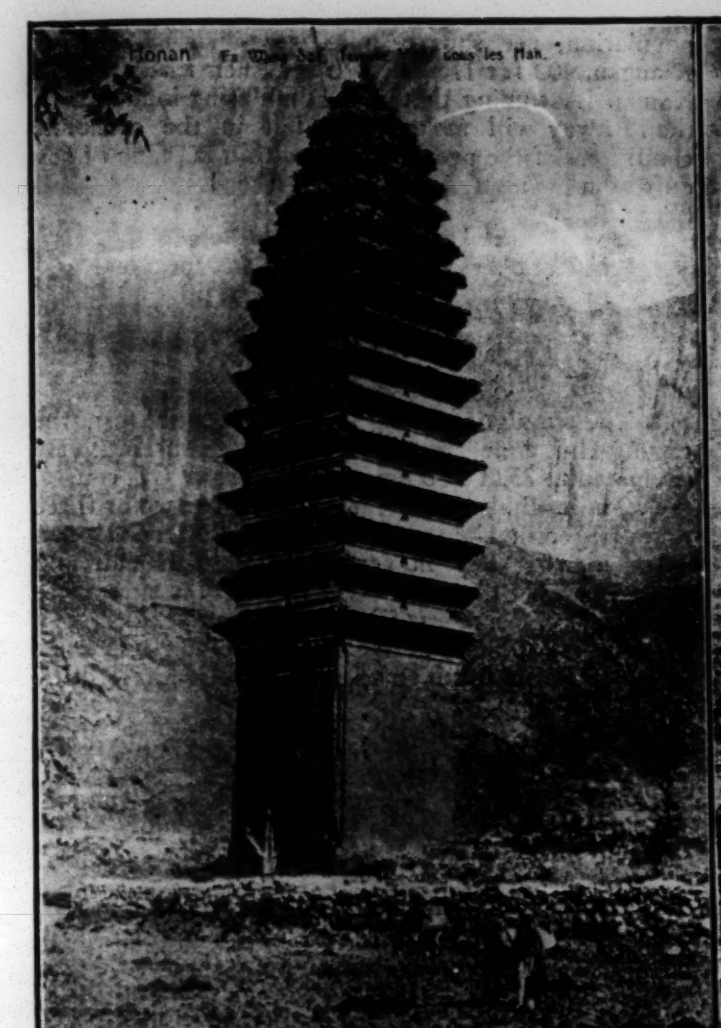
Article IV of the 1912 Loan Agreement reads:

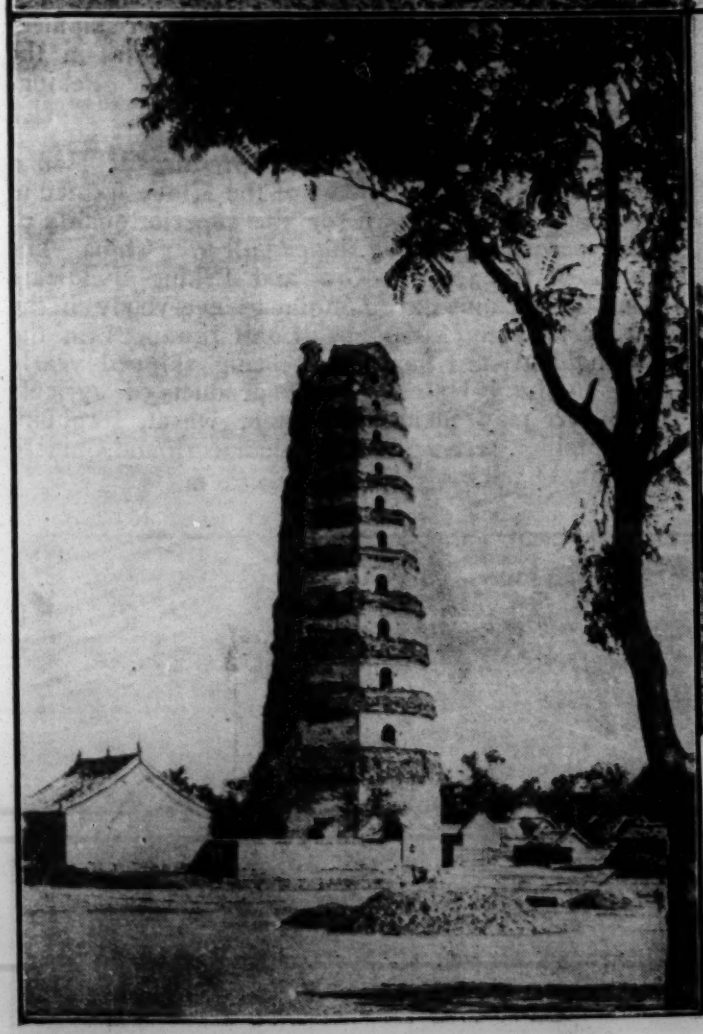
> "This loan is exclusively intended to supply the necessary funds for the construction and the equipment of a principal trunk line which will connect Lanchow—Capital of Kansu to a Seaport North of the Yangtze, by using the Pien-Lo and the Lotung sections and eventually the Tsing-Kiang-Pu section. The final survey of the Line and the Eastern Terminus will be decided upon in common agreement between the Director General, representing the Chinese Government and the Belgian Syndicate."

The original plan of using the Tsing-Kiang-Pu and to build the proposed Seaport on the North bank of the Yangtze River was soon given up. Two other plans were considered: the first one was to connect the Line from Hsuchowfu to Tsingtau, the second to create a new harbor on the coast by making use of Silientao Island as a natural protection. A dyke would be erected from the coast to the central part of the Island (towards Shihtao) where the distance is the shortest (1 1/2 mile). Docks would be built on three sides and jetties, starting both from the coast, in the direction of Taonanshe, and from the extreme south of Silientao Island, would protect the interior of the port against rough seas. After careful consideration, the second plan was adopted. The cost of building Silientao harbor is estimated at about $10,000,000 and would take three to four years to be completed. As the necessary funds were not available when the Dutch Syndicate completed the construction of the Line between Hsuchowfu and the



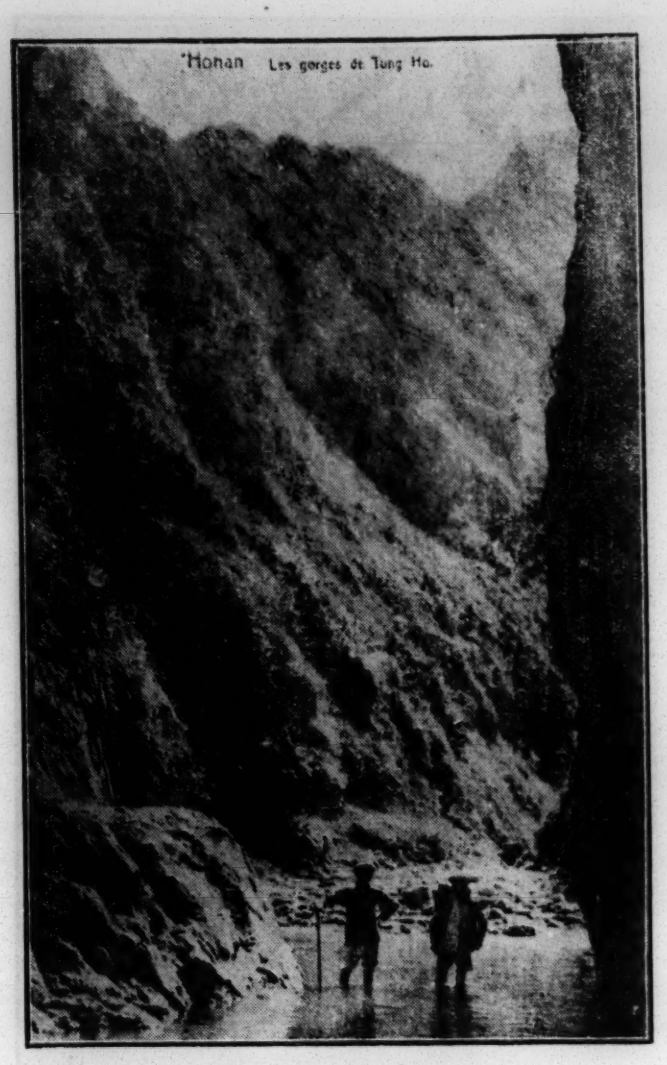
Another View of the Grottoes at Lung-Men





Scenes Along the Lung-Hai Railway: Temples in Honan

Sea, a temporary port has been arranged at Tapu, about three miles East of Haichow on the Ling Hong River. This port has been equipped to accomodate junk traffic and cargo boats up to 800 tons. This modest outlet to the Sea has already proved very beneficial to the development of the traffic on the Lung-Hai. At one time, when the Tientsin-Pukow was cut off South of Hsuchowfu, all outgoing and



The Tung Ho Gorges

incoming traffic found its way through Tapu. While the existing accomodations at Tapu are adequate under the present circumstances, they will be wholly insufficient when the Line reaches Sian and Lanchow. Negotiations are therefore going on with a view to have Silientao harbor completed by the time Sian is reached, so as to enable the Lung-Hai to take full advantage of the increased traffic which will ensue. When completed as projected by the Dutch Syndicate, Silientao harbor will favorably compare with the best Ports in China.

Economic Possibilities

Those who have no idea of the huge volume of traffic which the Lung-Hai will drain to the coast, may think that the building of a large harbor at Silientao is sheer extravagence. To refute such opinion which might be expressed by ignorant persons, let us turn to the map of the Lung-Hai accompanying this article, and consider the traffic that will be contributed by each of the provinces the Line is running through.

In the first place, let us make as accurate an estimate as possible of the population living within the radius of the Line. We will assume, as it is reasonably possible, that by the time the port is completed, the Line will be open to the traffic from Silientao to Lanchow.

Roughly speaking, the Lung-Hai runs 185 miles through Northern Kiangsu, 375 miles through Honan, 65 miles through Shensi and 185 miles in Kansu. According to the best authority, the average population, per square mile, is given as 450 for Kiangsu, 400 for Honan, 110 for Shensi and 40 for Kansu. Assuming that the stimulating influence of the Railway will make itself felt in the economic conditions of the people living within a zone of say only 50 miles along both sides of the Line, we shall have :

In Kiangsu	8,325,000	people
In Honan	15,000,000	„
In Shensi	715,000	„
In Kansu	740,000	„

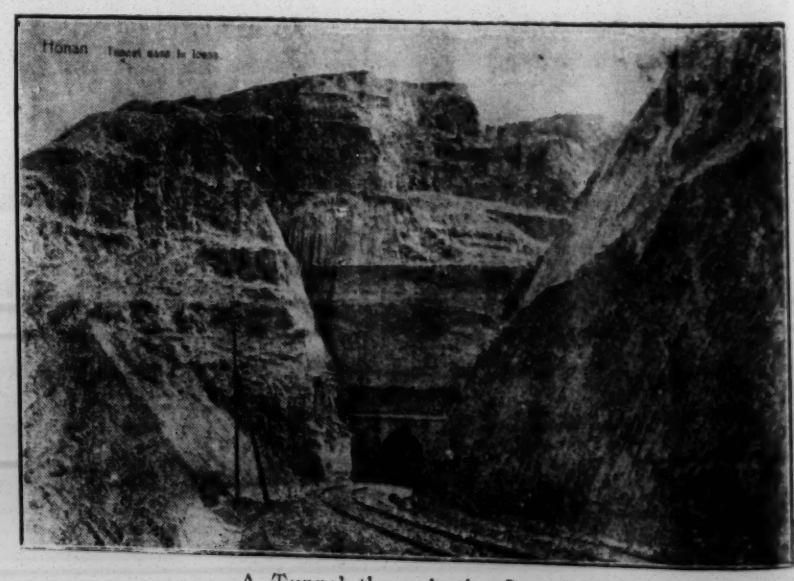
The population living in what we could term the "Lung-Hai zone" may therefore be conservatively estimated at 25,000,000 in round figures. Of course, the 50 miles limit is arbitrary; it may be two or three times larger in Kansu, Shensi and Western Honan but somewhat less in certain parts of Honan and Kiangsu where there are other means of communications. The figure of 50 miles, however, has been adopted in order to arrive at a conservative average of the population which will be directly affected by the Railway.

Traffic Prospects

As regards agricultural, animal and mineral productions, we may summarize them briefly as follows:

Kiangsu: The two most important items of traffic in Northern Kiangsu are groundnuts and salt. The production of groundnuts along the Railway is estimated at 80,000 tons per annum. The salt production in the Hwei Pei district is placed at 175,000 tons, of which 75,000 tons are available for shipment by Railway from Haichow to various points on the Lung-Hai, the Tientsin-Pukow and the Peking-Hankow Lines.

Honan: The most important product of Honan is unquestionably Coal. Some of the Mines located in Honan are well known for the superior quality of their coal which is being shipped all over China. The names of the Liu-Ho-Kow and Peking Syndicate Mines (Fu-Chung) are familiar to everybody in the Far East. Some 25,000 tons of salt produced in the Hotung district of Shansi are being shipped yearly along the Lung-Hai. Among the products of agriculture, we may mention: cotton, wheat, sorghum, beans, millet, sesame, seeds, Indian corn and Chinese medicinal plants.



A Tunnel through the Loess

A peculiar feature of the Loess country is the vertical cleavage of the soil. From a height the plain appears to stretch away in an unbroken level for miles, but upon closer examination the surface is found to be full of cracks and ravines, many of them several hundred feet deep but a few yards wide.

Aboove — The Loess Country.

Right — Yellow River at San-Men.

Below — Ridges in the Loess.

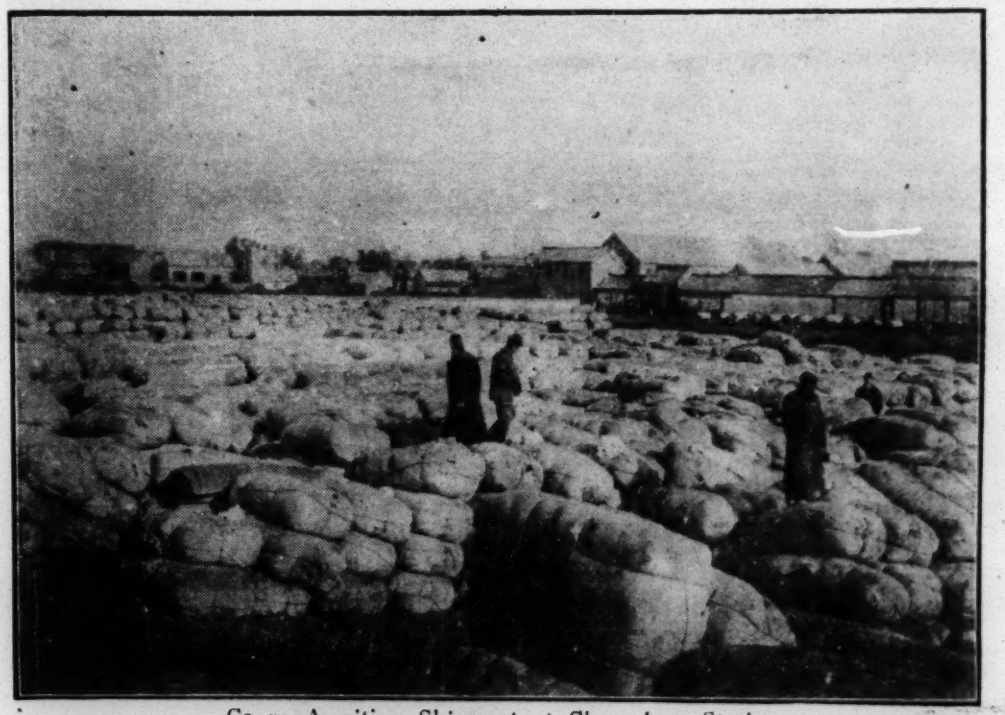
The Loess Plain stretches through the West China provinces of Shensi, Shansi, and Kansu. The area convered by this plain was estmated by Baron Richthofen to be about 375,000 square miles. North of Sianfu the soil attains a maximum depth of 1,000 ft.

According to competent authorities this extensive Loess plain was produced in ancient days by deposits of dust blown by the wind through a long period of time. This powdery deposit constitutes a rich soil unneccessary to fertilize. With sufficient rainfall large crops are grown, but droughts are frequent.

We will not attempt to give any statistics as to the quantities of each of the above commodities produced or likely to be shipped by Railway. The last normal year for which statistics are available is 1923. Since then, conditions have greatly changed in many respects and the figures we could produce at this time would be mere guesswork.

It may be pointed out however, that in spite of the disturbed conditions throughout the Province, and contrary to current opinion, the agriculture has continued to develop year after year.

Shensi: The Wei basin produces the finest buality of cotton grown in China. In 1924, approximtaely 40,000 tons of it were shipped by the Lung-Hai but it is estimated that as a result of extensions which have place in the culture of this product during the past three or four years, the next normal year—as far as Railway traffic is concerned—will show a substantial increase. Other products of Shensi are wheat, corn, tobacco, Irish potatoes, alfalfa, beans, oats, barley, millet, groundnuts, silk, the staple crop being wheat. Shensi's minerals remains to be exploited.



Cargo Awaiting Shipment at Chengchow Station

Kansu: The Line has not been built sufficiently far West as yet, to allow any considerable traffic to develop from that province. However, when it shall reach Tung-Kwan and Sianfu, a large traffic will develop in the following commodities: skins and hides, wool, tobacco (Shui Yen), licorice roots and other medicinal plants.

That the traffic is bound to develop is made certain by the large number of laborers emigrating westwards every year. Just what the importance of this emigration movement is, cannot be ascertained under the present unsettled conditions. However, up to 1924, it was noticed that a large percentage of the laborers going into Shensi and Kansu every spring, did not return in the fall, having apparently settled down there. The large and fertile table-lands of Eastern and Northeastern Kansu will no doubt offer opportunities to millions of people from the too densely populated provinces and an emigration movement is bound to start in that direction.

Effects of Civil War

Up to 1924, the traffic on the Lung-Hai Railway increased steadily. However, during the years 1925, 1926 and 1927, it dropped considerably as will be seen in the following comparative statement:

Comparative Statement of Freight and Passengers Receipts from 1922 to 1927.

Year	Freight Receipts	Passengers Receipts	Total
1922	2,555,659.55	2,091,644.99	4,647,304.54
1923	3,314,861.28	1,960,272.39	5,275,133.67
1924	3,507,818.19	2,279,580.34	5,787,398.53
1925	1,825,484.60	1,592,147.82	3,417,632.42
1926	2,476,397.58	1,387,395.69	3,863,793.27
1927	1,136,295.14	1,842,901.33	2,979,196.47

The drop in the receipts from 1925 is due, as everyone knows, to the extraordinary conditions, resulting from Civil war. It should be noted, as regards the year 1924, that the freight traffic was completely interrupted during the months of October to December, i.e. during the busiest season. Therefore, had that year been normal up to the end of December, it may be safely asserted that freight receipts would have exceeded $4,200,000 while passengers receipts might have reached $2,500,000 or a total of $6,700,000 for the year instead of $5,787,398.53 only. The growth in freight receipts should have been even more pronounced in 1925 than in the former years—had normal conditions prevailed — because of the greatly increased earning capacity of the Line resulting from the opening of Tapu to the traffic.

In addition to losses sustained through shrinkage in traffic, the losses resulting from damage done to the Line, the rolling stock and the equipment in general, should also be taken into account. While it is rather difficult, at the present time, to give even an approximate figure of the amount of such damages, it is likely that it will not run as high as many people believe. As regards the Lung-Hai, it would seem that the amount of actual damage will run between 5 to 10% of the invested capital. It is worth mentioning that, during most of the war period, the receipts have been sufficient to meet all operating expenses. Besides, part of the damages above referred to, have already been repaired out of current receipts. It was only during the second half of 1927, when the Line was cut in two by the contending armies, that salaries to the staff could not be paid in full.

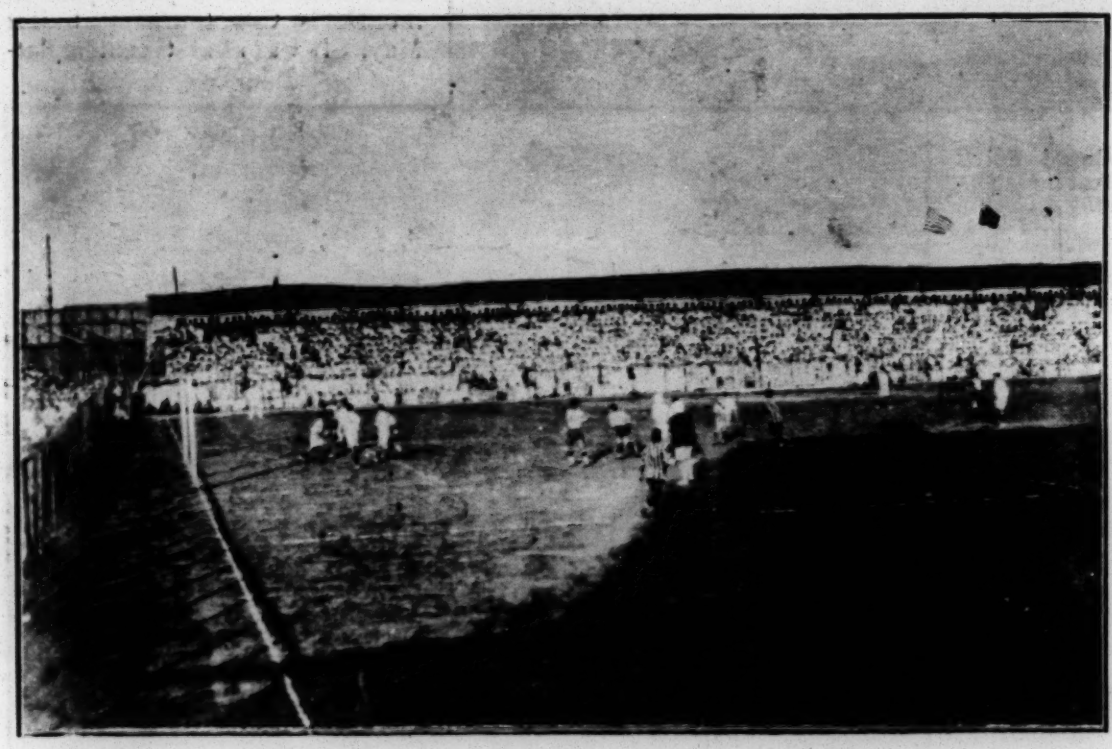
In conclusion we may say that, in spite of the delay in the completion of the Line and the losses sustained during the civil war, the future prospects of the Lung-Hai appear to be decidedly hopeful. There is absolutely no doubt that, when peace is restored—as it is being restored now—all the Chinese Railways and the Lung-Hai in particular will recover very rapidly from the ill effects of the war.

July 14, 1928.

The Development of Modern Athletics in China

BY WM. Z. L. SUNG

THE theory of "a sound mind within a sound body" is not a new one to the Chinese people. One finds many instances in the old Chinese classics how it was necessary for a "Gentleman" not only to master his pen but also to master his horse and arrow. It was only in the last two or three hundred years, especially in the Ching Dynasty, that deterioration and negligence of one's physical condition came in. It was then considered not proper for a "Gentleman" to walk straight or erect. He must walk according to the Chinese letter "Eight" (八) or, in other words, diagonally forward left and right. It would be considered as lowering his rank and dignity should he be found walking on the streets. He must be carried in a chair. That is to say a gentleman then could only be heard through his writings and was not to be seen in public. The same was true with "Ladies." The Imperial order that women must bind their feet was enough to illustrate this point. It may be true that the old Chinese ways and means of keeping fit were not scientific or practical, but the principle of "a sound mind within a sound body" was there, though forgotten.



A Record Crowd Witnessing a Football Game in China

Football Most Popular

The modern forms of athletics came to China together with foreign traders and foreign educators, —especially the latter. One does not need to go back very far to trace the dates of the incoming of the different sports. Football, the most popular sport in China at present, was unheard of thirty years ago. Tennis likewise was unknown twenty-five years ago. Other sports such as baseball, track and field and basketball, were introduced still later. When the modern educators, both native and foreign, started schools, they saw at once the need of the development of the physical side of the students, so they introduced modern athletics together with the new learning. Students were encouraged to engage in some form of physical exercise. Special grounds, though small, were alloted for recreation purposes, special funds, generally from the students themselves, were set aside for different athletic activities and prizes. It is indeed very gratifying to see the rapid growth of this new movement. Though China can not yet boast of any fine and first-class stadiums or recreation centers some of the leading colleges and universities already have very well equipped gymnasiums and playgrounds.

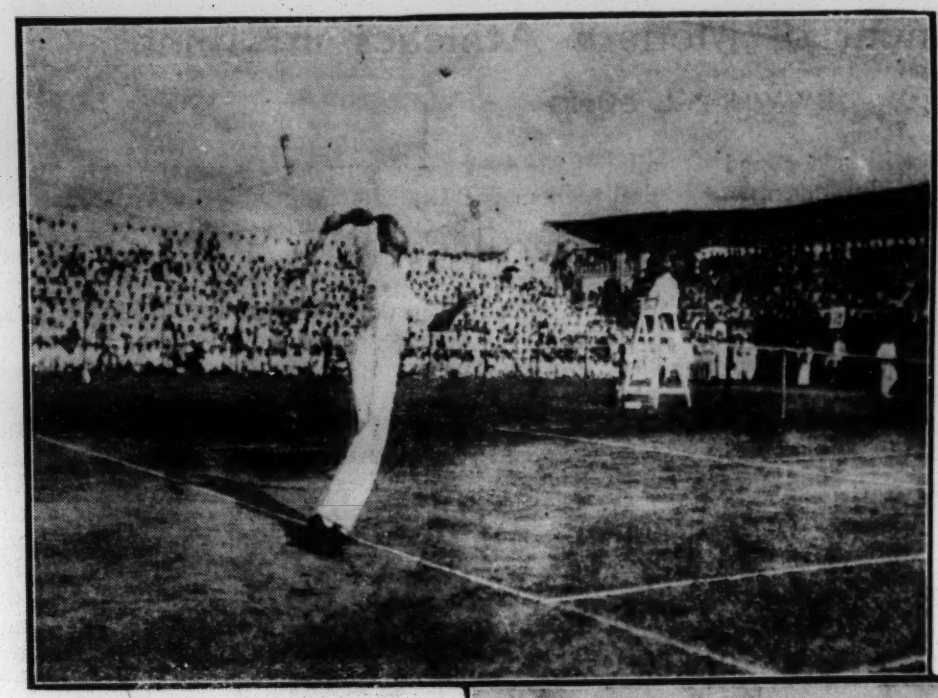
Naturally, with the different colleges and universities taking up modern forms of athletics, competition in various sports began to take place also. At first they were only of an individual character, such as one school competing with another school and no others. Gradually they co-operated with other schools and clubs and more or less local or district organizations were formed. We have today the North China, Central China, South China and East China Athletic Associations. They will be treated individually and in detail later.

Modern Organizations

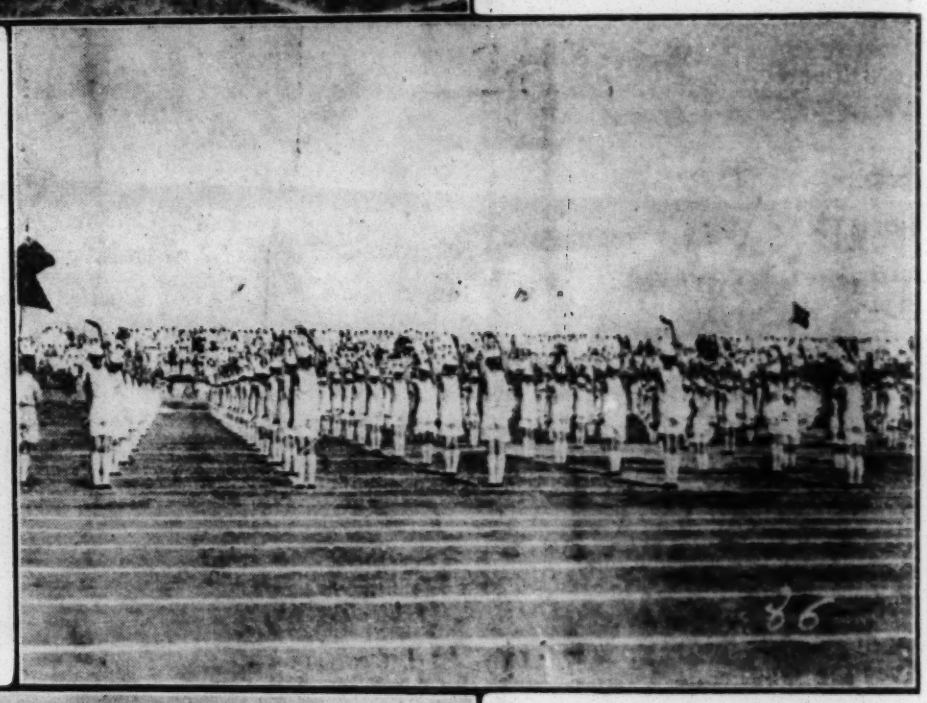
The more rapid growth of organized modern athletics in China has to be attributed to the organization known as "The Far Eastern Athletic Association." It consists of the following members, namely, China, Japan, the Philippine Islands, Siam, the Malay States and India, though the latter three have not yet taken any very active part. The association was first organized in the year 1912, and had its first big meet in Manila in 1913. We witnessed the eighth one which was held in Shanghai last August. These big athletic gatherings have contributed much to the promotion of modern athletics in the Far Eastern countries, especially in China. Up to 1924 China was very loosely organized in athletic affairs. There was no one central body in charge of all the different athletic programs. Spasmodic efforts were made in staging different big meets such as the First National Meet held at Nanking in 1911 in connection with the Nanking Exposition, the second meet held at Peking in 1914, the third one held at Wuchang in 1924, and the different preliminary trial meets for selecting athletes to the Far Eastern Championship contests which took place every two years. These efforts were chiefly made by the different leading universities and colleges in the various parts of the country, with the unselfish support of the Physical Department of the National Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations.

Rapid Development

The most rapid growth and development of modern athletics in China was noticed from the year

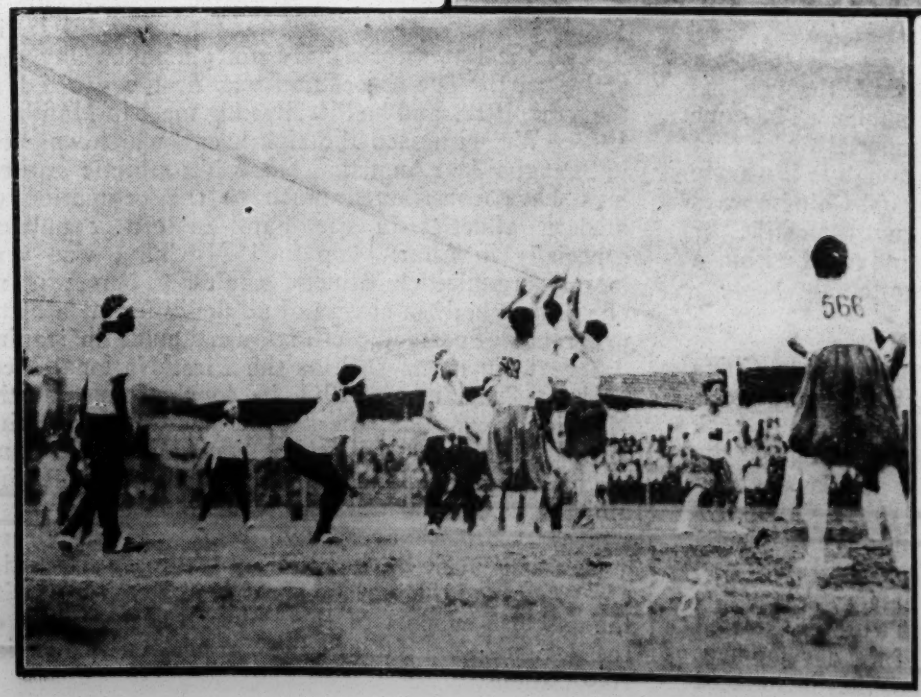


Above:—The Largest Crowd Ever to Witness a Tennis Match in the Far East.



Right:—Mass Drill.

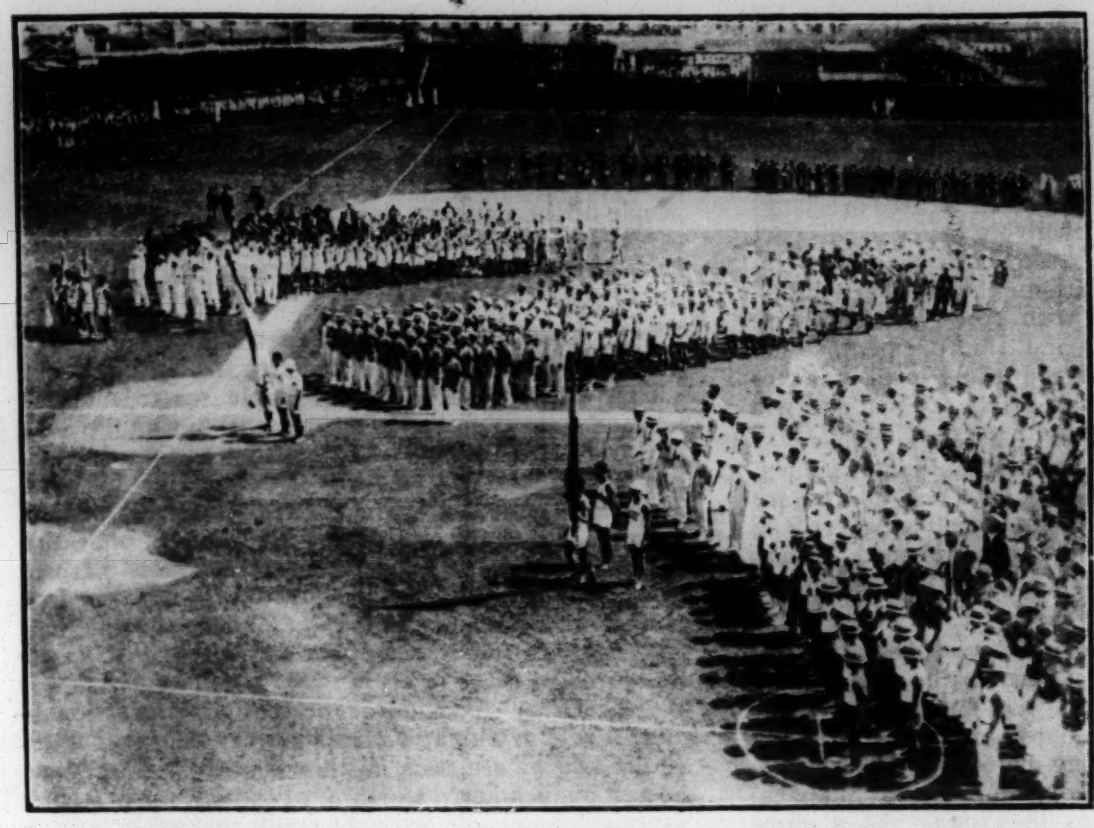
Below:—Girls' Volley Ball Team.



1924 up to the present. The fact is that the growth has been so rapid that proper means of meeting the new situation are totally inadequate. In 1924 a central controlling body over all athletic matters of the whole country was organized known as the China National Amateur Athletic Federation. The Federation is now affiliated with the World's Olympic Federation. Different local, sectional, national and international athletic meets have been organized. The last Far Eastern Championship Games were entirely under its management, the result of which was wholly satisfactory. Tennis players were sent to America to participate in the Davis Cup tournament last May. It was at first contemplated even to send athletes to Holland to take part in the World's Olympics this August, but on account of disturbed conditions of the country the plan failed to carry through. On its Board of Directors we have Dr. Chang Po-ling, the President of Nankai University, as the Chairman,—as members we have Dr. Chengting T. Wang, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Y. S. Tsao, the ex-president of Tsing Hua College, Peking, Mr. S. S. Voong, the chairman of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, Mr. M. D. Wong, a leading banker and Mr. S. U. Zao, a leading manufacturer in Shanghai, and others.

Athletic Conditions in the Different Parts of China

Because of the country being so large, conditions and traditions



Five Hundred Athletes Gathered in Front of the Reviewing Stand—Eighth Far Eastern Championship Game.

of one part are entirely different from those of the other parts. This is also true of athletics. The following statement of each section will show very vividly their differences.

North China.—It consists of the nine provinces in the north, namely, Chihli (now Hopei), Shantung, Shansi, Honan, Kansu and the three Eastern provinces. Notwithstanding the big territory it covers, the North China Athletic Federation is considered as the best organized section of all China. In spite of civil wars and famines, it carried out its programs as scheduled. Just last May before the fall of Peking (now Peiping) into the hands of the Nationalist army, the thirteenth annual sectional meet was successfully carried out at Tsing Hua College. Many good athletes have been turned out by them, especially in track and field events. They are always regarded as a strong constituency in the China delegation to the Far Eastern Championship Games.

Central China.—It has the following four provinces as its members, namely Hunan, Hupeh, Anhwei and Kiangsi. It came into existence in 1923. Its one big achievement was conducting the third national meet in Wuchang in 1924. On account of its locality and repeated civil wars, the association's program was greatly hampered. Almost no activities of any sort have been carried on since the Wuchang meet. Mixing athletics with politics by its leaders is another reason for its failure.

South China.—Normally Kwangtung and Kwangsi are considered as its full fledged members, but so far the organization has never been more than but a local representation, either Hongkong or Canton. They have so many various associations for the different sports that one association may represent South China in football from Hongkong, and another association from Canton may represent South China in volley ball, and stiil another from Hongkong may represent South China in tennis and so on. It is only lately that they have been trying to centralize the different organizations into one main Federation. In spite of these facts South China has always been regarded as having the premier honor in football, tennis and volley ball of the whole country.

East China.—It has only two provinces, Kiangsu and Chekiang. Once a very well organized section, but now entirely disorganized. There have been lately

On the Reviewing Platform—Opening of the Eighth Far Eastern Championship Games, 1927.

many new colleges and universities added to this section, and each group has been trying to offse: the other, with the result of making any organization impossible. However in spite of this handicap athletic interest in this section is growing faster than in any of the other sections. The China National Amateur Athletic Federation's ground is located in Shanghai, and travelling is comparatively easier in this part of the country than in any other part, so there has been much unofficial competition either between different clubs and schools and with foreign teams with very noteworthy results and improvement. East China has turned out many good teams in all branches of modern sports, and we can safely say that she will continue to do so for many more years to come.

The other provinces.—Provinces like Szechuen, Kweichow, Yunnan, Fukien and overseas places are at present unattached. It is the hope that before long a West China Association can be formed. Many overseas Chinese have already applied for permission for starting distinct associations.

How the Chinese People Take to Different Modern Sports.

Football.—The interest shown by the people towards football has been so great during the last five years, that it is quite a common thing to have a crowd of 10,000 spectators watching a good football game. And this statement is not only confined to Shanghai alone, but to most big cities in China. As a game football seems to fit the Chinese mind and psychology. As a race the Chinese people are very clever with their footwork, and soon learn the advantage of teamwork. In the city of Shanghai alone during the past football season, there were more than forty well organized teams in the league, not counting the private school and club teams. The mention of a few of the teams will I am sure be of interest. The Post Office workers' team, the Customs team, the tea merchants' team, the foreign goods dealers' team, the workmen's team, were but a few. It is safe to state that football has become the national game of China, just as baseball is in America.

Basketball.—Next to football in popularity is basketball. The brand of basketball played by some of the leading teams in China can compare quite favorably with some of the leading teams in America. Judging from the rapid growth of this game at present, basketball is going to stay permanently in China.

Volleyball.—Strange though it may seem volleyball is more or less a southern game. Fukien and Canton especially are keen followers of this game, while other parts of the country play very little or almost none at all.

Other sports.—Track and field and baseball usually attract students with but a very small percentage of merchants and others. Tennis because of its high cost and upkeep is always considered as a rich man's game. However the interest is also growing. Only people of the southern part of China care to learn to swim to any great extent. Hockey, cricket, golf, boxing, wrestling and rowing attract very little interest as yet.

The Future of Modern Athletics in China.

The future of modern athletics is very bright in China. Interest shown by the people towards athletics and recreation has been so great during the last five years that the need of properly equipped playgrounds and associations in controlling the different activities is indeed pressing. Care, however, should be taken, especially at this age of growth, that the development be of a proper and desirable nature. Qualified physical directors are urgently needed. Government support of the right kind is to be solicited. The right attitude of the public towards sports is to be educated.

There is a tendency at present of professionalizing sports in China, which is a great danger to the future life of athletics in this country. There has been too much hero worship of athletes by others, especially in schools, with the result that athletes have too much of their own way, and in many cases the true meaning of sportsmanship is often misinterpreted. School authorities should seek more for intramural and mass sports instead of just idolizing a few athletes, and keeping them for advertising purposes of the schools. Mass education in physical training should be emphasized. Though there are schools for training leaders of physical education, very few of them have good standing. The standards required by most of these schools are entirely too low, thereby losing the moral tone and respect of the whole movement. Many girls' schools of physical training overemphasize dancing and "show stuff" and neglect the more important subjects.

Kept Away from Politics.

Happily, so far athletics has been kept away from Politics with the exception of a certain part of the country. With the tendency of having more highly organized associations controlling different athletic activities in the various sections, and with more playgrounds and support from both the government and the general public, modern athletics is bound to find a permanent place and prosperity in China.

Work of the Foreign Newspaper Correspondent in China.

By One of Them

DURING the past two years more space in the world's press has probably been given to China than during the previous decade. When the Nationalists started north from Canton in 1926 world attention began to turn toward China. Simultaneous with the beginning of this military march began the march of the foreign newspaper correspondents to China, in numbers probably greater than ever before. The press of Europe and America wanted to know what was happening in China. The only way to find out was to send their correspondents, correspondent being but another name for a newspaper reporter who does his reporting principally by cable rather than in the office of his paper.

And so began one of the biggest reporting jobs since the World War. A newspaper reporter in China is faced with difficulties on all sides. He deals with a difficult subject, there are no established sources of news, hardly two persons view the same incident in the same light, there are critics on all sides ready to condemn a reporter as having turned a propagandist, and so on, and difficulties by the score could be enumerated.

A correspondent in China writing for the press of Europe or America is playing to critical audiences, both in China and abroad. In China, regardless of what he writes, his dispatches will probably be torn apart by Chinese and foreign circles, the Chinese being prone to accuse him of being pro-foreign and anti-Chinese, giving the Chinese an untruthful, when they really mean an undesired, interpretation abroad; the foreigners generally read the same dispatch the

other way round, accusing the correspondent of giving the Chinese an interpretation far better than they deserve and unfair to the foreigners in China.

Abroad the same situation generally faces the correspondent in China. Various groups whose opinions on China are diametrically opposed interpret his writings in different ways, each group seeing his report in the light of their own opinions. The result is that whatever a correspondent writes he may expect to be criticised by someone, either here or abroad.

Critical Groups

In China there are two clearcut groups which are quick to condemn a correspondent as guilty of writing other than the facts. On one side are the Chinese and a portion of the foreign community, these folk being generally pro-Chinese and anxious to have all affairs presented with a sympathetic ear to their interests. On the other side is the group commonly known as the die-hards, an ambiguous term but come to mean everyone who does not favor wholesale relinquishment of privileges of foreigners in China. These folks would have a correspondent write perpetually of the hard lot of the foreigner in China and how he deserves the unqualified support of his government in maintaining for him in China privileges which have no real justification but which have existed so long that they have come to be looked upon as rights and not privileges.

Naturally a correspondent cannot please both groups all the time. If he is a mind to, he often times can straddle the issue to an extent where neither side will have much opportunity to take issue with what he may have said. But during the past two years the large group of correspondants in China have made little effort at straddling issues. They have been men seeking to get as near the truth as possible and write accordingly. They have been neither dependent nor responsible to the two opposing groups to be found here or elsewhere in China. The result is they came in for much caustic criticism from both sides. The outcome was a natural one. The correspondents stepped on anyone's toes who happened to get in the way, and both sides were stepped on plentifully. The final result was the foreigners got a bad press on many occasions, the Chinese received the same a like number of times and the correspondents made enemies all over the place. But through it all the purpose for which the correspondents came to China refused to be submerged. They came to write what was happening and they did their job sufficiently well that even many foreigners living in China read foreign newspapers to find out what was taking place about them.

A Difficult Assignment

A correspondent in China is here to report to his paper all news of sufficient interest to warrant sending in, either by cable or mail. He usually has from half to the entire country from which to draw his material. The result oftentimes is he cannot see the woods for the trees, and there are but few persons about waiting to help him clear his vision. The point of this is that covering news in China is a difficult assignment, and is considered so by veteran newspaper men the world over. There are no established and reliable sources of news. Scores of so-called news agencies, both Chinese and foreign, are pouring their outputs into the offices of local newspapers and correspondents. But quantity is not quality and unqualified statements from these groups do not make for accuracy. The result is that an experienced reporter treads cautiously, scanning these reports for what they may be worth but investigating things the best he can before accepting them as fact.

Prior to the Nationalist capture of Peking, Nationalists and Northerners alike were bombarding the atmosphere with reports of victories over and routs of the enemy, most of which were pure fiction and put out to raise the morale of the side issuing them. Correspondents had to sift such reports the best they could. For physical reasons it was impossible for the reporters to be along with the opposing armies. They were forced to remain on the outside for the great part but as close to the fighting zones as they could. These conditions faced them with added difficulties to an already difficult job. They did the best they could. They made mistakes, reported defeats or victories before they took place and sometimes those that did not happen at all, but in the end they did a fair job, kept track of the trend of affairs and presented a fairly accurate picture of what was going on.

Now the Nationalists have Peking. From Canton to the Great Wall the country is at least theoretically unified. There are no differences among those of the controlling group! Everything is one! What Nanking says must be true! There is no more propaganda, and reporting China's march to her high place among the family of nations has become a child's task of passing on what one is told! All criticism of correspondents' dispatches has disappeared! There are no more issues to divide opinion between Chinese and foreigners, as well as to divide opinion within these groups themselves! Would that these things were real But in spite of the Nationalist victory at Peking and the promised hoisting of the sunburst banners over the three eastern provinces of Manchuria, contending groups continue to befog the atmosphere with their propaganda and newspaper correspondents are forced to continue to examine things as best they can before putting them on the cables for London or New York.

No Reliable Source

Contrast the situation in China as regards information of government affairs with those existing in Japan, Great Britain, the United States or in other well regulated countries. In those places there is a government whose authority is unquestioned and real. When it says something it means something. When it has something to say a channel is provided through which the information can be made public through the press. It can be accepted as accurate when it comes from a responsible official of the government. In China what have you got? There are a half dozen news agencies claiming to have an official tinge which gives them an unhindered path into high circles and knowledge of what is going on and what is going to go on. Most reports of what is going to go on look good when first presented, but they usually de from malnutrition, and others more recently born come along to take their place and absorb the public's attention. In other words there is no reliable and established source for government news.

The Nationalist hosts are torn by internal dissensions and it seems as if each dissentor has a propaganda department seeking to present his view over all others. On national affairs these agents seldom if ever agree. On international issues they will frequently get together and reflect an attitude the government wishes to have reported abroad. If it is a statement of attitude or opinion the matter holds little difficulty for the correspondent as all of us including governments, are entitled to our opinions. But on statement of fact it is not so easy. A correspondent must prove or disprove if he can

If not he gives his source as a part of his dispatch, the object being to convey to the reader, "Here it is, your guess is as good as mine."

Nor is all the propaganda being disseminated in China coming from Chinese sources. Foreign circles are not amateurs at the game and each group seeking to further its interests is not reticent about telling a correspondent its view of the case in the hope the latter will take it all down as fact and cable it abroad, thereby scoring another inning for this group that may be working for something or other and be interested in attempting to influence the home government. Its up to a correspondent to recognize such material when he sees it and treat it accordingly, which is to say state who holds such views or consign the whole thing to the wastebasket.

There have been so-called foreign correspondents in China who did not stick to fact as near as they could discern it. There have been too many reporters in China for the group as a whole not to have a few skeletons in the closet. Such fellows have turned propagandists for this or that cause and have ceased to be one of that group of reporters who are working to gain accurate information and present it in readable shape to their readers.

But a propagandist serving as a correspondent has no easy job to get his material accepted as fact by the responsible foreign press. There are numerous correspondents here, representing individual newspapers in many parts of the world, not to mention those of the press associations whose dispatches go to all member papers, these often times numbering well above a thousand and located in numerous countries. These correspondents are independent of each other, are paid by their respective papers or associations and their dispatches are sent out of China without their content being made known to each other. A propagandist can send a dispatch out of China with no one here to question its content. But the statements therein will not go far without being compared with those of other correspondents on the field.

The Correspondent's Troubles

The day was when a large newspaper maintained special correspondents here and elsewhere and they got no similar news from their other sources. But this day has passed. In addition to the dispatches from their own correspondents newspapers generally receive service from the news associations, thereby enabling them to compare the statements of their special writers with those of the news associations. In addition, many of the larger papers frequently exchange the dispatches received from their special writers. No two correspondents will see the same incident exactly in the same light. Such differences are expected and desired, but when reports from special writers and news associations and still other sources, such as government reports and others, begin to show marked differences in statement of fact then is when each correspondent begins to hear from his home office asking explanations why his dispatches differ so radically from the others. If he can prove his version, all the better for him and he might receive a two dollar a week increase in salary some time on the strength of it. If not, a sharp call down is the outcome, usually accompanied by instructions in no uncertain terms to wake up to what is going on and not again make his paper "lose face" by printing something which is not borne out by fact or reports from other sources. If the incident is one of many similiar ones the correspondent will do well to begin packing his trunk for a trip home or begin looking about for a change of mode of earning his living.

The world's press does not want propaganda and the correspondent who enters into such a game is indeed a courageous individual. A newspaper may be fooled a few times but not for long. News flows into modern newspapers from many sources. All these channels will not each present a report which is in no way similar to those of the others. A correspondent dealing in propaganda and untruth will be the exception and editors back home will not be long in spotting him for what he is. Such a procedure in modern newspaper making not only protects newspapers from printing something other than facts but it also serves as an ever alert watchman over correspondents, forcing them to get as near to the facts as they can and rendering those who value their jobs and have regard for the ethics of their profession about as willing to deliberately take up a biased viewpoint as they would be for their office to stop sending them expense money.

Opinions not to be Reflected

The special correspondent or special writer for an individual paper has more latitude in dealing with affairs than does a representative of a news association. Those of the latter group are concerned primarily with reporting the isolated happenings which go to make up the days news, cabling the facts of the case and not entering into the interpretative field or editorializing, these latter phases of the work being left to the editorial writers of the papers which receive his dispatch. A news association reporter has no opinions which are expected to be reflected in what he may cable his papers.

A special writer, although he too is expected to stick pretty close to merely stating what happened, has slightly more leeway in the direction of interpreting and editorializing. Special writers oftentimes are individuals who have been associated for a long time with the affairs which they are reporting. They are expected to be experts on their subject, to be capable of going behind the facts and pointing out to his public far removed from the scene the significance of a particular incident, in other words to interpret as well as report and connect the development with others which may have preceded it or may be expected to follow. In China, special correspondents, not to mention the news association men, have become wary of predicting what is going to happen. It has become an axiom among newspaper men that the expected seldom if ever happens in China.

Accused of Taking Sides

The Nationalist advance from Canton to Peking, especially during the time that the opposing forces were close about Shanghai, affords a good example of the difference in procedure of the news association reporters and those for individual papers. Throughout the campaign the former group, although often faced with tempting situations for explaining and prophesying what might happen, concerned themselves with reporting the best they could what did and what was happening. The specials, as the reporters for individual papers are known in newspaper circles, not only reported the facts as they got them but also allowed themselves the liberty of explaining the significance of the events taking place, giving the opinions of others prominent on the scene and generally sending interpretative articles to their home offices. It is in this latter division of a foreign correspondent's work that he is more in danger than elsewhere of being accused of taking sides on an issue or reporting accounts which do not give a true picture of the subject at hand. During the hectic days about Shanghai oppposing groups were not

slow to brand as biased or anti-this or pro-that a correspondent who filed reports abroad which did not agree with the individual group opinion. Newspaper men of years of experience and high standing among press circles of Great Britain, Europe and the United States, not to mention other areas, sent here to report events because of their training and abilities as unbiased observers, were accused of having "sold out" to this or that group, of being anti-Chinese or anti-foreign and generally unfit and ill-qualified to be writing dispatches which were to appear in the world's leading newspapers. Had these men been condemned alike by all interests their critics might have received more attention from the correspondents' home offices, but while one group was seeking to have a particular correspondent chased out of China because of his alleged outrageous activities another group praised him unqualifiedly as the one man best fitted to report the rapidly changing affairs in China. The articles of these special writers did differ somewhat in tone but fundamentally they were all based on the same facts and could be easily traced to a common source. The news association reporters took no part in the interpretation of the news. They cabled as accurate reports as possible of what was happening. The same rules governing the work of the special writers and association men applied before the Nationalists came into the limelight and do so now, but as Chinese affairs do not now occupy as prominent a place in the world's press as they did a year and a half ago the work of the foreign reporters does not now stand out in as bold relief as then.

Why Correspondents Stay in Ports

Correspondents have been accused of parking their heels on a desk in Shanghai and attempting to report affairs in all parts of the country from this location. Why, it is often asked, do not these fellows who are supposed to be able to size up a situation in short order, go into the fighting areas when a particular battle is on, why don't they stay in the interior and know real China and write from actual observation, why do they stick about the foreign settlements of Shanghai or Peking and from there tell what is happening among Feng Yu-hsiang's following in Honan or what the Wu-Han generals are doing or most anything which happens now and again in the interior.

The primary interest of a correspondent, after he gets his news, is to have some way to "get it out", that is, to transmit it to his home office. In this consideration is the answer why so many correspondents make their headquarters in Shanghai or Peking. There are cable facilities for carrying their dispatches. A correspondent in the middle of Honan might have a story which would set the world press agog for a month, but in other than isolated cases he would have no chance of getting it transmitted in satisfactory shape to his office in New York, London or elsewhere.

Shanghai Has Communication Facilities

Shanghai, and Peking to a lesser extent, and getting lesser all the time, are the news centers of China. The head offices of practically all Chinese and foreign interests in the country are in Shanghai. If something happens to a mission band in Kansu the news may be slow in coming but eventually it is reported to the head office here. A news correspondent in Shanghai will get more news of affairs taking place in various parts of China than he would if he attempted to travel constantly over the country, and in addition he has here a way to send his news home while in the interior it is hopeless. Correspondents do make occasional trips into the interior and come out with much valuable information, but little or none of their material is sent from these inland locations. Instead they wait until they get back to Shanghai where they have cable facilities which are working with dispatch although their press rates are at such a high level that all correspondents are not allowed to send by cable anything but the most important dispatches. The same conditions hold good for Peking, although to a lesser extent than for Shanghai. Peking receives less news of a general character and telegraph communications are subject to censorship when the Chinese desire.

Shanghai has for long been the most important news center in China. Until now Peking has held the premier place politically. The major Chinese government was located there and in addition the foreign legations made it necessary that foreign correspondents be maintained there. Now, however, with the success of the Nationalists and the establishment of their capital at Nanking, Peking has lost even more of its waning importance and Shanghai's has increased. Shanghai has long been the missionary and commercial center of China. It is now assuming political importance due to its proximity to Nanking and the fact that much of the Nationalist government business is transacted in Shanghai rather than in Nanking. If the Nationalist government continues to grow in importance and Nanking is developed as a real capital should be, that place will become the political center of the country and correspondents will be establishing offices there. Until that time they will "cover" Nanking from Shanghai, as here they are able to get the major political developments and at the same time they are close to other important divisions of the news and also to the cables.

Interior Communication Poor

From a newspaperman's viewpoint the telegraph communications of China are worthless. Transmission is unbelievably slow, censorship often is exerted to an unwarranted degree and messages are often garbled beyond recognition. Numberless examples could be given of difficulties in these respects. Messages filed from Hankow to Shanghai have arrived after the sender has arrived in Shanghai, coming by boat. Political groups controlling sections of the telegraph system do not hesitate to cut the heart out of a message if it happens to fail to appeal to their liking. Long messages sent in sections frequently arrive in reverse order and it is practically impossible to get corrections on errors. During a time when cable communication between Peking and Shanghai was interrupted a correspondent in Peking attempted to send a message in three sections to Shanghai via Chefoo, sending the dispatches by mail to Chefoo where they were to be filed with the Chinese Telegraph Administration. The third section of the message arrived in Shanghai five days later and the first and second sections came straggling in a day or two later, and all of them were garbled.

Foreigners in China and their interests are naturally of major importance to correspondents and their papers. In addition to Shanghai being the headquarters of most foreign commercial firms in China and also that of missionary circles, important diplomatic representatives are maintained there, not to mention the fact that the flagships of the various foreign Asiatic fleets are anchored in the Whangpoo river off the Shanghai bund a great part of the time. All of these agencies are such that China news is more available with them than elsewhere in China and comprise some of the reasons why correspondents "cool their heels on

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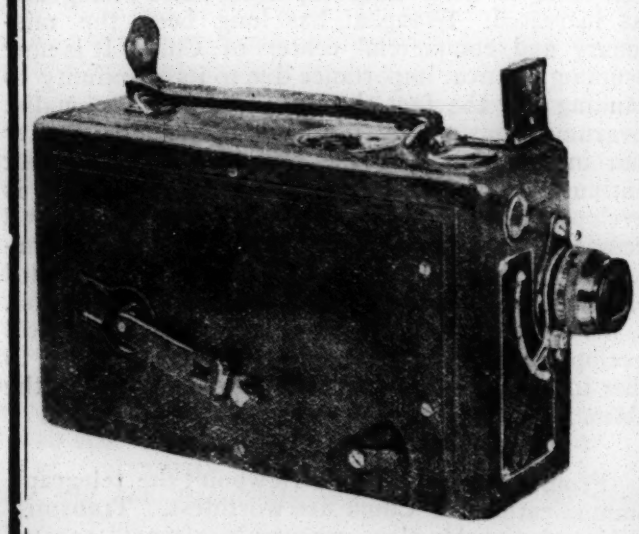

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a desk in Shanghai" rather than attempting to gather each individual item from its original location.

The Nationalist government wants the world to know what it is doing. They want the correspondents to wire home news of its multifarious activities. It also wants the world to know what foreigners are doing in China. On numerous occasions China has relied on world opinion to help her out of some crisis in which she may have become embroiled with a foreign power. It is through press channels that this news flows. Possibly world opinion will not be as favorable to her as she would like but nevertheless she wants the news to go out.

Right now much of China's political news originates in Nanking. In spite of this few, correspondents have been to Nanking and at best they make only hurried trips there. If they have news to send out they have to come to Shanghai to send it. If the Nationalist government expects foreign correspondents to spend much time in Nanking it is up to the former to provide telegraph communications between Nanking and Shanghai which are speedy, reliable and not subject to the whim of some minor government official who may decide he wants to act as a censor of what the reporters are saying about his government and its acts.

Chinese newspapers in Shanghai are struggling under immense handicaps in their efforts to get the news from Nanking to Shanghai for presentation to their Shanghai readers. They are resorting to telegraph to a small degree but more to hastily establish wireless facilities and to the long distance telephone, all of which are limited in the time they are available to the press and also to undue dictation on the part of the government. It is also up to the government to provide efficient telegraph communication with other parts of China if it desires foreign newspaper men to travel in the interior in order that they send abroad first-hand accounts of the reported good works of the government in various localities. All newspaper men, both foreign and Chinese, as well as persons in other walks of life, seem to agree that the Chinese telegraph system is not only poorly equipped and working inefficiently, but is characterised on the part of its staff by an attitude of listlessness and non-interest in the interests of those seeking to use it that renders impossible any serious consideration being given the system when means of communication throughout China are being recounted.

The foreign correspondents are also faced with a serious problem in the high press rates of the cable companies operating from Shanghai and other port cities to foreign places. News associations and newspaper publishers the world over have often pointed out that large amounts of telegraph news from China cannot be sent abroad until the cable press rates have been lowered within reasonable range of press rates existing across other oceans. With the advent of radio it is stated in some quarters that expected radio service out of China will soon make possible the almost unlimited flow of press material to foreign places. International communications are also an important interest of the authorities at Nanking. Right now they are faced with monopolistic agreements with cable interests which forbid the entry into the field of international communications by competitive organizations. If the world is to become better acquainted with China and her much reported Nationalist government it is up to Nanking to provide better means with which the correspondents can do their jobs.

Shanghai, Sept. 15, 1928.

New China and the Overseas Chinese

E. K. MOY

SOME day in the future, possibly fifty or a hundred years from now, an ambitious historian, moved to a sense of gratification by the comforts and conveniences he will be enjoying under the aegis of a peaceful, prosperous and powerful China, will undertake the task of enlightening posterity with a ponderous thesis on the origin and growth of the Chinese Republic. When such a day arrives it is not impossible that more will be remembered of what was said by the popular orators here than of what was done by the pioneers who have lived abroad, that is, those of our countrymen who are commonly referred to as the Overseas Chinese. While our memory is fresh, therefore, and yet unblurred by the obliviating effects of time, it might be well to indite a brief account—even a bare outline—of some of the contributions which the overseas Chinese have made to the New China, the China that we, of the present generation, believe will regain the glories which distinguished our nation as a contemporary of the great nations that are no more, and which will place her on a par with the great powers that exist today and that will exist in the future.

Mr. E. K. Moy, Representative of the Nationalist News Agencies in the United States.

What is the New China? It is not only the China that, in the words of a famous Chinese statesman, "has known greatness and is now conscious of renewed strength." It is a China that has profited from the experiences of the past, is keen for the realities of the present, and now proposes to use this renewed strength for the purpose of evolving a nation which will be worthy of her history and be genuinely helpful to suffering humanity striving for universal peace and international understanding.

The Influence From Abroad

A true history of the forces which brought or is bringing the New China into existence and which, we hope, will firmly establish it and ensure its growth, will include a substantial reference to the important and sustained role which has been played by the Overseas Chinese. The father of the Republic, the New China, was one of them. Sun Yat-sen spent more years of his life in foreign lands than he did in his own country. The principal support he received in the early days when he preached revolution came from his countrymen domiciled abroad. Without their active support, material as well as moral, it is probable that the Republic would not be in existence yet. In those days Dr. Sun traveled abroad always in danger of his life. His countrymen offered him asylum, fed him, clothed him, gave him their hard-earned money, and were willing to face the risks and dangers attendant upon the support of the movement which had for its first object the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty. When the revolution broke out in 1911 they gave unstintedly of their wealth to ensure its success. They saw in Sun Yat-sen and the ideas he preached the salvation of China. They followed him and them faithfully, even when Dr. Sun's cause seemed wrecked on the rocks of reaction in the dark days during and following the regime of Yuan Shih-kai. As one of Dr. Sun's biographers has expressed it, "but for the generous giving of these patriotic businessmen abroad it is improbable that the Revolution could have materialized." It may be added that but for their support it is doubtful whether the Republic could have weathered the many storms which have battered it since.

The Overseas Chinese played a glorious part in the establishment of the Republic, and if we include in their category those who have spent years abroad for the purpose of education and have had their mental processes and viewpoints fundamentally effected by their residence away from home in contact with the habits, thoughts and customs of foreign nations, every aspect of modern China, political, economic, educational, philosophical—every manifestation indicating a rejuvenated China progressing toward greatness—is due in no small measure to the Overseas Chinese.

Value of Foreign Education

There is not a department in the present Nationalist Government that is not administered, in most instances from the very top down, by men who have spent some of the most formative years of their lives abroad. Our foremost educators, industrialists and financiers are or were Overseas Chinese. The two forces which are calculated to accelerate the progress of our people—popularization of the *Pei Hua*, and mass education—were launched by men who spent years of their lives in foreign lands.

Confining ourselves to the hundreds of thousands of our brethren who spend most if not all of their lives abroad, pursuing their careers and raising their families there, the outstanding contribution of the Overseas Chinese have been psychological, philanthropic, and economic. I say psychological because

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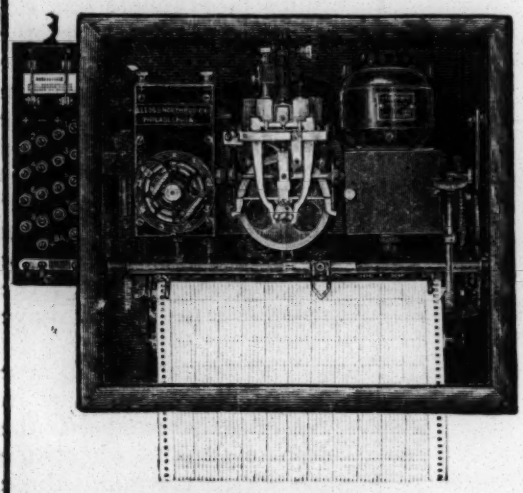

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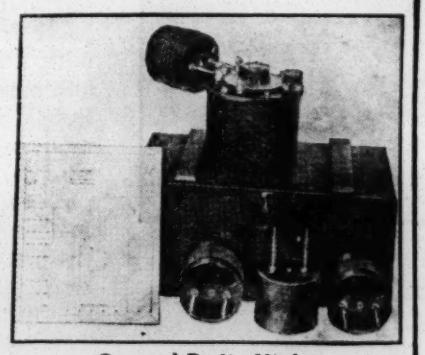

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at times what they do has a greater moral effect than material things and it is not less important on that account. In all the crises which China has faced in its foreign relations, her citizens in foreign lands have played the role of giving heart and encouragement to the people at home. The latest instance is the Tsinan Affair. When the news of Japan's latest aggression in Shantung reached other parts of the world, the Overseas Chinese immediately advocated the boycotting of Japan, bombarded the government with encouraging messages of support, and remitted millions in money to help fight Japan.

While the millions they sent back could not have embarked the country upon the course of war, who can doubt the moral or psychological effect of their action?

In more peaceful days, the citizens of the Republic overseas do not forget their native land. They give bountifully to all projects aiming at the betterment of the country. They contribute to schools and hospitals. An outstanding instance is Amoy University, costing millions, all donated by a son of Fukien Province.

But their principal contribution to the country is economic, and their greatest value in this respect is unconscious and has a decided stabilizing effect upon the economic life of the nation. At least one authority has recognized this point well enough to dwell on the importance of the annual remittances of the Overseas Chinese to their homeland as the instrument helping to overcome China's adverse trade balance.

Aviation and Department Stores

The opportunities for positive economic contributions have not been many; still they have done many things that are deserving of more than passing interest. They it was who introduced aviation into the country. It has recently been reported that some of them in America are organizing a company to exploit commercial aviation in China. They are the pioneers of the infant motion picture industry. They originated and are successfully operating the huge department stores in Shanghai, Canton, and Hongkong. The Sunning Railway in Kwangtung Province was conceived and financed by our overseas citizens. The most up-to-date and most efficiently operated tannery in China is owned and managed by men who were overseas residents. Even such minor lines of industrial activity as straw-hat and underwear manufacturing on a modern and large-scale basis are being conducted by men who acquired their training and initial capital abroad.

The economic contributions to the development of the Republic which the Overseas Chinese can make are incalculable. New China owes much to her citizens overseas. In peaceful days now dawning they, in the words of a prominent educator who was for many years an overseas resident, "can be depended upon to furnish the necessary capital and initiative for promoting education and developing industries in China." The public owes its birth to them; they may be counted on to do their share toward its perpetuation and growth.

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Modern China Will Communicate by Radio

BY GEO. F. SHECKLEN

NOWHERE, in the world of today, is the need for radio-communication more apparent than in China and the writer ventures to predict, from recent contacts with eagerly interested Chinese, that at no place on the face of the globe will such strides in radio-communication take place as in China during the next five years. Thinking Chinese are becoming radio-minded and there are plans on foot to link the various provinces, one with the other, and all with "jumping-off" terminii where China will have her Radio Centrals connecting with those of other modern nations.

Mr. Chang Ching-kiang, Acting Minister of Reconstruction, Who is Interested in the Subject of Radio Development in China.

The present interior telegraph system using the Morse telegraph wires is proving inadequate, intolerably slow, subject to unreasonable delays and interruptions and costly beyond that which modern business-like China will stand for. An example of the speed of service may be gleaned from a recent base where a visitor to Nanking filed several telegrams of short length at the full rat charge at exactly ten c'clock in the morning. On returning to Shanghai a day later he asked the addressee of one of these messages to let him see the copy as delivered. Official timing marks on this message indicated that it was received at the Shanghai office at 2.52 P.M. or an elapsed time of nearly five hours to say nothing of when the final delivery was made. Further check proved that the other telegrams received like service and on inquiry it is learned that land-line telegraphic service within 500 mile radius of Shanghai takes on the average a slong or longer.

No doubt it has been difficult to keep the lines in repair or to bring the offices up to date with modern equipment such as multiplex and printers and high-speed apparatus due to civil war conditions during the recent years. However, these lines traverse more or less rough country, subject to storms, floods, the depredations of bandits, and even common thievery of the copper-wire and other equipment used in the construction of the lines. It is probably difficult and costly to patrol these lines and keep them in constant repair and high efficiency. Therefore, it seems quite apparent that a net-work of modern high-frequency, moderately-powered radio transmitters, together with the proper receiving apparatus for automatic high-speed telegraph or facsimile reception and the necessary control and central-office equipment, judiciously located through-out-the provinces of China would solve a problem that all must agree needs solving immediately. In the business world, as in military operations, things move only as fast as communications will let them.

Communication Cannot Be Destroyed

The striking feature of a radio network is the fact that the medium for carrying the communication impulses between the various stations cannot be destroyed and even the destruction of one of the stations seldom will seriously affect the working of the others. Spare parts can be kept constantly at the exact location of possible breakdown and are therefore available to effect immediate repair. It is a rare occasion these days when a modern radio station is out of commission for more than a couple of hours. Even the short periods of toppage are hardly to be put in the class as "occasional."

It is not to be assumed that modern China has not given this matter deep consideration, for military operations during the past few years have opened the eyes of those who were enthusiastic in the effort to unify China, to the utter inadequacy of land-line telegraphs and the minimum of dependency that could be placed on this method of communication. General Chiang Kai-shek was responsible for organizing a military bureau known as the Chinese Government Radio Works and as fast as new territory was occupied by the advancing Nationalist troops it was the duty of the bureau to establish radio communication service at the important strategic centers and to supply field equipment for the mobile forces. In keeping with General Chiang's plan to get back to business and peaceful pursuits as soon as possible he is permitting this same Government Radio Works to assume commercial status as rapidly as military requirements permit.

The New Chinese Spirit

It has been the good fortune of the writer to meet and become quite well acquainted with two of the younger generation of Chinese who have been appointed by General Chiang to the task of running the bureau. Mr. Lee Van Yi is the Director and Mr. Z. S. Yu is the Business Manager of project. During an inspection trip conducted by Mr. the Yu a visit was made to the Bonlai Road, West Gate, Shanghai station where the visitor is immediately impressed with the new spirit, the desire for efficiency, cleanliness and the unquestionable effort to serve. Here newly, but efficiently, trained operators were zealously "moving the business' with clock-like precision, which was pleasantly suprising, if not startling, even to one who has been taught to demand such efficiency as the regular thing.

The Chinese Government Radio Service, we were told by Mr. Yu, is already offering the public radiogram service to and from Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin, Canton, Yunanfu, Taiyuan and Chungking. These stations were constructed under the National Board of Reconstruction but are being operated by the new C. G. R. S. We were informed that certain other radio stations constructed by the Government Radio Works for the military will shortly be taken over by the C. G. R. S. These stations are located at Laoyang, Honan Province, Nanking, Kiukiang, Swatow, Hsuchowfu, Kiangsu Province, Changsha, Nanchang, Kiangsi Province and Wuchow in Kwangsi Province. Also they will take over certain stations at Kweiyang

in Kweichow Province, Changchow in Fukien, Chengtu in Szechwan and Peiping. Proposed new stations will be located in Amoy, Ichang and Wuhu. It is expected that the latter stations will be finished in about two months.

As for the stations now open for commercial messages it was pointed out that the average time of transmission from station to station was less than 25 minutes even during peak traffic hours. Furthermore, it was mentioned that the charge was one-third less than by ordinary landline systems. All the transmit ters are modern short-wave, high frequency machines.

Mr. N. L. Chang, the Chief Engineer, received a goodly portion of his practical training with the General Electric Company in America and is insisting that all equipment be built to high standards.

In charge of personnell is Mr. C. C. Wang, who is responsible for the training of young Chinese for the radio communication business. His department has graduated two hundred operators and fifty engineers in addition to a number of mechanics for radio construction work.

Quick Press Dispatch

The stations at Nanking and Peiping are now open for press dispatches and the correspondent of *New York Time* told the writer that several thousand word messages were received in Shanghai an hour after he had filed them with the radio station at Nanking. Nanking and Peiping are expected to be opened to general commercial traffic.

Probably an even more important project is being advanced in connection with Chinese Radio Communications. This is the proposed Shanghai Radio Central for Trans-oceanic and Trans-continental communication with America, Europe and other distant points. The plan calls for linking China with the RCA stations at San Francisco, with certain important stations in Europe, with Manila and probably with stations in South America. It is a bold scheme but the writer has full confidence that the Chinese will bring it to successful conclusion. Certainly nothing could show more proof to the outside world of the progress which we who are here in China have already begun to observe.

Getting back to the landline telegraph situation, it should not be taken from what has been said above that radio will run the telegraph system out of business. Rather, let us hope that radio communication activities will form an incentive for the modernization of the present system and produce a competitive and efficient rivalry, friendly in nature but giving no quarter to inefficiency.

In America, as well as in Europe, the advent of radio in competition with old established landlines and cable institutions produced much talk and considerable concern that the new mode of transmitting intelligence would have a dire effect on these older systems, but with the passing of time we are learning that there is plenty of room for both and that each has some qualities that are extremely important and useful that the other has not. No one can question the fact that both the landlines and sub-marine cables have made more progress in the last eight years or, let us say, since radio entered active competition, than in their whole previous history.

Government Regulation

The Chinese Government is planning for the proper regulation of radio and only those who have had experience with radio in China know the woeful need for such regulation. It is hoped that strict, but not prohibitory regulations will be promulgated and enforced by an impartial body, perhaps along the lines of regulations laid down and enforced by the Federal Radio Commission in the United States. The promiscuous use of radio and the lack of regulatory control is entirely responsible for the fact that it is next to impossible to communicate with a ship from Shanghai when she is more than 200 miles out whereas the same ship will be in communication with Canadian and American stations all the way across the Pacific. It is a source of embarrassment that a considerable portion of this trouble arises from misuse of radio by foreign ships lying in the harbors and running along the coast of China. If the plans for modernizing radio as outlined at the Washington Radio Conference, which conference was attended by several Chinese delegates, are seriously considered and acted upon by the Chinese Government then we may look forward to getting the most out of this new, but rapidly developing, art of communication.

Shanghai, Aug. 18, 1928

Chinese Municipal Health Work

HOU-KI HU, M. D., C. P. H., DR. P. H

IN China municipal health practice has only developed rapidly during the past decade and Canton gets the credit of being the first Chinese city to establish a municipal health department in 1921. This development has mostly been confined to municipal health work and has embraced the activities of local governments and of voluntary institutions.

As a result of extension of public health activities in cities, come better standards of living and a lower incidence of important communicable diseases. Due to the steady progress of health campaigns conducted by pioneer workers and the broadening of a public health program the leaders in local and central governments as well as the lay public are convinced gradually of the value of municipal health work and consequently the Nationalist Government has recently extended a law approving the establishment of a public health department in the Municipality and the Special Municipality. The tendency, is toward governmental responsibilities for public health work.

After Canton, the Public Health Department of Greater Shanghai was established in August, 1926. Besides, there are few more municipal health departments in organization, like Tientsin, Peiping and Nanking.

To speak strictly of the municipal health work in China it is in the stage of evolution, but the hopeful sign is that all the newly-formed municipal health departments are under the direction of trained men; therefore the efficiency of municipal health practice can be achieved without unnecessary mistakes.

Governmental Control

As to certain activities of a municipal health work it requires collective and official action and, for examples, the maintenance of a safe public water supply, the assurance of pure food and the provision of adequate medical service are health problems beyond the control of individuals. Certain other problems require governmental control and intelligent cooperation of individuals and, for examples, communicable disease control and clean streets are only successful upon cooperative measures. Besides there are other phases of municipal health work which are for the advancement of the public welfare and health

and these relate to personal hygiene. The participation of a municipal health department in these problems is largely educational.

The balancing of these three lines of activity should be worked out on the merits and demands; however, there is no sharp line of demarcation between preventive and curative medicine. It is desirable that any educational health program should reach the entire community in order to raise the standard of individual receptivity and cooperation to public health work. It should be that all the public health activities must be taken care of by the municipal health department while the other municipal departments of local government like Department of Education, Department of Public Works, Department of Public Welfare and Department of Public Utility are doing those phases of work which have a public health aspect.

In addition the local voluntary agencies will render excellent service in helping the government to meet existing needs. It should be emphasized here that the government institutions must take over the proven work initiated by private agencies and be responsible for all the proven public health works.

It is unique in China that the municipal health department is also directly responsible for collection and disposal of garbage, refuse and street cleaning.

Now the control of city water supplies is the function of both the health department and the department of public utility. Besides the provision for industrial hygiene, school medical inspection, public health nursing and adequate care of sick and poor are also included in the municipal health functions.

The Public Health Department of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai.

The Department of Public Health is created by Municipality of Greater Shanghai for the purpose of preservation of people's health. There has been a board of health during the first year of organization of the department, but later this was abolished upon reorganization of the department. Now the preparation of a sanitary code is entrusted to the Department of Public Health in the absence of a board. The health officer and other staff members all work on full-time basis. The health officer has qualified by education, special training and experience. He is appointed by the Nationalist Government upon the recommendation of the mayor. The term of the appointment is not fixed. The organization of the department is divided into the following four divisions:

I. Division of Administration & Vital Statistics
II. Division of Sanitation & Street Cleaning
III. Division of Veterinary Science & Meat Hygiene
IV. Division of Communicable Disease Control, School Medical Inspection & Public Health Nursing
V. A Laboratory

The qualifications of the staff members can be classified as follows:

I Doctor of Public Health, Johns Hopkins University
I Doctor of Science in Hygiene, Johns Hopkins University
I Doctor of Philosophy in Chemistry, Ohio State University
I Bachelor of Chemical Engineering, Ohio State University
I Doctor of Veterinary Medical Science, Iowa,
I Doctor of Medicine, Aurore University
2 Doctors of Medicine, Medical Department, Peiping National University
3 Doctor of Veterinary Med. Science, Army Veterinary College, Chili
I Doctor of Medicine, Army Medical School, Peking

In addition to the above staff members there are two doctors of medicine taking post-graduate course at Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, since last year and will return to join the staff in July next year. Besides two public health nurses, one trained at Henry Street Settlement, N. Y. and the other at London, will join the staff probably in January next year.

The existing activities of the Division of Administration and Vital Statistics are supervision and study of various branches of work to formulate the plans for future development, health education of the public in the principles of hygiene, the publication of a weekly and monthly, registration of births, deaths and communicable diseases and registration of physicians, midwives, pharmacists and dentists.

Varied Activities

The existing activities of the Division of Sanitation and Street Cleaning are general sanitary inspections, collection and disposal of garbage and refuse, street cleaning, rat-destruction, training of sanitary inspectors, handling of complaints, inspection of latrines, anti-fly and mosquito work and food control.

The existing activities of the Division of Veterinary Science and Meat Hygiene are supervision of slaughterhouses, and post-mortem inspection of meat, supervision and inspection of dairies and tanneries.

The existing activities of the Division of Communicable Disease Control and School Medical Inspection are free vaccination against smallpox, cholera and typhoid, investigation of reported acute communicable diseases, inspection of school children and traveling dispensary service.

The activities of the laboratory are bacteriological examination of cultures for diagnosis, examination of water and milk, examination of food and drugs, other special tests and study of research problems of public health character.

The budget of the department is $178,200 annually and $14,850 monthly. The distribution of the regular monthly budget is as follows:

1. Administration, vital statistics and health education	$3500.00
2. Sanitation & Street Cleaning	8500.00
3. Veterinary Science & Meat Hygiene	850.00
4. Communicable Disease Control	1000.00
5. Laboratory	1000.00
Total	$14850.00

In addition to the regular budget there is a special appropriation this year of $93,800.00 and the distribution will be as follows:

Public Health Nursing	$16000.00
School Medical Inspection	16000.00
Inauguration of Rural Health Work	15000.00
Rural Health Work Maintenance	16800.00
Building for Laboratory	30000.00
Total	$93.800.00

The grand total for health work is $272.000 and it comes to $0.18 per capita excluding hospitals. The population of Greater Shanghai is estimated at about 1½ millions. However, the per capita cost for health work is comparatively inadequate, but the work accomplished is quite satisfactory. For example, the department vaccinated free of charge 6,727 persons against smallpox and 13,929 against cholera during 1926-27, but the increase is so rapid that the department has vaccinated 63,000 persons against smallpox and 91,000 against cholera during 1927-28. It is no doubt that vaccination will become very popular in the next few years. The chief aim of this department for the first few years is on the prevention of smallpox and gastro-intestinal diseases, especially cholera and typhoid. Provided smallpox and gastro-intestinal diseases among Chinese could be controlled the present crude death rate will reduce at least one third.

The Future of China's Foreign Trade.

BY JULEAN ARNOLD,
American Commercial Attache

TWO outstanding factors in the history of China during the past few decades have been the growth of nationalism and an increased receptivity to things modern. Gradually these will lead to vast changes in the economic structure of China's society. Modern education, modern communications, modern agricultural processes, modern industrial plants, modern business methods and modern living conditions as they become realities are destined to crowd out the old order. In the process, the per capita wealth of the nation will be enhanced with a rising tide of larger consumptive power on the part of the masses generally. With improved internal communications, large areas of unsettled lands will be opened to exploitation. Already we behold this in process of realization in the Three Eastern Provinces. Improved internal communications will also accord the Chinese people expanded markets, both domestically and abroad, for the products of their farms, factories and mines. At the same time, China will offer the commodities of other countries greater market possibilities.

It is probably true that China and Russia today offer to the world the greatest potential markets for future trade expansion. It is interesting to note that China lies between pretty much the same degrees of latitude as does the United States, hence possesses many of the potentialities for development which favor America and is confronted with many problems not dissimilar. In man power, China is potentially richer than America. For the present however, the productive capacity of the man power of the United States is vastly superior to that of China. America's one hundred and twenty millions enjoy probably eight or nine-fold the productive capacity of China's four hundred millions, because of the mechanical aids which favor the American laborer, making his individual wage earning capacity twenty or twenty-five-fold that of the average Chinese laborer who still suffers under the handicap of being a producer rather than a director of power. But as the Chinese laborer emerges into the category of a director of power, his productive capacity will increase, thereby adding substantially to the wealth of the nation, hence to the consuming power of the individual.

An Agricultural People

The very fact that about eighty per cent of the Chinese people constitute its agricultural masses as contrasted with but thirty-five per cent of the American population indicates clearly the backwardness in China's economic growth. America releases sixty five per cent of its population for other productive enterprise, yet the nation has a greater per capita agricultural production than has China. Its people are better fed and have a much larger surplus for export than have the Chinese. But with modern education, the introduction of modern industrialism, improved agricultural methods, the opening of large areas of new lands and improved internal communications it may be expected that China's agricultural population will become relatively smaller with correspondingly greater proportions for other avenues of productive enterprise.

The present unsettled conditions which so characterize China are the natural concomitants of the transition from a medieval to a modern economic, social and political society. The readjustments are stupenduous. They cannot but be accompanied by disruption and disorder and must require time for accomplishment. But the individual Chinese is possessed of a desire to work, to accumulate a surplus and to educate his children. Furthermore he is favored with the background of a rich civilization. He is inured to hardship. He seems to be able to thrive under a tropical sun or in a snow covered arctic region. If there is any place on the face of the earth where a human being could eke out an existence whether as a tiller, tinker, trader or trapper, the Chinese is the individual who could apparently most favorably qualify for doing so. Thus potentially, he possesses the essentials to the development of a successful modern economic society. He needs modern implements, plus modern education and modern methods. These he is now gradually acquiring.

There are those who fear that with modern education and the implements of a modern economic and industrial society, the Chinese will put the Westerner out of the race in a competitive business and industrial way. Those who entertain these fears fail to take cognizance of the fact that the Chinese is a human being and is possessed of the same wants and desires that characterize other energetic peoples. The greater his earning power, the greater becomes his spending proclivities. One need not be many hours in Shanghai to realize that those who have increased their incomes, among the Chinese masses, possess an insatiable desire to satisfy ever increasing wants. Give the Chinese operative in a cotton mill four fold the wages he now earns and he wears better clothes, eats better food, sends more of his children to school and, when he can afford it, will be proud to boast of a bicycle. A flood of new business will follow in the wake of the reorganization of China along modern economic lines and may keep the world occupied for decades in trying to keep pace with the increased trade resulting therefrom. Hence it behooves those who would extend the operations of their mines and the products of their fields to encourage in every possible way China's economic renaissance. In this connection, one could well apply the Rotary slogan "He profits most who serves best."

Adjustments Necessary

Naturally in these new developments, certain adjustments will be necessary. For instance, it is quite likely that the Chinese will greatly expand their textile industries. They may not continue to be large importers of cotton fabrics. On the other hand, they will be in the field for more cotton machinery and other industrial equipment. Thus it will be necessary for the outside world to adjust itself to the situation as it develops and be prepared to buy and sell where it can, to its greatest advantage. This same principle obtains in the relations of one peoples to another anywhere else, so why should we look for an exception in the case of China? When the incandescent lamp replaced the kerosene wick in America, did America become less of a factor in her import trade? Certainly not, quite the reverse! As kerosene replaces the bean oil or rapeseed oil lamp of China, imports of kerosene into this country mount higher and higher. As electricity replaces kerosene, imports not only of

electrical machinery will increase but also of many other commodities which will follow in the wake of China's emergence into the electrical age. China's per capita consumption of iron and steel is estimated to be but one half of one per cent of that of the people of the United States. As this ratio becomes smaller China's per capita foreign trade will advance from its present gold $3.00 to more closely approximate America's $80 per capita.

Some of the foreign traders resident in China are much concerned over the future of their prospects as active participants in any of these greater developments. They picture China following the example of Japan and building up its own foreign trading establishments with the object in view of making the foreigner unnecessary. While it is very likely that the number of Chinese concerns which engage in direct foreign trade will increase as time goes on, yet cognizance must be taken of the fact that China, like America, is a huge continental country and will, so soon as political conditions become at all stabilized, be more concerned with domestic developments than it will with foreign trade. In Japan's case, foreign trade has become a larger relative factor in its economic life than will be possible in China for many decades to come. This fact is reflected in the facilities which Japan has developed for the handling of its foreign trade. Its great trans-oceanic steamship lines, its trading and banking institutions which have branch houses in foreign ports and the large numbers of Japanese traders who have travelled to the four corners of the earth in quest of information and contacts helpful to the furtherance of Japan trade are tangible evidences of Japan's likeness to England, another insular country where foreign trade is relatively very important and domestic physical resources limited.

Foreign Trader's Position

The foreign trader in China will be obliged to readjust his methods and also some of his ideas to meet the changing conditions which confront him. The old time general import and export commission house will not continue to be so relatively important in the foreign trade of this country as it has been. This is already apparent. The Chinese dealer and the Chinese capitalist are, generally speaking, demanding closer contact with the foreign manufacturer than is possible through the ordinary commission house. They may not relish the idea of doing business by correspondence with concerns thousands of miles away. On the other hand they seem to prefer to deal with the China-resident direct representative of the foreign manufacturer. It will undoubtedly become increasingly more necessary for foreign manufacturers to have their own properly qualified expert salesmen in China, rather than to entrust their business to concerns which aim to handle a great diversity of lines on a commission basis. Furthermore the foreign trader in China will have to depend more upon trained Chinese salesmen and less upon foreigners for his contacts in the interior sections of the country. By this it is not intended to imply that he need not cultivate the friendship of his Chinese clientele. The old days of entrusting one's contacts with the Chinese trade to a compradore or other Chinese assistant are also gone. The foreign trader in China finds it increasingly more and more important to cultivate friendly relations with the Chinese with whom he would do business. This may entail a larger relative percentage of Chinese-speaking foreigners in business circles in this country although the numbers of English-speaking Chinese are becoming greater year by year.

A similar situation pertains in the case of the foreigner in China dealing in China's exports. He finds it increasingly more necessary to specialize in handling lines with which he is especially familiar. He must also be in close working contact with the business which he aims to serve in those centers to which his goods are destined. It will undoubtedly be a long time before the Chinese will be able to develop in any large way their own export concerns, as they are confronted with much greater difficulties in this direction than obtain in the import trade. If all the foreigners in the export business in China were suddenly withdrawn from this country, China would undoubtedly lose the bulk of this trade.

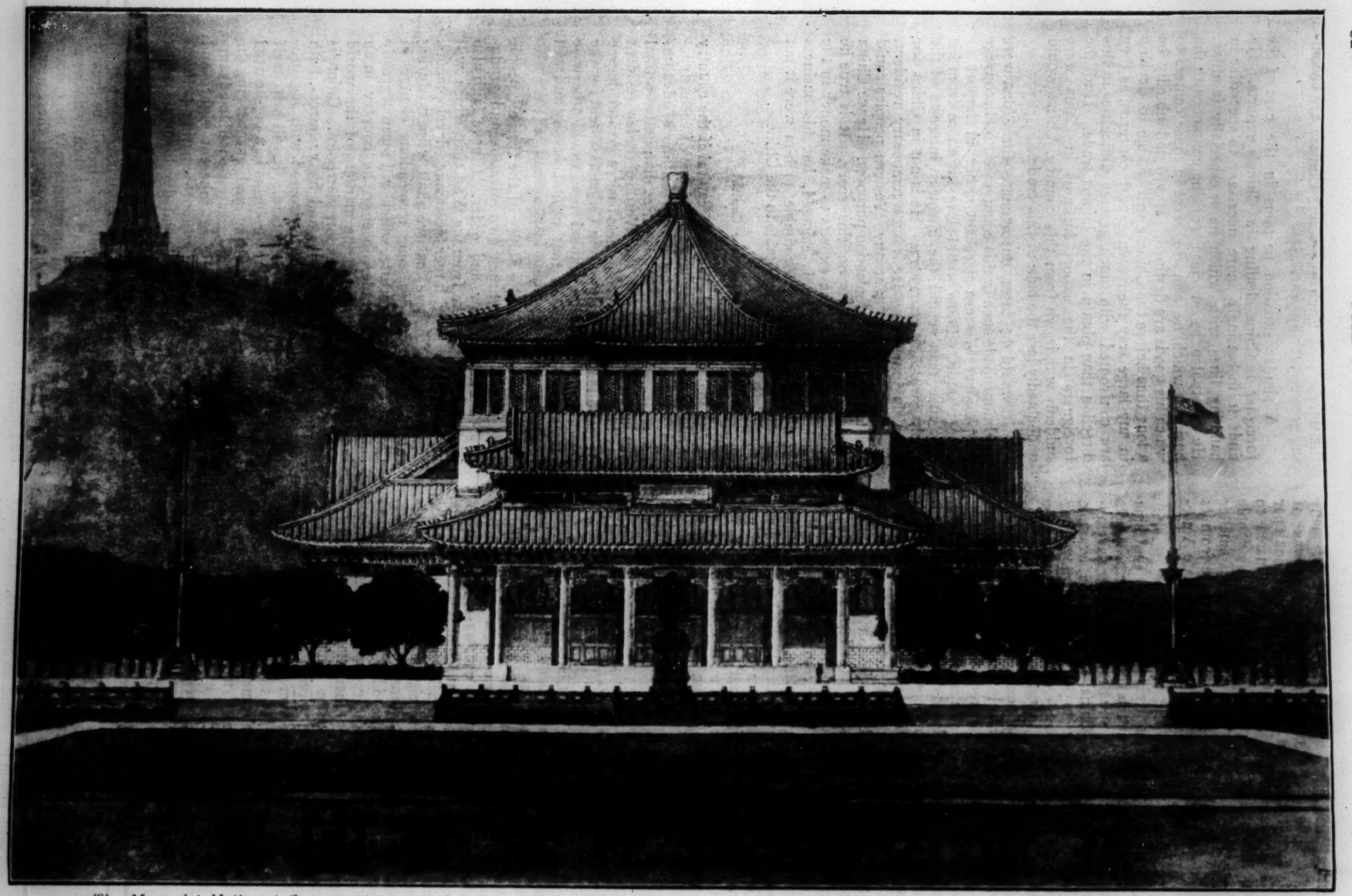
It would be most unfortunate for China were conditions made such in this country as to discourage the resident Western merchant either in import or export trade. China would lose far more from his departure than would the business interests of the country which he represents. He is not in China for colonizing purposes. He is but a temporary resident. It is inconceivable that any Western peoples could look to China for colonization purposes. Hence China need have no qualms on this score. It is true he comes here because he expects to make money in the business in which he is engaged, but his business would be distinctly unprofitable to him were it not equally or even more profitable to the Chinese.

The Need for Capital

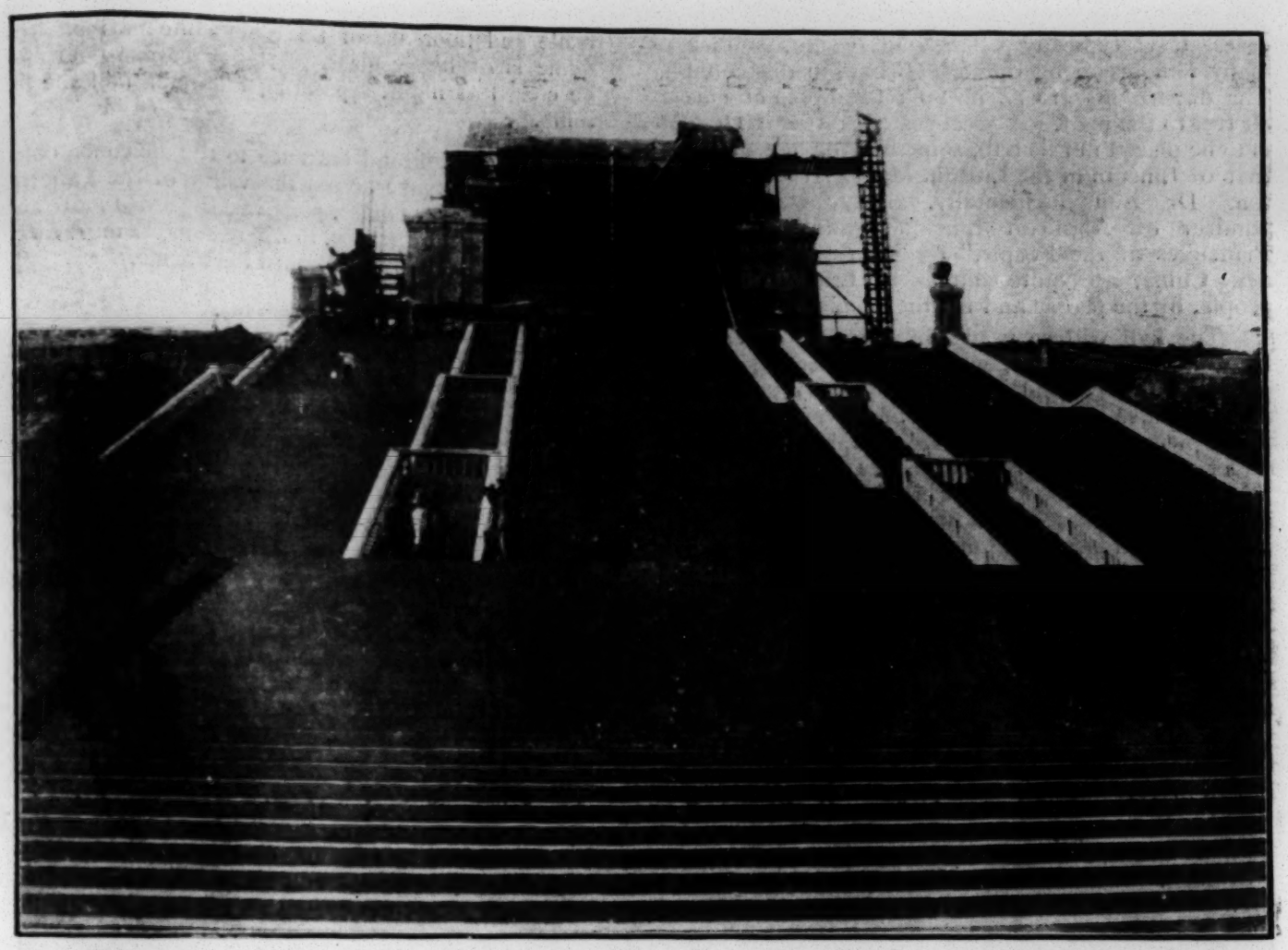
China will need Western capital if the country would engage upon any large programs of reconstruction. This capital can be secured on more advantageous terms and in larger quantities than native capital can be obtained. With the Western trader resident in China on a profitable business basis, a greater degree of confidence is inspired in China as a field for the investment of foreign capital than would otherwise obtain, for the reason that capital is shy and will hesitate to go where others fear to tread.

I have faith in the ability of the Chinese people gradually to work out their own salvation and gradually to establish law and order. I have faith also in their ability to take from the West that which will be helpful to their larger economic developments. Furthermore I believe that we shall witness during the next few decades some tremendous changes in China's economic structure, which will mean a greatly enhanced foreign trade, opening the country in an increasingly larger way to the markets of the world both from an import and export viewpoint. China is a country of big dimensions and big resources, both material and human. It is confronted with big problems both material and human. It will help itself most when it tackles these problems in a big-hearted and big-minded way, utilizing and encouraging the Westerner in its midst to the greatest possible advantage consistent with its own inherent rights and prerogatives. With anything approximating political stability in China, the internal developments which should follow ought to be more than sufficient to engage the great bulk of Chinese capital and technical skill. At the same time, China's foreign trade should go forth by leaps and bounds and will be greatly enhanced through the utilization of such facilities as foreign manufacturers and merchants may be encouraged to establish in China by reason of these newer and bigger developments.

Peiping, August 25, 1928.



The Memorial Hall and Statue which are being constructed at Canton to the memory of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the first President of the Chinese Republic and organizer of the Kuomintang or Nationalist political movement. The Memorial Hall and Statue at Canton are being constructed simultaneously with the construction of the Memorial and Tomb at Nanking. Although designed by Mr. Y. C. Lu, the same Chinese architect, the work at Canton is of a more "Chinese" nature than the one at Nanking.



This picture, which was taken during August, gives only a slight idea of the elaborateness of the grand stairway which advances, with successive landings, up the side of Purple Mountain for a distance of more than two city blocks to the esplanade upon which the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall and Tomb are constructed. When completed this Memorial will easily rank with similar structures in other parts of the world.

The Memorial to the Late Dr. Sun Yat-sen

BY HENRY F. MISSELWITZ

(For The New York Times Magazine)

Nanking.—They are building a magnificent memorial tomb here as the final resting place for the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. It is nearing completion now and, it is said, should be ready this autumn. The tomb, built on the wooded slopes of Purple Mountain, when finished without doubt will be one of the most remarkable sights in the world.

The body of the man who did more than any other one individual to overthrow the old Manchu regime in Peiping and then to organize the Cantonese Kuomintang, or Nationalist revolution, now lies in a casket in the five pagodas of Pi-Yun-Sze, in the Western Hills near Peiping. It is to be removed to Nanking as soon as possible, at which time final funeral rites will be conducted and the "Father of the Chinese Republic" will lie in the great tomb his people have builded him.

Plans for the memorial hall, tomb and impressive granite staircase leading from the foot of the hill to the beautiful edifice far up on the side of the low mountain were proposed as long ago as the early Spring of 1924. Dr. Sun, it will be recalled, died in Peiping on March 12, 1924, and his body then was placed in the casket at Pi-Yun-Sze, where it has remained ever since.

A group of his followers in Canton at once set about preparing for a suitable tomb, and, inasmuch as Dr. Sun often had indicated he hoped to be buried at Nanking, Purple Mountain was chosen as the site Not only do the plans include a tomb of great proportions; the group of loyal followers secured a vast tract of land on and around Purple Mountain which is to be made into a National Park.

It is nearly an hour's ride by motor car from Nanking through the city's old gray brick wall and into the countryside to where the memorial stands, facing the broad Yangtze. Although the buildings atop the vast staircase are unfinished, scaffolding still marring an accurate conception of how they will appear when completed, one gets a striking view of the mausoleum while driving across the flat valley to the base of the hills back of Nanking.

A Magnificent Staircase

The staircase is 150 feet wide. It is nearly two blocks long. This broad expanse of gray granite. white in the summer sun, alone is most impressive. It is a long climb to the top, but memorials and shrines in the Orient are characteristically difficult to reach. The people who in later years will come to this tomb will regard it as a sacred pilgrimage, anyway, and the climb to the top will but add to the pleasure of attaining that height and of viewing the casket of the man who already is China's greatest hero.

The memorial hall stands at the top of this stair-

case. It is typically Chinese in design, similar to many temples to be found anywhere in this country. The dimensions are 72 by 90 feet in plan and about 80 feet to the roof. A great seated statue of Dr. Sun is to be placed in this hall, something on the order of that of Lincoln in the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. Dr. Sun, incidentally, always was a great admirer of Abraham Lincoln's, and his "Three Principles of the People," the political Bible of the new China, are quite similar to Lincoln's "of the people, by the people and for the people."

The hall will be used for memorial services to Dr. Sun. Even today, whenever a meeting of importance of any kind is held in China, it opens with three minutes silence during which everyone present stands with bowed head before a portrait of the leader, followed by the reading of Dr. Sun's will. The spread of his doctrines throughout the nation is remarkable, almost supplanting the old religions with what has been termed "Sunyatsen-ism."

On passing through the memorial hall one enters the tomb itself. This is a dombed room, much smaller than the outer hall, so arranged that the sarcophagus may be viewed from around a balustrade similar to that of Grant's Tomb in New York or Napoleon's Tomb in Paris.

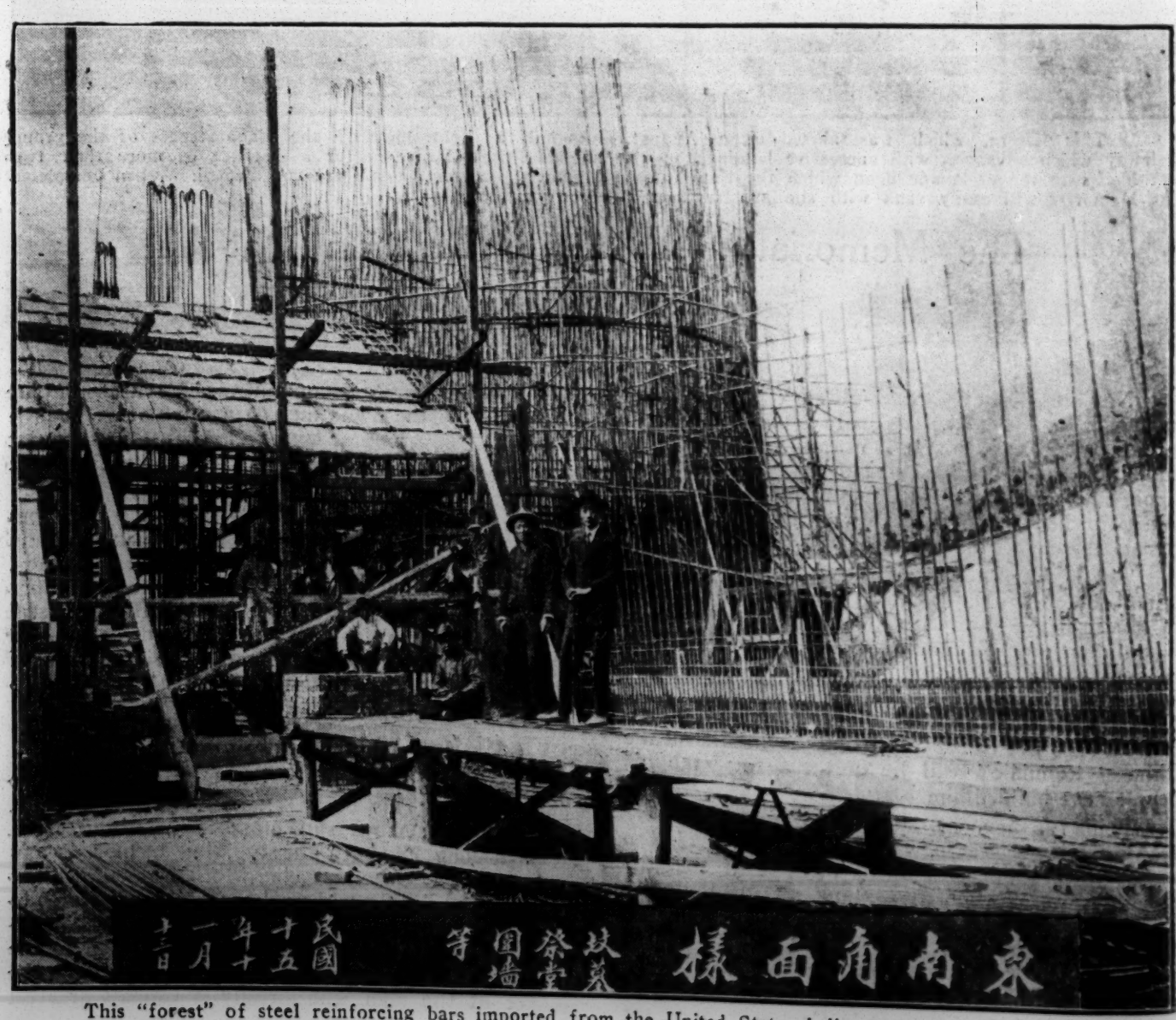
This room is virtually complete. It is beautifully simple. The foundation is steel and concrete. Italian marble has been used to finish it. The balustrade and floor are of this plain white marble. The dome is of heavy glass. A heavy bronze door may be closed at night, separating the outer hall and the tomb.

From the broad entrance to the spacious outer hall one may gaze across the valley of the Yangtze, past the Ming Tombs, past Nanking's wall, low and rambling in the distance, to where some 12 miles away the river winds its way toward the Pacific.

A Great Causeway

It is planned to construct a great causeway from the foot of Purple Mountain to the Yangtze, passing through Nanking. For the first 1,200 feet, or nearly a quarter of a mile, this road, it is planned, will be 250 feet wide, forming an approach through the National Park suitable to the Mausoleum.

This broad boulevard is to be lined with rows of cypresses. Three other lesser boulevards each two miles long are to be built through the Park, winding along the rolling countryside to the place where they join the avenue to Nanking and the Yangtze. The highway from the mountain to the river is to be at least 80 feet wide all the way, straight through the heart of Nanking on to where the old walled city gives way to its suburb, Hsia-kwan (pronounced Shaw-gwan), the business section outside the wall and adjacent the river.



This "forest" of steel reinforcing bars imported from the United States indicates the permanent character of the steel-concrete-cut-granite construction which went into the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall and Tomb on the side of Purple Mountain at Nanking.

The construction of the grand stairway leading up the mountain-side to the Memorial Hall which stands on an esplanade of granite. The stairway is of cut granite and is laid in a foundation of stone and concrete. This stairway extends down the mountain-side for a distance of about two city blocks.

When it is realized that Nanking's streets, like those of most Chinese cities, are, as a rule, hardly wide enough for two rikshas to pass, the revolutionary conception of this 80-foot avenue will be appreciated. But Nanking, too, is to be rebuilt. The Nationalist Government, at present at least, is determined to make Nanking the permanent capital of China, and a planning bureau to make the city modern in every respect is being organized.

It is estimated the total cost of the staircase, memorial hall and tomb will be $3,000,000, which is considerably more than was at first announced. The contractors' found it necessary to blast their foundations out of solid rock on the side of Purple Mountain, which has increased the cost considerably. The road plans' cost has not been offically estimated, but it is expected the projects outlined will necessitate an outlay of another $2,000,000. Almost all the appropriations covering the memorial have come from the Nationalist Government, which is financing the project.

The contract for the memorial tomb at Nanking, as well as to another Sun Yat-sen memorial on a less pretentious scale at Canton, was awarded to a Shanghai architect, Y. C. Lu. The project is being done entirely by Chinese. Almost all of the material, the architect said, is "Made-in-China." Black marble from Shantung, granite from Soochow and blue glazed tile from Canton form the chief materials in the construction of the mausoleum.

"The construction of the first part of the work consisting of the memorial hall and tomb," Mr. Lu said in a recent discussion of the project, "was begun in January of 1926. These units were to have been completed in a little over a year. The corner stone was laid on March 12 of that year, the first anniversary of Dr. Sun's death.

"The progress of our work, however, was seriously impeded by the revolution. It was not, even so, entirely stopped.

"We now expect to complete the hall and tomb in October. Other parts which will complete the mausoleum include a tablet pavilion, an entrance gate, two memorial columns and boundary walls and a causeway, as well as several smaller accessory buildings to be used for the maintenance and care of the buildings and landscape work around the mausoleum."

Mr. Lu stressed the idea that the memorial is thoroughly Chinese in character.

"In the conception of this design," Mr. Lu remarked, "it has been our aim to recreate in the medium of architecture that character which is Dr. Sun Yat-sen and to interpret the spirit and ideals of Dr. Sun. Hence, in design the fundamental ideas are in accord with Chinese traditions both in planning and in form.

"The site chosen is ideal. It is almost in the exact center of Purple Hill. The mausoleum is built on a knoll on the side of the hill. This knoll is

arranged as a terrace which commands a complete view of the city of Nanking to the southwest and a landscape of great beauty to the south and east. The mausoleum has taken on the shape of a great bell with the memorial hall and tomb at the top."

The view from the top is beautiful, no less. Away toward Nanking and the setting sun one sees that its moat, the latter half covered this time of year with lotus. At the foot of adjacent hills, between the Sun Yat-sen tomb and the wall, stand the Ming Tombs, their red and yellow brick temples visible among the trees that partly hide them.

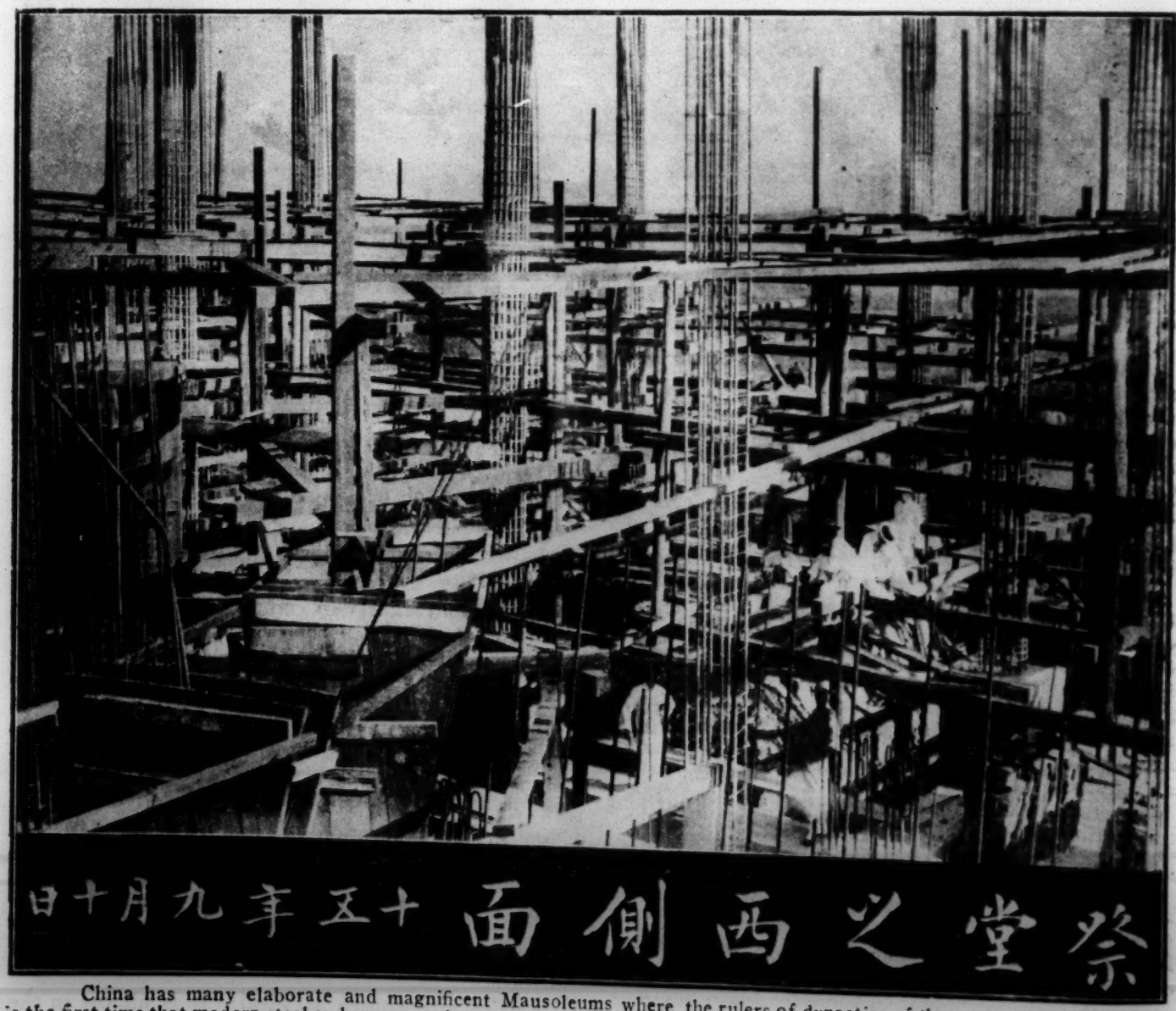
In fact, the drive out from Nanking takes one past the ancient Ming Tombs. The contrast is striking between the worn temples and stone pathways that are today the sacred surroundings of the founder of the Ming Dynasty, and the broad granite staircase, 150 feet wide, gleaning white against Purple Mountain's wooded slopes.

Weathered images of men who were emperors in another day stand along the flagged lane, grass-grown and winding its way to the ancient old tombs. Hewn from solid rock, the figures have withstood the storms of the centuries, gazing calmly down as though contemplating the casual passers-by. Perhaps, if one were to get poetical, it might be imagined they could hear the tinkling hammers of many men across the valley, stone-cutters hewing other figures out of rock or fashioning broad stairs for the honor of another man, and that they were therefor sad.

The lane turns and eventually becomes a rough road once more. At the turning, the stone figures of emperors give way to stone figures of animals sacred in those days of high pageantry and royal houses in the heart of the Flowery Kingdom. Here a horse, there a camel and further along two huge stone elephants—each group in pairs gazing across the flagged lane at each other through the years.

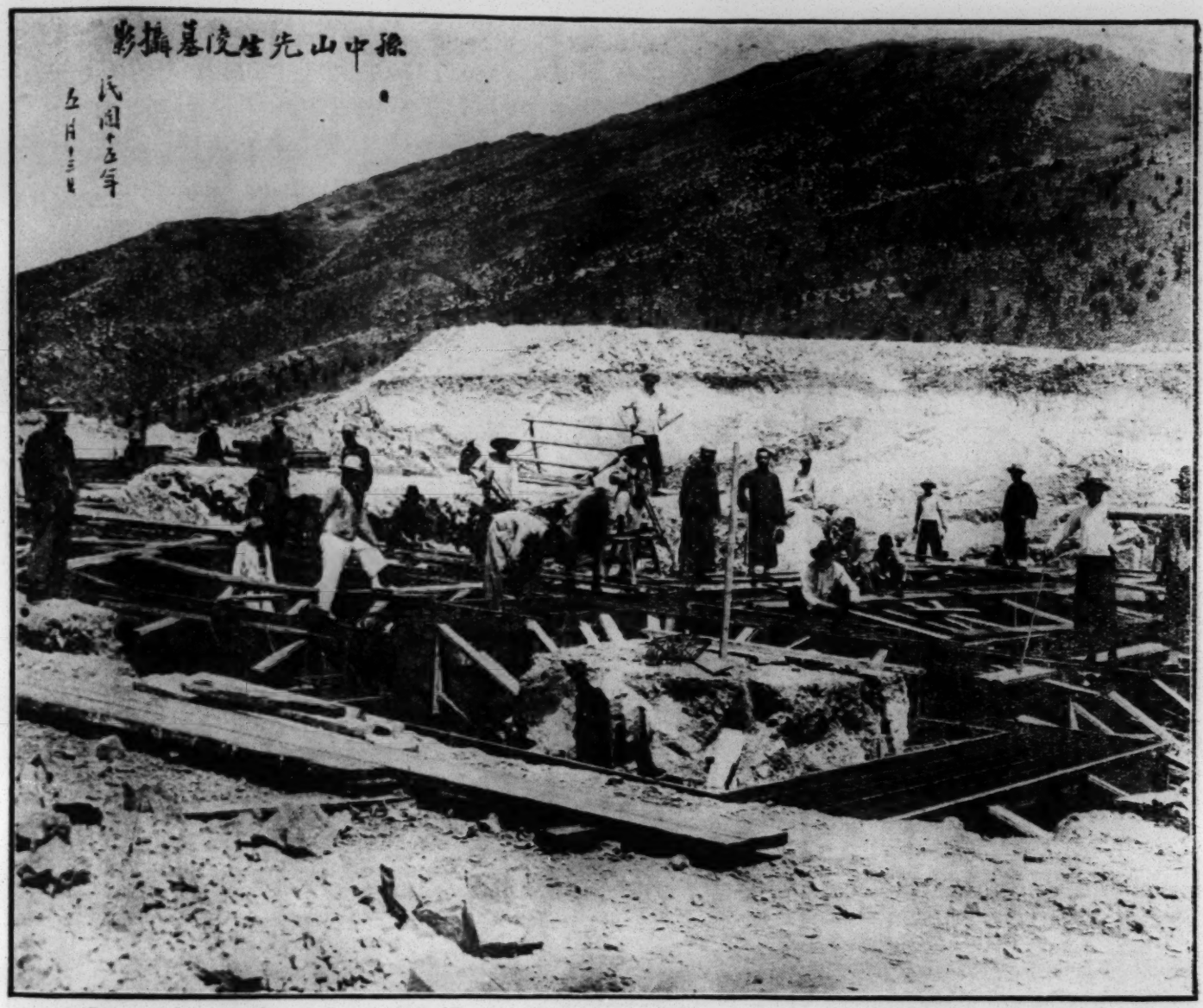
Atop the elephants many little rocks are piled. There is an old legend that if a woman will but succeed in tossing a rock onto the elephants broad back and the rock remains, she will have a son soon. Nobody believes legends, they say in this modern China; but the broad backs of the old elephants are heavily laden with little rocks. No man in the East will long keep a wife who fails to bear him a son and heir. It is against his religion.

The lane becomes a narrow road and the animals and the emperors are left behind. The road is not good. It will be a blessing when the new highway is finished in another year or two. They have big trucks hauling the granite out from the railway station in Nanking. A man on the construction work said those trucks often won't last a week over these roads. That isn't difficult to believe after a trip over them in a motor car.



祭堂之西側面 十五年九月十日

China has many elaborate and magnificent Mausoleums where the rulers of dynasties of the past are buried, but this is the first time that modern steel and concrete have ever been used. This shows the "skeleton" of steel which reinforces the concrete and stone structure of the Memorial Hall of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum,



Constructing the foundation for the Tomb of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen on Purple Mountain at Nanking. Before beginning construction on the actual Tomb and Memorial Hall, it was necessary to blast away thousands of tons of stone from the mountain-side.

A Revolutionary All His Life

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a revolutionary all his life. He was born in Kwangtung province in 1866. He died in Peiping on March 12, 1925, while trying to arrange a conference of all factions in China. During his nearly threescore years of life he travelled throughout the world seeking to gain sympathy abroad for a republic in China and organizing his fellow countrymen at first against the Manchu Dynasty in Peiping and later to aid the revolutionary party against the Northern warlords.

Dr. Sun was the first President of China. He was abroad at the time of the revolution in 1911, which occurred sooner than had been anticipated due to the discovery of part of the plot and the execution of some of the leaders. He hurried from America to London after the battle at Wuchang and the initial successes of the revolution, where he sought favor for the young republicans.

Returning to China, he was elected President of the Republic. He accepted but resigned shortly afterward in favor of Yuan Shih-kai. He said then his object had been attained politically, the Manchus had abdicated, he had to turn his hands to other things he felt he could do better outside the office than in. He was interested in reconstruction and the building up of China economically. He turned over the presidency to Yuan Shih-kai, who turned traitor and set himself on the Dragon Throne.

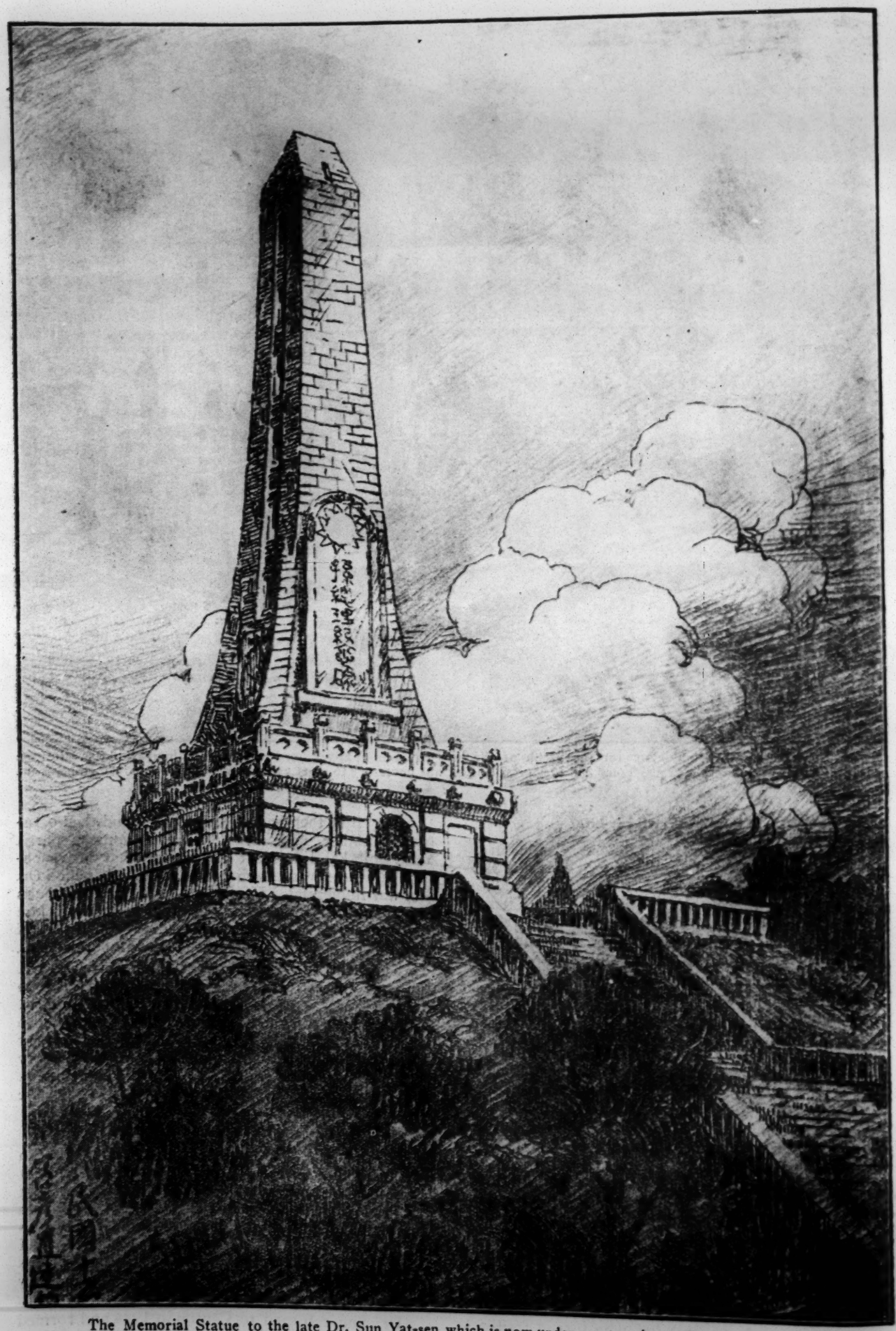
Dr. Sun then had to begin again and then organized another and stronger revolutionary party. Yuan Shih-kai didn't last long and another provisional government was established in Peiping in which Dr. Sun was influential. He fell out with Premier Tuan Chi-jui in 1917 and left for Canton, taking with him the Chinese Navy. He established a constitutional government in Canton and was elected Generalissimo.

The next few years were full of strife and Dr. Sun was forced to flee from Canton, arriving in Shanghai on August 14, 1922, on a British gunboat. It was on his return to Shanghai that he first got into negotiations with the Soviet. Dr. Sun had sought aid abroad for his Kuomintang, the new revolutionary party he had formed and which had and has members all over the world, but had found none willing or able to listen.

When Soviet Aid Was Sought

He met the Russian diplomat, M. Joffe, in Shanghai and after several discussions of what might be expected on both sides, decided to throw in his lot with the Soviet—or at least, to accept aid from Moscow as long as it would aid his cause. He was not interested in the means as much as the end. And he felt the Russians were ready to treat China, or his group in China, as equals, a thing he always bitterly accused the rest of the world of being unwilling to do.

Dr. Sun returned to Canton in 1924 and formed a new government. The Russian advisorate system



The Memorial Statue to the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen which is now under construction at Canton. The Canton structure also includes a Memorial Hall, a picture of which appears on another page of this issue of *The Review*. The Memorial Hall and Statue at Canton are practically as elaborate as the one at Nanking.

A photograph from the architects' drawing of the completed Memorial Hall and Tomb of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen on the side of Purple Mountain at Nanking. The completed structure will compare favorably with memorials of a similar character in other lands.

was fairly well established by that time under the able guidance of the man known as Michael Borodin.

In the early part of 1925, Dr. Sun went to Peiping partly, he said, to rest and seek to recover his failing health and also to seek an understanding with the Peiping group. He favored calling a sort of national convention at which all sides would be represented and China unified peacefully.

Instead of improving, Dr. Sun grew worse. He died in Peiping on March 12, 1925. He was buried there, the body being preserved in a metal casket.

Dr. Sun was regarded as a dreamer by many who knew him, and not as a highly practical political mind. However, his dreams, it may be said, are being realized today by men who once scoffed at him. His political enemies during his life have had to admit his dreams were not too far from being based on sound political economy and social science.

Perhaps the most widely known of all his works is his "San Min Chu-i," popularly known in English as the Three People's Principles—or, a better but less popular translation, the three principles of the people. They are, briefly, Nationalism, Democracy and the Livelihood of the People.

Under the first, Dr. Sun felt China and the Chinese people should be treated as equals by all the world. He sponsored the abolition of the so-called unequal treaties and under this head sought better relations for China with the Powers. The second "principle" had to do with the political rights of the people at home; and the third, the general uplift of the masses. The Nanking Nationalist Government is dedicated to the achievement of these three projects.

Memorials to Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Nanking and Canton.

Y. C. LU,

Architect to the Sun Yat-sen Memorials

In commemoration of the noble aspirations and heroic deeds of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese Republic and to keep alive in the minds of the present and future generations of four hundred millions of Chinese the ideals and principles which he had laid down for the salvation and remaking of the Chinese nation, it is highly fitting that great significance should be attached to the erection of memorials and monuments to Dr. Sun's memory in all parts of China and especially to the building of Dr. Sun's mausoleum on Purple Hill in Nanking, a spot strongly cherished by Dr. Sun himself during his life time. When in 1924 the remains of Dr. Sun Yat-sen were being placed in the five pagodas of Pi-Yun-Sze in the Western Hills near Peiping, the Committee on Dr. Sun's Tomb Construction was formed of prominent Kuomintang members. In April of that year a vast tract of land was secured on Purple Hill near the Tomb of the Founder of the Ming Dynasty. In May an open competition was called for the design of a Memorial Hall and Tomb for Dr. Sun Yat-sen in which about forty participants both Chinese and foreign were entered. The competition was closed in September and prizes and honorable mentions were awarded. The first prize design was decided upon to be executed and its winner was chosen as architect of the works.

Progress Impeded

The construction of the first part of the works consisting of the Memorial Hall and Tomb was commenced January 1926, and was scheduled to be completed in a little more than a year's time. The corner stone was laid on March 12th, the first anniversary of Dr. Sun's death. The progress of the work was seriously impeded as it was several times affected by the Revolutionary war when it reached the area of Nanking, but was never entirely stopped. At present it is expected that the Memorial Hall and Tomb will be completed by October of this year to be ready for the funeral and interment to be held in November. Other structures which will complete the mausoleum consist of a Tablet Pavilion, an Entrance Gate, a Pailo, Two Memorial Columns and boundary walls and a causeway and flights of steps beside minor accessory buildings used for the maintenance and care of the building and landscape work of the mausoleum.

The expenses for the construction was to be borne by the National treasury but the greater part has been appropriated from the Canton Government since the founding of the Nationalist Government there in 1926. The total cost will amount to a little over two million dollars when completed.

The Architect's Aim

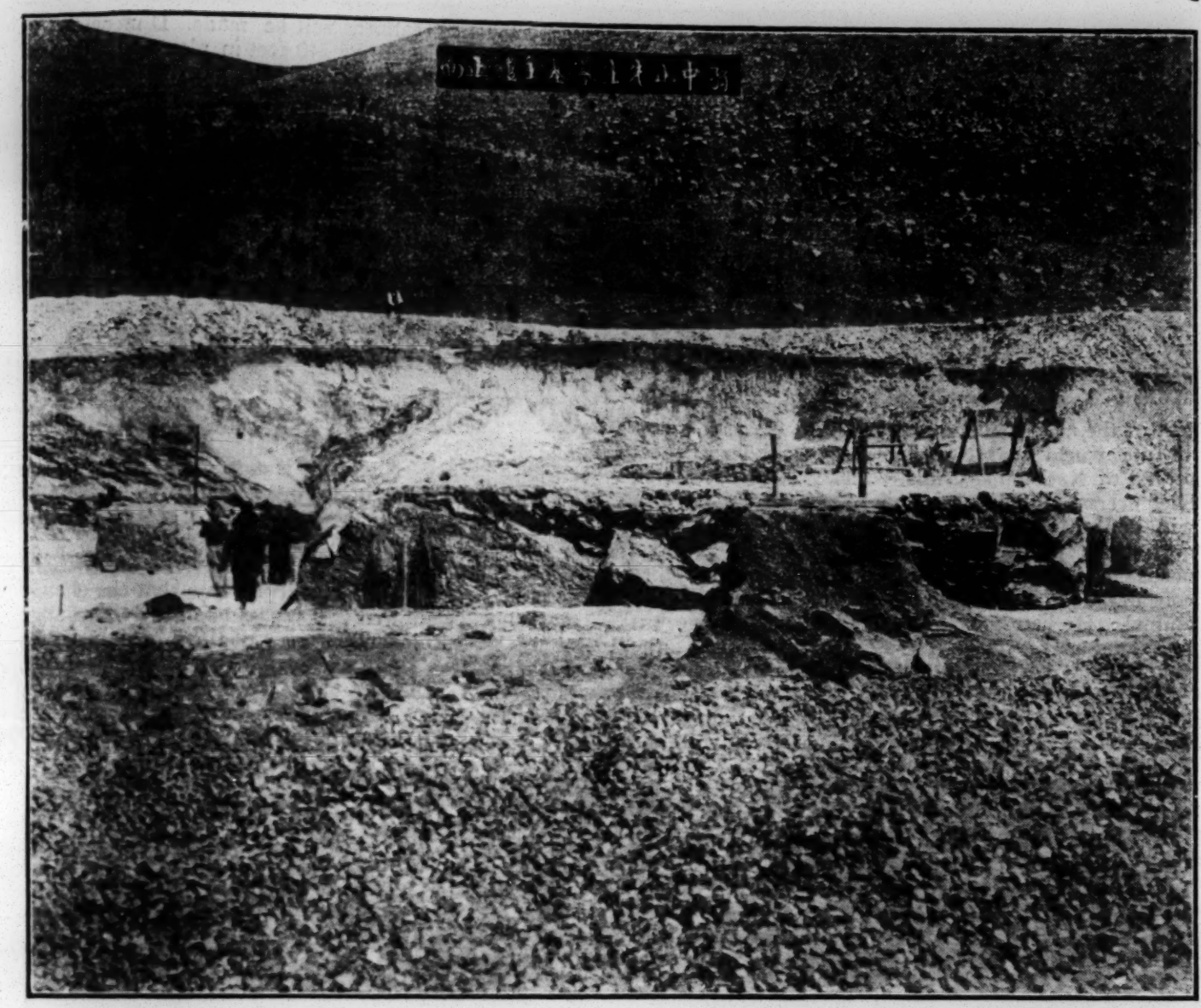
In the conception of this design it has been the aim of its architect to recreate in the medium of architecture that character which is Dr. Sun Yat-sen and to interpret in architectural form the spirit and ideals of Dr, Sun which seeks to embody the highest of the philosophical thought of ancient China into the practical solution of life problems of the human race by methods developed through modern scientific researches. Hence in the design of this mausoleum the fundamental ideas are in accordance with Chinese traditions both in planning and in form. By its architecturic qualities it seeks to express the character and ideals of Dr. Sun as outlined above. The adherence to tradition of the temple idea in the mausoleum is not strictly slavish and is in spirit only. It should be apparent in its Chinese origin, yet, must stand out distinctly as a creative effort in monumental construction of modern times.

The architectural problem of planning of the mausoleum proper consists in combining the Memorial Hall to the Tomb which is to be made accessible from the former. The Tomb viewed from outside looks just like one of its kind to be found in China, but the interior is so arranged that the sarcophagus can be viewed from around a balustrade like that of Grant's Tomb in New York or Napoleon's Tomb in Paris.

The design of the Memorial Hall is an attempt at translating or rather developing Chinese architecture from wood to stone and concrete; at the same time achieving the distinctive character of a mausoleum. This translation applies to the ornamentation as well as to the principles of construction. The Hall will serve its purpose as one of its kind in China but is also to house a sitting statue of Dr. Sun Yat-sen similar to that of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. Its dimensions are 72 by 92 feet in plan and about 80 feet high to the roof ridge.

An Ideal Site

The site chosen is an ideal one. It is almost in the exact center of Purple Hill. The Mausoleum is erected on a knoll on the sloping side of the hill. This knoll is arranged as a terrace which commands a complete view of the city of Nanking to the south and east.



This picture illustrates the extent of the cutting which it was necessary to blast out of the side of Purple Mountain at Nanking in order to prepare the foundation for the Sun Yat-sen Memorial and Tomb.

In developing the grounds on the hill slope it took on most naturally the shape of a huge bell with the Mausoleum at its top which may be seen at a distance of miles. The approach consists of an immediate stretch of straight paved causeway 1200 feet long to be lined with rows of cypresses and three roads of two miles long each of winding driveway along the rolling country-side before it joins the main road from the city. From these driveways views of the Mausoleum at different angles and through varied vistas are to be gained as one makes the approach. The adjoining country including the hill-sides is being planned out as a national park on a large scale.

The method of construction although modern can be said to be purely Chinese in idea; it consists of a skeleton of reinforced concrete filled in with walls of brick and stone very much similar to Chinese system of posts and beams. The Tomb is in the form of a dome of double shell of reinforced concrete also faced with granite. In a way it is be regretted that, owing to the restriction of funds and limitation of the time for its completion, this structure can not be built of solid masonry throughout, in which case it would become an adaptation of western construction to Chinese architecture—which is more desirable from an architectural point of view. The invention of reinforced concrete is but recent and its quality of permanence is still to be seen. In this building an effort is made to protect all reinforced concrete work from the outside and it may be said that it will be the most permanent structure that has ever been built in China.

Enduring Materials

All materials are selected with a view to their lasting quality. The Hall and the Tomb will be faced with Kaolung granite; all other stone work will also be of granite. The roofing tiles as orignally proposed are to be of bronze, but as this was thought too extravagant, glazed tiles will be used instead. The interior finish will be in granite marble, and artificial stone. The ornamental part in ceiling and beams will be done in mosaic, no painting being used anywhere. Windows and doors are all made of bronze.

In the design of this work the aim has been to develop Chinese architecture according to the principles of aesthetics and it is neither the adapting of Chinese forms to modern construction nor vice versa. An original composition is striven for but always with a feeling for and in the spirit of Chinese ideals gathered through the study of the best existing examples. Soon after the Nationalist Government was first inaugurated in Canton in 1926, it voted for the building of a Memorial Hall and Monument to Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the city of Canton. The architect for Dr. Sun's Mausoleum was made also architect of these two works after a competition. The work of construction of both was started in the spring of 1928 and the buildings are expected

to be completed in about two years. The total cost of both will amount to over two million dollars.

Designed in Chinese Style

The Memorial Auditorium being the largest structure of its kind in the Orient is also designed in Chinese style; it is a combination of steel and concrete construction with a seating capacity for five thousand people. All modern installations including full acoustic treatment will be made. Dimensions of the building are 210 by 240 feet in plan and 160 feet in height. The building is on the site of former Presidential Yamen occupied by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1924. The Monument is being erected on top of Kuan Yin Hill directly behind the Auditorium. It will be constructed entirely of granite to a height of 120 feet and will command a complete view of the city of Canton and its environment.

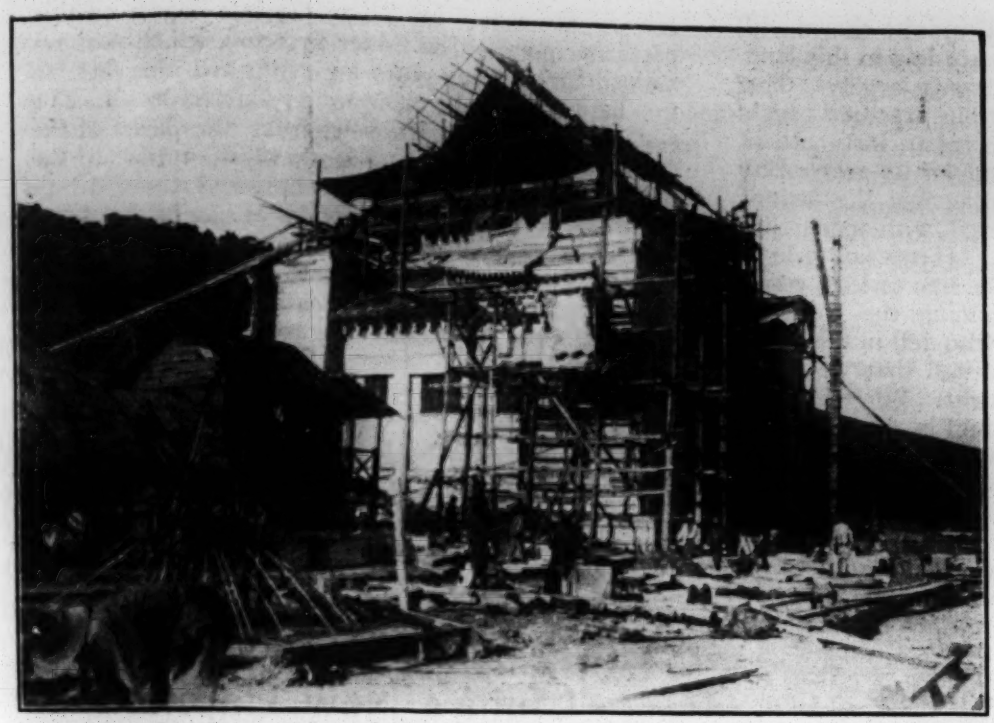
Peiping or Nanking?

BY LI TZ-HYUNG

With the fall of Peiping, for centuries the capital seat of the aged monarchic China, it became clear to all the world that Nanking would be the permanent capital of Nationalist China. This change of capital, like every another change in human affairs, has met with opposition and complaints from not a too large portion of Chinese and foreigners as well. No one needs to be surprised at this. Apart from all other considerations, man is by nature a conservative animal. He hates changes. He will not change unless he has to. That the said change affects the population of the old metropolis cannot be denied. The city is clad with a gloomy prospect. Of ordinary business there was not much apart from the contracts with the government and these have gone with the government. The once gay and crowded hotels are deserted. House rentals have considerably dropped. The ricsha business which is the most precarious of all is badly hit. All if this is quite true, and all the sympathy of the nation must be expressed for this unfortunate situation. Nor will the Nationalist Government spare anything which is within its power to do to mitigate the situation.

But it is no argument to say that the change must not be allowed to compass because such change would spell ruin and beggary of the inhabitants of a single metropolis regardless of national welfare. Furthermore, the effects of the change upon Peiping inhabitants have been much exaggerated by Chinese and foreigners especially. The fact that the revolu-

Still another view illustrating the extent of the cutting on the side of Purple Mountain that was necessary for the construction of the Sun Yat-sen Tomb and Memorial. The site overlooks the valley and plain upon which the city of Nanking lies with the Yangtsze River in the distance.



During the construction of the Memorial Hall, an important part of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum at Nanking, which is now nearing completion. The Memorial Hall is a large structure of combined oriental-occidental construction, the frame-work of which is of concrete with a facing of cut-granite on the exterior and marble in the interior. The ceiling and pillars are of Peiping Temple style as well as the roof. The actual Tomb stands directly back of the Memorial Hall.

tion was ever started at all must not be lost sight of. It was perfectly within the knowledge of the exponents of the revolution that such revolution would mean loss of lives, destruction of property, stoppage of trade and industry, indeed everything which was not conducive to our immediate happiness and blessings. Nevertheless, it had to be started in view of the significant and far-reaching future prospects and rightly or wrongly it has been gone through. The same cannot but apply to the change of capital which would mean misery to a number, though insignificant in proportion to the 400,000,000, and on a scale which has dwindled into nothing in comparison with the nation-wide revolution. Provinces like Hunan and Kwangtung, wherefrom no seat of capital has ever been shifted to anywhere else, have been worse sufferers than the Peiping inhabitants from that deadly thing—"red terrorism." During the past two years, the whole nation went through a trying time. The people, rich or poor, have invariably suffered. Our men fallen in battlefields mounted to hundreds of thousands. Widows and orphans in great number have been left behind by the fallen veterans. All these, however, we have willingly endured as a price for that intangible ideal-making of a modern democracy on the ruins of the aged and much worn-out monarchy.

Motives Were Sincere

Apart from any consideration of either our success or failure, which it is still too early to say, we have been sincere and pure in our motive and earnest at the task. We are not unaware of the immensely difficult task confronting our people and the government. There seems almost to be no way out. Yet some way must be found. In this difficult time of adjustment, the virtues of patience and confidence cannot be too strongly urged. Mutual trust and sincerity of purpose will go far to entrench ourselves. There must be a willingness to sacrifice personal regional interests for the greater and nobler interests of the nation. Businessmen have contributed their hard-earned cash to finance the Northern Expedition. Landowners have been heavily taxed. In short, no one has been free from the effect of the great change. The Peiping inhabitants who have been the least touched by the direct effects of the war are also hit by the change of the capital. But all these become nothing, when compared with the poor-fed, poor clad, and the under-paid soldiers who took their lives in their hands ever since the march from Canton to fight for the noble cause"—independence and equality" of China. They fought with their stout hearts and saw the task through with militarism eradicated and imperialism paralyzed. Finally, they marched victoriously to Peiping. What did they get? Who else have made such supreme sacrifice as these worthy veterans? The government was at its wit's end to finance the Northern Expedition. The armies have to be reduced through disbandment. Hundreds of thousands have thus been temporarily thrown out of work. Our sympathy needs necessarily first be for these men. If anybody is to be provided at all, they should come first and foremost in this list. In view of this touching fact, the citizens of Peiping need to be more patient and seek gradually to adjust themselves to the changed condition.

Change Absolutely Necessary

The change of capital is absolutely necessary and its meaning is deep and far-reaching. Since the first shot was fired in the outbreak of the revolution in 1911, Dr. Sun had it in his mind that the capital of the future republican China should be in Nanking. In 1912 he, as the first or the provisional president of the Republic of China, actually chose Nanking as the capital seat. Later, he urged Yuan Shih-kai to come down to Nanking to resume his presidency when he himself resigned in Yuan's favor. It was Dr. Sun's idea for the infant republic to get as far away as possible from the ancient capital which savors of monarchism and worst of all, foreign imperialism. Yuan readily found some flimsy pretext to refuse compliance with Dr. Sun's suggestion and insisted to keep the capital seat in Peiping. His ulterior purpose was obvious. The causes of future war were forseen even then. The retaining of Peiping as the capital seat has been responsible, primarily if not solely for the incessant warfare of the last seventeen years, for a bad beginning made for a bad ending. There was no genuine change of heart on the part of the then northern military leaders. The liberal thought of republicanism had its breeding place in the south. The presidents in Peiping under the daily spell of the non-monarchic politicians were bereaved of the privilege of keeping themselves abreast of the thoughts of the time. In the course of the previous fifteen years' warfare, Peiping had been invariably the bone of contention. The northern militarists raced for the ancient capital and were ever ready to sit on the Dragon's Throne. Chang Tso-lin did not abandon his ambiton for the Dragon's Throne until his last

breath. To him, Peiping meant infinite charm and glory. No one can tell that there are few in this land in whose mind monarchism still looms largely. The lessons of the French Revolution preclude such prediction. We must count ourselves as fortunate if the young republic can thus stand on its feet. But caution is forever needed to guard against the unforseen. There must be a distinct break with monarchic associations of every description. If we fail to look into the fundamental and take the line of least resistance, we are in danger of undoing the work of hundreds of thousands of men who fell in the noble cause of republicanism. Let it be said that we made the change on the basis of sentiment. But the truth that no historical movement can be successfully pushed through without the sentiment of the mass will also hold. Dilapidated as Nanking may be and inadequate as its equipment and accommodation for government offices, yet it is still cheaper and more economical to build a magnificent capital in keeping with its dignity in a due course of time, than to spend hundreds of millions on war which the retaining of Peiping may easily bring.

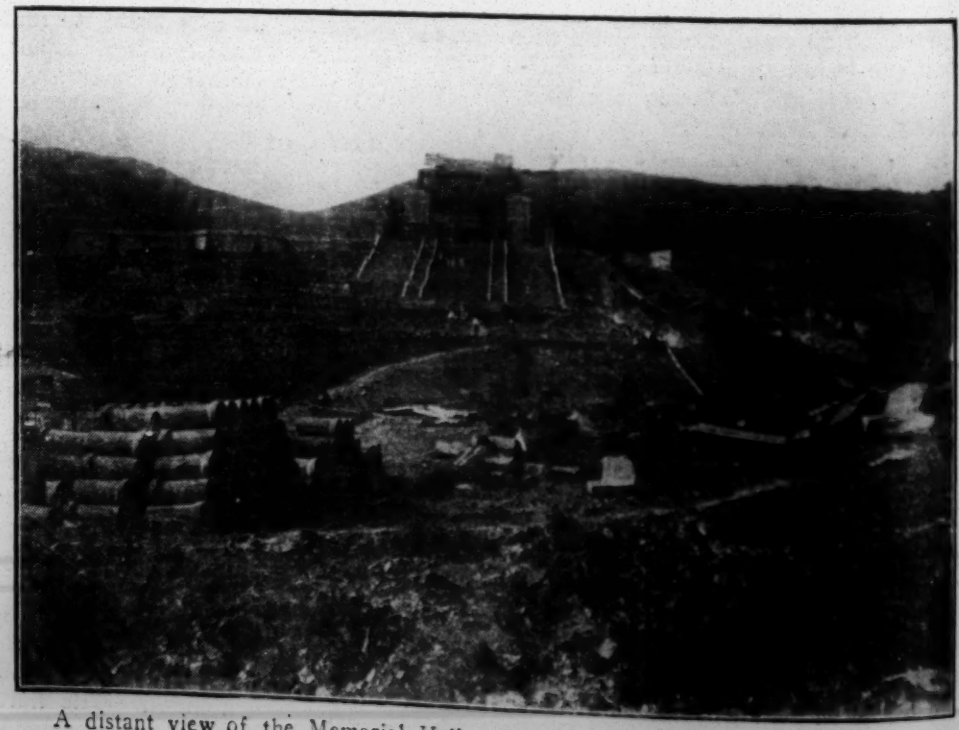
Other Changes of Capitals

From the standpoint of history, evidences are numerous that speak well of the change. Japan transferred her capital from Kyoto to Tokio as a signal of her determined restoration of the Mikado. Kyoto with its associations of feudalism and Shogunate representing only a semblance of royal authority must be abandoned once for all as the national capital. A new start was to be made elsewhere towards the promotion of nationalism. Tokio was selected for that purpose. Recently, Moscow took the place of Petrograd as the Russian capital. The change was at once convenient and revolutionary, for Moscow, situated in the heart of Russia is the center of communications. The victorious Kemalists took Constantinople, for centuries the stronghold of Sultanate and Caliphate and the much hated international imperialism. They tended to abandon the strongholds of the old order as well as the old order itself at all cost and by every means. They had such a strong prejudice against the magnificent Constantinople that they preferred as their capital, Angora, a squalid town in the heart of Asia Minor. The change was completely revolutionary and was much to the disgust of the foreign representatives who have been rendered less convenient to call for their gunboat protection in Angora than Constantinople. It is about the identical spirit in which Nanking was substituted for Peiping as the national capital of New China. It was Dr. Sun's idea that the capital of the future China should be in Nanking, an idea to which he held fast throughout his life, which can be proved by the fact that he gave directions on his death bed that his body should be buried in the "Purple Mountain." There cannot be the slightest doubt cast about Dr. Sun's stand for the new capital. Whosoever wants to shift the capital so as to suit his individual convenience cannot but betray the late leader on this particular point. The Boxer Protocol, which has remained for so many years an untoward disgrace to the nation, must be made to go once for all. The stationing of foreign troops right at the heart of the capital can be tolerated no more. Not a few of the foreign representatives have expressed their disapproval of the plan and murmured at having to leave their beautiful palaces in Peiping, safely guarded by the crack troops of their own. It must be made clear that our plan is not to be shaken by consideration of any sort, and if the foreign representatives are determined to stay where they are that is their private affair. Of course, those who desire to keep in close touch with the Nationalist Government by coming down to the new capital cannot but be heartily welcomed.

Nanking, September 1, 1928.

A Few Facts About Nanking, China's New Capital

Nanking, the new Nationalist Capital, is situated on the South side of the Yangtsze river, about two hundred miles from Shanghai. The meaning of the word in Chinese is "Southern Capital." The site of Nanking has on many previous occasions been the capital of China and has at times been known by other names. When the Ming Emperor Yung Li, in the fifteenth century, moved the capital of the empire to Peiping ("Northern Capital") he gave the name Nanking as an honorary title to the city, which up until that time had been known as Ying Tien-fu. Nanking was specified in the French treaty of 1858 as one of the Yangtsze ports to be opened to foreign trade, but it was not formally opened until May, 1899. In July 1915, Pukow, the southern terminus of the Tientsin-Pukow railway (lying across the river from Nanking) was opened to foreign trade as a branch of the Nanking Customs.



A distant view of the Memorial Hall and Tomb taken from the foot of Purple Mountain. The Grand Stairway in the foreground will be approached by a broad avenue of granite and this in turn is approached by a road running from the bank of the Yangtsze River a distance of approximately fifteen miles.

Nanking is encircled by heavy walls. They have an elevation varying from 40 to 90 feet, and are from 20 to 40 feet in thickness. The wall encircling the city is about 22 miles in length. Nanking was largely destroyed during the time of the Taiping Rebellion, from 1853 to 1854, and as a result a large area within the walls is waste land and uninhabited. The busiest portion of the city lies towards the south and west and is several miles from the bank of the river. The world-famous porcelain tower, one of Nanking's glories, was destroyed during the Taiping rebellion. It stood outside the walls to the south of the city.

First British Treaty with China Was Signed at Nanking

Nanking was the place where the first British Treaty with China was signed in 1842. Since the time of the Taipings Nanking has recovered somewhat, but its commercial importance has not grown in comparison with that of other open ports. Its situation from a commercial point of view is ideal, and now that it has been made the capital of China will probably experience rapid growth. "A new and brilliant era," a Commissioner of the Maritime Customs wrote more than ten years ago, "should dawn upon the port of Nanking, on account of its excellent position as a terminus of the railways which will bring down the immense mineral and other wealth of the provinces of Anhwei, Honan and Shansi."

Nanking was the scene of much fighting during the Revolutionary campaign during October and November, 1911. The city was occupied by the revolutionaries in the early part of December, when the Tartar city was burned. Nanking was at that time made the seat of the Provisional Government with Dr. Sun Yat-sen as president. It was at Nanking that the Republican Constitution was drawn up, and the Revolutionary leaders sought to make Nanking the capital of the Republic at that time, but Yuan Shih-kai, who succeeded Dr. Sun, ruled otherwise. In July 1913 a military outbreak occurred at Nanking against the Central Government, and for two weeks the city was heavily bombarded by Government troops. It surrendered September 1, but in the meantime all of Hsiakwan had been burnt and a great part of the city was looted.

The Nanking Incident

Nanking again came into world prominence during the early part of 1917. On March 24 the city was occupied by Cantonese and Hunanese troops, the latter particularly getting out of hand. They commenced a general attack on foreigners, and at the British Consulate a British doctor was killed and the Consul wounded. A party of more than a hundred persons, the majority of whom were Americans, took refuge in the Standard Oil Company's property on "Socony Hill," from which position they were rescued by a detachment from American and British warships, protected by a naval bombardment barrage. This constituted the Nanking Incident, an agreement concerning which has been come to between the Nationalist Government and both the American and British governments.

The population of Nanking with its suburbs is estimated at present to be 400,000. It has been made the seat of the present Nationalist government, where the officials are functioning under great handicaps, owing to the lack of suitable buildings. Plans for extensive building are, however, under consideration, and efforts are being made to raise the very considerable sums of money that will be required for reconstruction purposes.

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Laws of the Nationalist Government

By N. F. Allman

The Nationalist Government, after taking Nanking in the spring of 1927 provided itself with a body of law by ruling that pending the promulgation of laws of its own, all of the old laws passed at Peking should continue in force, where not inconsistent with the aims of the Nationalist Government. This rule had already been followed in practice by the government in the territory behind it as it spread northward from Canton. This ruling and practice was confirmed by an order promulgated by Mr. Wang Chung Hui, the Minister of Justice as follows:

NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

Order No. 20.

This order is issued pursuant to despatch number 277 dated August 15, 1927 received from the Secretariat of the Nationalist Government transmitting an order of the Government dated August 11, 1927, as follows:

"The Nationalist Government needs immediately all kinds of laws and ordinances, and pending the promulgation thereof, all these substantive laws, codes of procedure, and appurtenant rules and orders which have been promulgated or are in effect are continued in force temporarily; except where inconsistent with the Kuomingtang aims and principles or where in conflict with the laws and orders of the Nationalist Government. There are two interdependent matters of immediate importance in the application of the laws, viz., the establishment of a supreme court, and the codification of the laws, the first to be an organ of last resort in litigation and to explain and unify the law, and the other to arrange and promulgate laws for the promotion of government and order. The Ministry of Justice is hereby ordered to make preparations accordingly and is charged with the responsibility of carrying out the foregoing so that the law may be observed."

Having received said order as copied above, it is transmitted for the attention and guidance of those concerned. This Ministry has already prepared and submitted regulations for the organization and establishment of the Supreme Court. This Ministry is now considering the codification of the laws and as soon as an adequate plan is prepared the same will be submitted to the Nationalist Government for approval. After approval said laws will be promulgated and published. In addition to other notifications this notice is hereby despatched for attention. Those concerned will notify their subordinates accordingly.

By order

Wang Chung Hui

August 29, 1927. Minister of Justice.

Law Codification Commission

In addition to the old laws that were continued in force the Nationalist Government has issued numerous, mandates, orders, etc., that have the force of law and some time ago created a law codification commission. This commission is now working on the question of civil codes and the revision of the civil laws previously enacted at Peking. A few of the old laws continued in force with revisions are: commercial law, *i.e.* Ordinance for the General regulation of Traders, The Commercial Associations Ordinances, Trade Mark Law, etc.

The Nationalist Government has also turned its attention to constitution making. It has been said that the American Constitution has often been bent in order not to be broken. It might as well be said that the several Chinese Constitutions have often been broken as well as bent. Unfortunately constitutional literacy in China is practically non-existent. Even the majority of the judges and lawyers have a very inadequate understanding of theory or practice of constitutional government. The layman knows nothing at all about it and the militarist care less than they know.

The original provisional constitutional was fairly adequate on paper as a beginning and the so-called permanent constitution promulgated at Peking in 1923 was an improvement thereon. The Nationalist Government can now build on these constitutional experiments and the fifth plenary session of the Central Executive Committee has been considering a draft of another provisional constitution prepared by the Law Codification Bureau. This draft undertakes, among other things, to:

(1) Define the rights and obligations of the people.
(2) Define and regulate the organization of the Central Government.
(3) Define and regulate the relations between the local and central governments.
(4) Define and regulate the relations between the party and the government.

Necessity for Bill of Rights

It is to be hoped that this constitution will have an adequate bill of rights for the people and that the Nationalist Government will turn its propaganda forces on to the question of constitutional education. More important than the constitution itself, just now, is constitutional education to develop respect for constitutional methods, tradition, and authority. These are so little understood in the present state of constitutional illiteracy that a dissenting judge cannot write a dissenting opinion.

It is also highly desirable that the constitution provide for the writ of habeas corpus in such form that accused persons may not be held without charges being preferred against them or held for long periods without trial after charges are filed. This writ was provided for in the permanent constitution enacted at Peking but was ignored by courts, lawyers and laymen. At the same time it is notorious that persons are held for long periods of time without any charges being preferred against them and for long periods waiting trial.

The constitution also might well provide against *expost facto* laws. In the spring of 1928 the Nationalist Government passed a criminal law for the trial and punishment of counter revolutionaries and made this law applicable to cases that had happened or were supposed to have happened prior to the passage of the law.

The Nationalist Government continued the Provisional Criminal Code, of Peking, in effect with a few supplemental criminal laws while a criminal code was being drafted. On March 10, 1928 the Criminal Code of the Republic of China was promulgated by the Nationalist Government. This is just sixteen years after the original provisional criminal code was promulgated at Peking. The new criminal code will be put into effect in Shanghai on September 1, 1928. It is a considerable improvement over the old provisional code.

Article 1 of the new criminal code provides against *expost facto* laws in the following words:

"No act is an offense which is not expressly made punishable by the law in force at the time when it was done"

As mentioned above this is a subject of great importance in a country where political changes are

taking place and where political crimes, fancied or real, may be brought forward, and should be provided against in the fundamental law of the land—the constitution—as is done in many other countries.

The question of pardons has been omitted from the new criminal code and the time in which prosecutions may be brought has been lengthened. For instance under the old code prosecutions had to be brought within 17 years where the penalty was death. Under the new code this period of prescription is 20 years.

Crimes and Punishments

The new code punishes as rioting three or more persons assembling together with intent to commit violence or employ threats, etc. Article 200 deals with the manufacture, importation or possession of dynamite, gun cotton, fulminating mercury or other explosives of a similar nature but there is ambiguity in this article as it does not mention fire-arms. The new code slightly increases the penalty for offenses against religion and the dead. The new criminal code may prove of great importance to merchants as it makes the counterfeiting of trade marks a serious crime, to wit:

"Whoever with intent to defraud counterfeits any trade mark, or any firm name used as a trade mark, whether or not such trade mark, or firm name has been registered, shall be punished with imprisonment for not more than two years, in addition to which a fine of not more than three thousand yuan may be imposed." (Art. 268)

"Whoever imports, sells, or exposes for sale any article which he knows to bear a counterfeit trade mark or firm name used as a trade mark, shall be punished with imprisonment for not more than six months or detention, in addition to or in lieu of which a fine of not more than one thousand yuan may be imposed."

Journalists will be interested in articles 324, 325 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, and 332, which deal with insults to or libel or slander of a person. Journalists however will find some relief in article 327 which reads:

"Whoever makes a statement in good faith under any of the following circumstances:

(1) By way of self-justification or self defense, or for the protection of a lawful interest;

(2) In a report made by a public officer within his official functions;

(3) By way of fair comment on anything subject to public criticism;

(4) By way of fair publication of the proceedings of any deliberative assembly, whether national or local, or of any court of justice, or of any public meeting;

shall not be punished for an offense against reputation."

Biographers run some risk of punishment under the new code as article 329 authorizes punishment of anyone who publicly offers any insult to the memory of a deceased person.

Piracy is defined and made a distinct and serious offense unde the new code, the penalty being not less than seven years and from there on up to and including death.

The Code of Criminal Procedure has been approved and put into effect and is also a considerable improvement over the old provisional code of criminal procedure. Under the new code of criminal procedure the procurator system has been modified to some extent.

(The quotations from the new criminal code are from the translation by S. L. Burdett, Esquire, of the British Consular Service, and Judge Lone Liang.)

Chinese Modern Library Movement

BY C. B. KWEI, M. S.

TO attempt an accurate evaluation of the modern library movement is impossible, because it is only developing at the present time. However, we may trace the history of the movement itself and some general tendencies which are already apparent.

The modern era in Chinese history began with the Manchu dynasty. It is largely a history of foreign relations between China and other nations. At first, China adopted the non-intercourse policy, the intention of excluding western influence. This policy reached its climax when a series of embarrassing events made the government realize that without important reforms in the educational system, China could never hope to regain her rightful position as a leading nation in the Far East. In 1905 the modern educational system was ushered in.

The first good sign of this change was the creation of the Ministry of Education for the supervision of the educational affairs throughout the whole country. Before 1905 this duty devolved upon the Ministry of Rites. In accordance with a memorial from the Ministry of Education, sanctioned by Imperial Decree of September 8, 1909, the Metropolitan Public Library was estabiished to collect not only old and modern Chinese books, but also foreign works as well. By the same decree mentioned, it was directed that there be delivered to the Metropolitan Public Library:—(1) old plates of the Sung & Yuan dynasties, kept at the Grand Secretariat; (2) Yung Loh Ta Tien (Great compendium of Yung Loh) from the National Academy; (3) a full set of Ssu Ku Chuan Shu, or Four Libraries, from the Wen Chin Koh at Jehol; and (4) all the books previously kept at the Pi Shu Shang Chuang,—summer palace at Jehol. The general supervision of the library was under the Ministry of Education, but the real control was vested in a director, who had a staff made up of an assistant director and a proctor.

Importance of Social Education

For one reason or other, the people were impatient with the slow march of progress. In 1911 the political revolution broke out in Wuchang, resulting in the overthrow of the dynasty, once and for ever. The educational policy since then lays great emphasis upon the importance of social education i.e. the DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE, prompted by the belief that the stability of a republic depends largely upon the intelligence of its citizens.

On April 11, 1915, the Ministry of Education issued an order, embodying all regulations and laws that deal with the promotion, organization and administration of libraries in the different provinces of the country. The following is a rough translation:—

1. Every province and special district shall establish public libraries for the use of the people. When the inhabitants of a city call for a library, let it be established without unnecessary delay.

2. Any school, public or private, or any society, or any individual person, may establish a library by following the library regulations promulgated by the Ministry of Education.

3. Libraries maintained by cities and special districts shall be called public libraries. Libraries maintained by schools and societies shall be called respectively school libraries and society libraries. Libraries maintained by individuals shall be called private libraries.

4. (A) The public library shall at the time of establishment submit to the Ministry of Education through the district officer, or the educational commissioner the following data:—

1. Name
2. Location
3. Expenditure
4. Number of volumes
5. Plan of the building
6. Regulations
7. The date of opening

(B) Private libraries shall register at the district officer with the same seven data as in (A).

(C) School and society libraries shall report those data through the authorities of the school or the society to the district officer or the educational commissioner.

5. Every library is required to have a librarian and also

assistants. The qualifications of the librarian and the assistants shall at the time of their assumption of duties be reported to the Ministry of Education through the district officer.

6. The salaries and privileges of the librarian and assistants of any public library shall follow the regulations for the educational officers of that district.

7. Every public library is required to submit to the district officer an annual report which shall be published in the general annual educational report of that province.

8. The budget of a public library shall at the beginning of the fiscal year be submitted for approval to the Ministry of Education through the district officer or the educational commissioner.

(The budget of a school library must be incorporated in the school budget)

9. Libraries may collect a nominal assessment from the readers.

10. When an individual person establishes or donates a library, the district officer shall report the matter to the Ministry of Education, so that the donor shall be duly regarded according to the regulations governing "Establishing and Donating Schools."

11. The above regulations shall take effect at the date of publication.

Thirty Years of Work

If any credit should be given to any particular individual for accelerating the Movement, the honor may be given to Miss M. E. Wood, who has given nearly thirty years of her life to its promotion. She is an American by birth, but a Chinese by adoption. While in America she was a student of Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, of which Miss Plummer a member of the first class of the Columbia College School of Library Economy, was the director. Through her untiring efforts, she opened the Boone Library on May 16, 1910. In 1914 travelling libraries were introduced and established at many places, thus making the Boone Library of greater service. But her greatest contribution was the founding of the Boone Library School in the spring of 1920. The object of that school is to enlist the interest of promising young college men in library service. During the past eight years, about fifty students have graduated. It may be of interest to know that at the time of the formation of the Chinese Library Association on June 2, 1925, one fifth of the local library association presidents were Boone Library School graduates.

Six months after the Boone Library School was started in the central part of China, Dr. T. C. Tai, librarian of Tsing Hua College, opened the first summer library institute in Peking, with an attendance of eighty persons. Two years later, a library training school was established by Mr. D. U. Doo, a graduate of the University of the Philippines, in Canton with an enrolment of nearly sixty. In the summer of 1923, Mr. Y. F. Hung, a graduate of New York State Library School, initiated the second summer school in Nanking, Kiangsu. In 1925 the second regular library school was started in Kuo Ming University, Shanghai. Within the same year, Mr. C. B. Kwei conducted a library course in the First Normal School of Shantung, Tsinan. Thus, as soon as the Boone Library school came into existence, similar steps were taken in the northern, southern and eastern parts of China. The accomplishment of Miss Wood would have not been so striking had it not been for her able associates, Mr. Samuel T. Y. Seng, the first Chinese who was trained in America, and Mr. Thomas C. S. Hu. Both of them have received their professional training in the Library School of the New York Public Library, and are among the outstanding librarians in China.

Eminent Scholars Visit China.

Since 1913, a number of eminent scholars, like John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Paul Monroe, Von Driesch, Rabindranath Tagore and others, have visited China. All of them, through their lectures and contact with the intellectual leaders and students, have exerted much influence upon Chinese thought and life. In 1921 the National Association for the Advancement of Education was inaugurated, with a membership of several hundred. Most of its members are educational administrators and teachers in the leading colleges, universities and normal schools, who have set themselves the task of reforming the school, both in theory and practice, and the goal, in stamping out illiteracy during the next few years. At the time of their first annual conference, they passed the following resolutions with reference to the library:—

1. That all schools shall have instruction in the use of books.
2. That the normal schools in China shall offer courses in library science.
3. That extension of school libraries shall be emphasized.
4. That the chief places, such as Shanghai, Hankow, etc., including provincial capitals, shall establish libraries.
5. That a national library shall be properly established in Peking.
6. That the publishers of new books shall present one volume to the Ministry of Education, and one volume to the National Library.
7. That primary schools, within certain regions, shall unite to establish circulating libraries.
8. That a committee for the study of library science shall be organized by the National Association for the advancement of education.

In 1923 when they met for the second time, they drew up the following:—

1. That one-third of the Boxer money that is going to be returned by the U. S A. government should be used for the expansion of the library activities.
2. That all provincial libraries should collect provincial topographical books of each province and all note-worthy incunabula.
3. That all public libraries, supported by public funds, shou'd treat all their books in an accessible manner, and also should consider the advisability of charging no admittance fee.
4. That library associations in different places should be formed.
5. That the domestic publishing houses should be notified of the desirability of presenting books, or of giving special discounts, to all school and public libraries.

The following resolutions were passed in 1924:—

1. That all provincial libraries should uniformly abolish the system of making charges for the use of books, either rare or common.
2. That a library science quarterly should be issued.
3. That all provincial public libraries may have attached museums.
4 That all educational departments of provinces should include library training as one of the possible studies for those who are going to be sent abroad.

In 1925, only two resolutions were passed:—

1. That a minimum amount of money for the purchase of books in school libraries should be determined by the Ministry of Education.
2. That public libraries should establish children's department.

Since these resolutions have passed, some of them have actually been put into practice. For instance there is a Library Science Quarterly, under the management of Dr. K. C. Liu, Mr. T. L. Yuan and so on. Although it has accomplished much, still it leaves room for improvement and more aggressive work.

Dr. Bostwick's Help

The modern library movement received an added impetus during the year 1925, through the visit of Dr. A. E. Bostwick, librarian of the St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, who went representing the American Library Association upon the invitation of the National Association for the Advancement of Education. He spent two months in China, visiting ten provinces and fourteen of the principal cities. Never was any representative to China more cordially received. Every where he stirred up enthusiasm for the cause of libraries, not only among educators and scholars, but also in political, commercial and banking circles. The Chinese National Library Association was founded during his visit. Prior to its formal organization, provincial and local associations were already formed, as in Peking, Tsinan, Tientsin, Kaifeng, Shanghai and other places. In the meantime, the librarians are no longer passive, but active. They have translated and adopted Dewey's Decimal Classification, invented a Chinese author-table, laid down the cataloguing rules, worked on the filing system (as Y. W. Wang's four-corner system) and published books on libraries. They all seem to have an instinctive sense of book values, an eye for library service, and a scent for the useful work One explanation is the good example of the United States of America, and another is that most of the active librarians were trained in the American library schools, particularly the New York State Library School and the Library School of the New York Public Library. In 1926 these two American library schools have been united into one school and the present name is the School of Library Service, Columbia University, New York City. For the first time this School confers Master of Science in Library Service degree. Two of the Chinese have received the degree last summer.

In a word, China is virgin soil for library service. She is rather a library vacuum that absorbs any amount of energy one is willing to put into it. In order to fully appreciate the library movement, it ought to be thought of in terms of the difficulties involved and the efforts made. As the Nationalists are successful in bringing the military phase of the revolution to a successful conclusion, their next main objective is reconstruction. It is the personal conviction of the writer that to make the modern library movement a real success is difficult, but not impossible!

Gest Chinese Research Library,
Montreal, Canada.
July 4, 1928.

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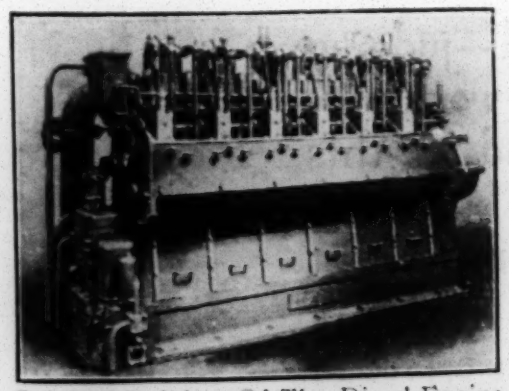

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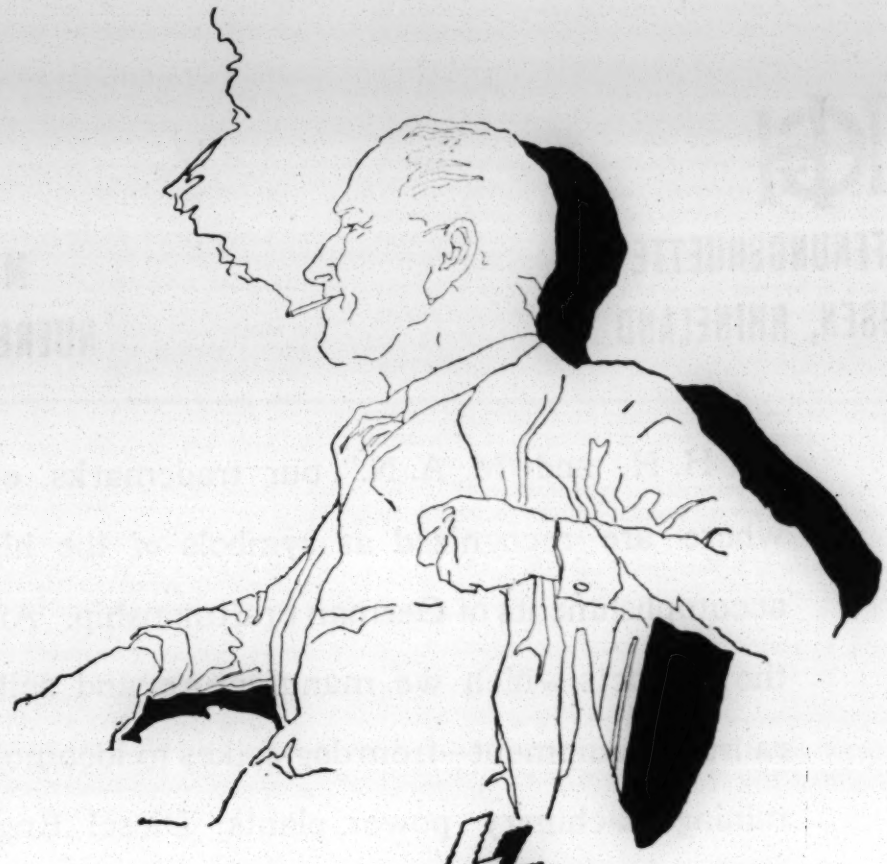

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What Chinese Silkmen Hope for from Nationalists

BY PAUL K. WHANG

The birth of New China will be attended with the herculean task of rehabilitating the country after many years of misgovernment, internecine warfares and social dislocation. To rebuild China can by no means be effected by changing the form of government, nor transferring the capital but by undertaking basic reforms which include social development, financial reformation and economic reconstruction. In view of the fact that millions of our population have been left unemployed and this number will be considerably increased when the disbandment of superfluous armies can be put into effect, the most urgent problem of today is the development of our industries, so that more work will be available for these unemployed. To develop China's industries is a two-fold problem: To uphold the old ones as well as to promote the new ones. Therefore our first step is to discover the reasons why our old industries remain in their infancy. Among the handful of industries China now has, the silk industry, being the oldest and biggest of all, deserves our first attention as a subject for consideration. The writer deems fit at this particular time to present herewith some problems pertaining to the silk industry, and discuss some remedies which the government could apply thereto.

A Leading Export

Raw silk, as produced by filatures, is mostly for foreign consumption, and constitutes a big item in the list of our exports. Thereby the existence of our silk industry totally depends upon the foreign demands. For the last few years, the demands for our raw silk have gradually fallen of, owing to the fact that many of our customers have been dissatisfied with the quality of our silk. When the American Silk Mission was here recently one of the members in the course of his speech at a dinner party had this to say. "For the last five years, your silkmen have not made any progress in the production of raw silk. Therefore I must tell you frankly that in order to keep the American market, the quality of your silk must be improved." All this tends to indicate that there must be something wrong with the production of our raw silk, and we, can not lose any time to make an improvement. The writer in his previous articles, has emphasized that in order to improve China silk, two conditions must not be overlooked: First, we have to improve the quality of our cocoon production, and secondly, we have to have better labor conditions.

In regard to the first condition, we have said much but done less. At present nearly all silkmen realize the importance of having better cocoons in order to produce good silk. For the last ten years, committees and schools have worked incessantly along that line, but on account of non-cooperation and indifference on the part of our government, very little progress has been achieved. It is true that the government has contributed an annual sum of money to the International Committee for the Improvement of Sericulture for the breeding of disease-free eggs, but this contribution amounts to very little in face of the vast situation to cope with. Limited by financial resources and contributions, these agencies which could contribute something to the improvement of cocoon production, have very much narrowed down the scope of their activities and lost much of their usefulness.

To produce silk of the best quality, a good cocoon is only one of the two requirements, and the other one is expert workmanship under proper supervision. Since the labor union came into existence, the managers of silk filatures have been deprived of the power of hiring and "firing" the workers; thus supervision over the workers became next to impossible. Strikes have been called on any slight pretext, and the filatures have been constantly in danger of being tied-up. In face of this new situation silkmen tend to look at the future prospect through glasses of pessimism, inasmuch as the government authorities are seemingly powerless to curb the labor agitation. The most discouraging sign of today is that silkmen are more willing to quit their business than to continue running their pfilatures. Under such unfavorable conditions, naturally we can not expect that they can produce silk of a very good quality.

China's Industry in Precarious State

It is very plain that China's silk industry is now in a very precarious state and the government can no longer remain as a looker-on with its attitude of indifference. For the past years the government might excuse itself for the fact that its interest has all been taken up in conducting military campaigns. But with the last trace of militarism wiped out from the China Proper, the government is no longer justified in presenting such an excuse. As a matter of fact, since the government derives a huge amount of revenue from taxes and surtaxes on cocoons and silk annually, it should not be so self-centered as to take everything without contributing something in return, so that "the goose which lays the golden eggs" might be preserved. From my own estimation, the payment of taxes and surtaxes on cocoons and silk at the present rate amounts to nothing short of one-twelfth of the total cost of production, or about $90 per picul of raw silk, if the cost of production is figured at 950 taels per picul. Supposing the total production of raw silk in Central China is set at 50,000 bales, the annua-revenue to the governmental coffer will be $4,500,000, not menl tioning revenue from other cocoon and silk districts.

The rapid growth of Japan's silk industry is chiefly due to the support of her government, which has provided a special bureau for the study of various sericultural problems: which has advanced money to the silkmen at the time of business depression; which has maintained many sericultural schools and experimental stations for the betterment of sericultural products; which has conducted the testing house for the benefit of silkmen and which, after all, has cooperated with the silkmen in drafting regulations on buying and selling, so that the trade in silk has been made feasible. These are but some of the many activities that the Japanese government has undertaken on behalf of her silk industry.

With Japan's example set before our eyes, it clearly shows what the government can do in developing the silk industry. The writer presents herewith a set of problems to which the Nationalist Government must give its immediate attention.

First of all, a nationals Cocoon and Silk Bureau should be formed under the auspice of the government. (There was such an organization under the Nanking government last year, but it did not do anything constructive.) This organization should be manned by experts only, with the sole aim of studying sericultural conditions at home and abroad, and cooperating with silkmen to carry out various reforms. Without the governmental initiative and guidance, silkmen are not likely to change their method of production.

Secondly, sufficient funds must be appropriated to such agencies as the International Committee for the Improvement of Sericulture, experimental stations and sericultural schools for extending their work in breeding the disease-free eggs. At present these agencies have considerably limited their activities owing to financial reasons, and therefore their efforts in improving the quality of cocoons have borne very little fruit.

Thirdly, efforts must not be spared in introducing the cocoon and silk industry to new districts, whose climate and soil are equally adaptable for the cultivation of the silkworm industry. With the development of transportation and communication facilities, many provinces along the Yangtse valley can be turned into silk centers.

Lower Taxes Wanted

Fourthly, taxes on cocoons and silk must be made simpler and more uniform. At present, taxes of various appellations have been laid upon cocoons and silk, and the cocoons produced in different districts have to pay a different amount of taxes. In order to uphold our national industry, taxes should be much reduced.

Fifthly, the government should cooperate with the silkmen to fix the wages and working hours. The schedule once agreed should be complied with by both parties. Strikes should be strictly prohibited.

Lastly, the government should at time of crisis lend financial assistance to the silkmen at a low rate of interest. Most of the silk filatures have been operated on a very small capital, and they are not in a position to weather any financial storms.

The above, of course, is not an exhaustive discussion, but only some hints.

Problems Which Silk Men Should Solve By Themselves:

First of all, they should discard the old idea of running the filature and immediately adopt scientific management. Nine cases out of ten the failure of our filatures is due to mismanagement.

Secondly, old and obsolete machinery must give way to the new and improved ones, and new devices should be introduced to test the quality of silk. In order to keep the foreign market, silk must be produced in compliance with the foreign requirements.

Finally, to operate a filature, a sufficient amount of working capital must be on hand. It is a very bad policy to run a filature on a "hand-to-mouth" basis, as failure is its inevitable result. Likewise, it is not economical to run a filature of one hundred basins or so.

With cooperation between the government and silkmen in solving various problems, we have no more apprehension to face Japanese competition. China at present has many young men who have devoted their time to studying the silk problems at home and abroad. William Cheney, head of the American Silk Mission to Japan and China, has been quoted as saying, "The most hopeful sign concerning the China silk industry is that five years ago while I was in China, the silkmen I met with were all old of age; but this time I have met many young silkmen, who show more progressiveness than their old fathers". The time has come that the young men will play an important role in rehabilitating China's silk industry.

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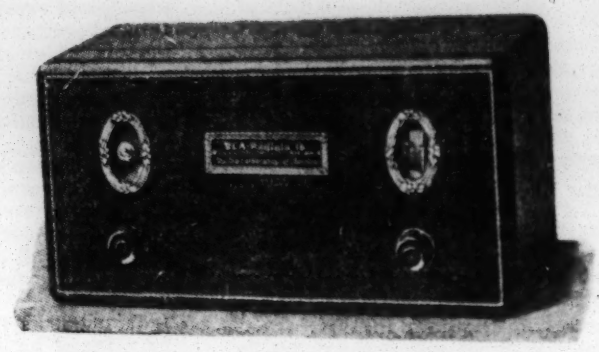

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"Lifting China Out of the Mud!"

BY EDGAR SNOW

A FEW decades ago paved roads were still uncommon in many rural sections of the United States. Frequently it was necessary to transport passengers and freight over long stretches of dirt or mud roads in order to reach the nearest railway. Naturally the situation was a serious handicap to commerce, not to mention public comfort. Aroused by these deficient transportation facilities, the people set about to remedy them. Countless energetic gentlemen banded themselves together in various organizations sponsoring good roads movements. Their membership was not exclusive—there were included farmers, business and professional men, the livelihood and convenience of all of whom were unpleasantly affected by the undeveloped condition of these highways.

With admirable enthusiasm and determination these indignant individuals, representing outland farming communities, small towns and larger cities, counties, and whole states, crystallized public opinion until its demands finally stirred to satisfactory action the lethargic local and state governments. The inspiring *imperatatus* which served as the battle-cry during this era was: "Lift So and So (whatever the name of the particular locality happened to be) out of the mud!" As everyone knows, the slogan worked; concerted effort brought about the desired result. And so today America's marvellous paved roads are a proud reality. Now there is none of the forty-eight states which does not boast her share of 500,000 miles of surfaced highways stretching into practically every village and town, making a nation *united* indeed.

Old Cathay, The Roadless

Nobody, of course, supposes that merely by spreading about the cry of "Lift China Out Of The Mud" old "Cathay, the Roadless", one fine day will awaken to find herself neatly anatomized with an efficient arrangement of new white arteries of macadam, pulsing with the busy blood of commerce. But the inevitable result of the adoption of such a sentiment by the masses of the Chinese, certainly would be of ubiquitous benefit. For China does need to be lifted out of the mud—and hers is a necessity far greater than that which faced rural America forty or fifty years ago. Where the problem of the latter was largely that of paving and grading roadbeds already laid out by the pioneers and settlers, China for the most part has been destitute even of this nucleus of a road system. Furthermore, it is only within recent years that the better class of Chinese have realized the importance of national roads of any kind and have begun to appreciate the advantages of safe and economical transportation which the "broad highway" assures.

For unnumbered centuries China made little progress in road building. The so-called "Imperial Highways" were narrow foot-paths which still followed the whims of the original wandering itinerants who had created them in long-gone civilizations. At best they were wide enough only to permit the passage of that crude old *picaresque*, the Peking Cart. Travelling, it will thus be seen, was not encouraged. Provinces were practically independent and usually belligerent neighbors. Even within territory supposedly under one feudal ruler, roads of a permanent nature seldom existed. Often large cities, though but a few miles apart and under the same authority, were connected by difficult trails. Smaller towns were joined by nothing more reliable than the footprints of the last man whose sense of curiosity had driven him forth from the security of his city's walls. It is a fact there were some "roads paved with stone," many of which still are in use, but these in most instances were unfit for wheeled traffic, being seldom more than four feet wide and accomplishing the hills and valleys by means of deep steps which obviated the use of anything other than the most primitive transportation. Such were the conditions which faced the republican road-builders when they considered the country which came under their administration in 1911.

Public Conscious Of Need For Good Roads

What has been made of these opportunities for improvement? First of all—and, as has been implied, this is perhaps vastly more significant just now than all the statistics as to the actual number of li of roadways in use—there has been created among the more intelligent and educated Chinese this public consciousness of the need for a successful system of inter-province and national highways. There is a spirit, or at least the hopeful semblance of a spirit, of "Lift China Out of The Mud!" It is evident not only in the efforts of various military men and provincial governors who have built modern roadways connecting the important cities under their jurisdiction, and in the Nationalist Government's hundreds of li of roadways now under construction or contemplated, but also in the organized agitation among merchants and more advanced farmers, for improved avenues of transportation. Chambers of commerce, civic bodies and trade organizations, in various cities, all are assisting in the dissemination of better-roads propaganda. A National Good-Roads Convention was held in Shanghai several years ago. Permanent officers were elected, definite road projects were discussed and arrangements were made for the cooperation of officials of numerous provinces with the leading business interests. In the schools, through the teachings of the missionaries, through government propaganda and by stimulating a growing desire among the people for the modern means of transportation afforded by the automobile, the necessity of vehicular roads is being broadcast over all China.

But these are merely superficial manifestations—important indications, however, of the break-down of barriers of ignorance and indifference. Let us see what actually has been accomplished.

Roads In Operation and Under Construction

According to a synthesis of reports secured from government officials, engineers, provincial governors, missionaries, newspaper correspondents and various other sources, there are now *in operation* in China approximately 27,000 li (a li is about one-third of an English mile) of roads adaptable to motor traffic. It is a figure not calculated to astound. Yet when the difficulties already mentioned are remembered, it is full of encouragement. Especially so when it is learned that plans and funds are made available for extensions of approximately 17,000 li, much of which is now under construction.

Naturally the greater part of this development has occured in territories adjacent to treaty ports, although hundreds of li of road construction in the interior, in most cases connecting river towns with inland cities, proceeds with brisk promise. Of the latter most notable is the long-needed road now being built in Szechwan, to connect the river port Chungking with Chengtu, the provincial capital, a distance of 250 miles. Concerning further highway activities in Szechwan, a newspaper correspondent recently wrote, from Chungking:

"Three years ago General Yang Sen, then governor of the province, began building roads on the Chengtu plain: a vast area surrounding the capital. No one realized that this was the beginning of a revolution in the transportation methods of this wealthy but heretofore isolated province.

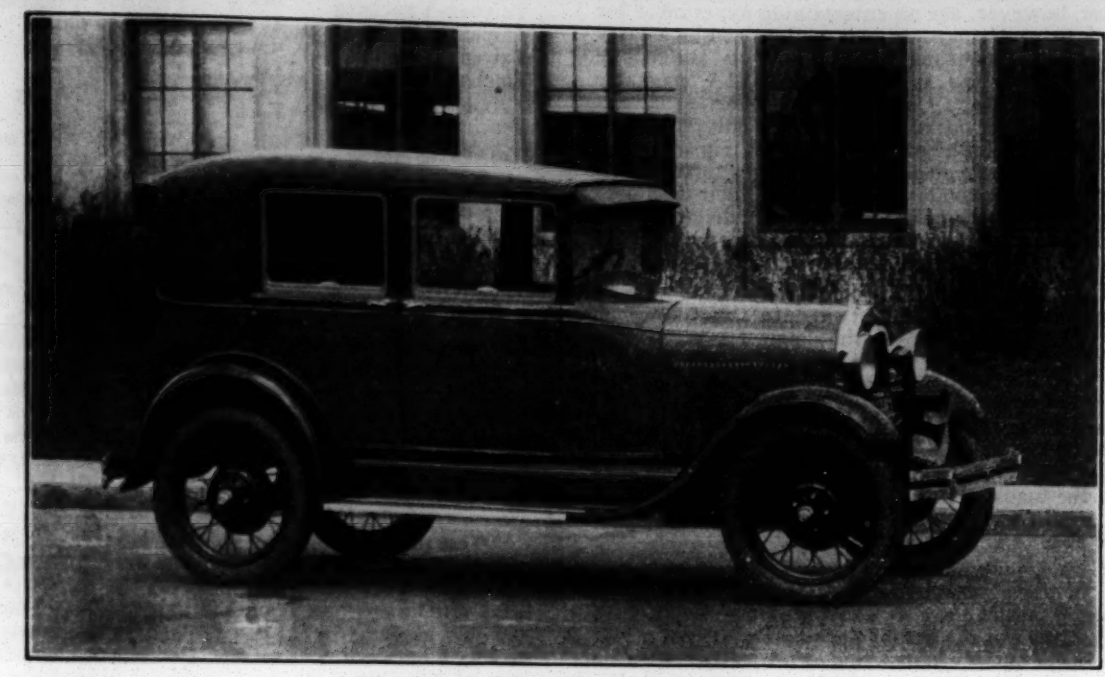
"For centuries there had been no roads (across Szechwan) except stone paved paths. There were no wheeled vehicles except the oldfashioned wheelbarrow. The only means of travel was by sedanchair, carried by coolies, or by horseback. Freight was carried by men who were nothing but beasts of burden. Such means (of transportation) were slow and expensive.

"Small numbers of automobiles, both passenger cars and trucks, were imported after the road construction began. In three years they have become so popular that today there is a veritable mania of road-building in almost every part of the province and motor car dealers are looking this way. An excellent highway between Chengtu and Chungking is under construction. It will result in the capital being made easily accessible to other parts of China and Chungking will benefit by becoming the outlet for the goods of virtually all the province."

Chungking itself, until the recent activity began, did not have a "a'street within its borders (which inclose some 800,000 people) more than eight feet wide". Now it is being almost completely rebuilt. Broad paved roads are everywhere replacing the narrow alleyways; parks are being laid out; modern sanitation is being introduced.

While temporarily interfered with by recent political and military disturbances, nowhere in China has road construction gone forward more rapidly than in Chihli province, particularly in the neighborhood of Peking. The good highway which for some time has existed between Peking and Tientsin, is finding numerous users. Privately owned motor cars and trucks and public busses daily journey the 80 miles between these cities. Roads radiate from Peking as far as 200 miles in all directions and, in some instances, for several thousand miles. Many are broad paved highways, lined with trees. Among the cities with which Peking is directly or indirectly connected by roads are: Mukden, Jehol, Khailar, Kalgan, Sianfu, Lanchow, Gartok, Lhassa, Hankow, Kweilin, Hengchowfu, Chinkiang and Foochow. Some of these hardly would be accepted as roads under the western understanding of the term, as they are often mere cart-tracks, made sufferable by occasional inns or military outposts where food and lodging may be obtained.

The New Fordor Sedan



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Above all, it is a wide, roomy, comfortable car. Deep lounge seats up-holstered in soft woollen cloth, with brown hairline stripe, in pleasing contrast with light brown trimming. Arm rests are provided for the rear seats. Embossed cloth panelling around doors, and on seat in front compartment. Oval bow light and robe rail in rear compartment are new features.

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There is said to be a "possible" motor road from Kalgan to Urga, a distance of 700 miles, which during normal times is maintained by the Northwestern Motor Service under the Ministry of Communications, and also "by certain private agencies."

Chengtu is connected with Nanking and Hankow by a road of a sort, and thus, in theory at least, is joined to Peking. From Hankow there are roads which penetrate as far north as Zeisan, on the Russian frontier, a total distance of 2850 miles. The latter, however, are no entertaining experiment for the unseasoned to undertake, as was well proved by a party of Russians who last summer made the trip in an automobile caravan. Terrible hardships, as reported in ASIA magazine by one of the group, Anna Lousie Strong, indicate that this route can at present be considered a motor road only to be used in extreme emergencies. The party began their trip with four cars and two trucks and considered themselves fortunate to conclude with two automobiles, the rest of their machines having become hopelessly mired or practically disintegrated under the terrific strains placed upon them by the difficult tinerary.

South of Peking, in Shantung province, a motor road is in operation from Tsinan-fu northeastward to the coast and thence to Chefoo. This is one of the longest continuously "navigable" traffic arteries in China. Chowtsun, Weihaiwei, Tsingtao and Weihsien also may be reached from Tsinan-fu and over much of the distances light cars and trucks can be used. There are a number of roads radiating from Tsingtao, which were built by the Germans, before the World War and were considerably extended during the Japanese occupation. Some of the roads of this province were constructed by the American Red Cross during a famine relief campaign carried on here about eight or nine years ago.

These are the longer and more important highways now in operation. In order accurately to picture the situation, however, it is necessary to consider each province separately, consulting the figures for the actual distribution of li of motor roads in use or either under construction or projected.

Few Roads in Manchuria

Manchuria, including Heilungkiang, Kirin and Fengtien can be dismissed briefly since the only road being used widely is one which extends from Mukden to Liaoyang, a distance of about 208 li. It should be mentioned, though, that there are said to be several hundred li of roads occasionally being used for heavier traffic in some northern sections of Manchuria—areas usually included in the Chinese Special Districts. This territory, in which is included inner Mongolia, is credited with 4,193 li of roads. For the most part the road progress made under the aggressive new leadership further south has been little felt by the 22,000,000 inhabitants of Manchuria's 363,000 square miles.

Chihli Has 5,082 li Motor Roads

The principal roads from Peking already have been discussed, but the following figures, showing the various distances for which they are suitable for motor transportation within the province of Chihli, are interesting:

Peking-Western Hills	30 li	Pingchuan-Jehol	180 li
Peking-Tangshan	92 li	Changli-Funghsien	40 li
Peking-Tsin Hwa College	15 ii	Peking-Tientsin	240 li
Peking-Tungchow	40 li	Tientsin-Paotingfu	450 li
Peking-Haitien	10 li	Kalgan-Urga (Mongolia)	2700 li
Peking-Tsunhwa	20 li	Taming-Hantan	139 li
Peking-Kuan	100 li	Hantan-Wuan (Shansi)	60 li
Peking-Meiyunhsien	155 li	Tientsin-Hsianchan	88 li
Meiyun-Kupehkow	100 li	Shentehfu-Nankung	170 li
Kupehkow-Jehol	263 li	Nankung-Tehchow	190 li
		Total:	5082 li

Either under construction or projected:

Peking to Suburbs 6 roads total	759 li	Shanhaikwan-Chingwangtao	70 li
Tungchow-Kihsien	150 li	Shihchaichwan-Tsangchow	460 li
Tsiaochan-Taku	40 li	Kichow-Hengshui	50 li
Peitaiho-Shanhaikwan	40 li	Total:	1569 li

During the recent war the military made the people repair the roads around Pingchuan and motor cars (military) were run between that town and Jehol, 180 li, and Tungshan, 430 li. The latter place is the nearest railway station to Pingchuan. A third of this latter road is bad going, but two thirds through level country. The merchants of Pingchuan are planning to keep the road to Tungshan in repair.

Shansi Leads In Good Roads

Shansi, under the control of General Yen Hsi-shan, the „model governor", has made great advances in road construction, despite the fact that it is not a wealthy province. It occupies an area of about 81,000 square miles and its population is estimated at close to 11,000,000. Here more good roads are to be found than in any other province in China. Perhaps this is partly attributable to the fact that the American Red Cross set a good example by building twelve hundred miles of motor roads, in order to facilitate famine relief work. Since then Chinese initiative has demonstrated itself and today the following roads are in operation:

Taiyuan-Yuncheng	957 li	Fenchow-Pingyao	80 li
Taiyuan-Liuling	455 li	Pingyao-Taiku	100 li
Taiyuan-Tatung	540 li	Taiku-Taiyuen	110 li
Sinchow-Wutai	145 li	Taiku-Yutzu	340 li
Taiyuen-Fenchow	225 li	Pingyao-Liuling	340 li
Fenchow-Yungning	170 li	Total:	3462 li

The roads under construction are:

Taiku-Luanfu	400 li	Puchow-Tungkwan	75 li
Taiku-Liaochow	210 li	Yuncheng-Ishih	53 li
Liaochow-Pingting	225 li	Piulin-Kikow	70 li
Yungcheng-Puchow	180 li	Total:	1213 li

These excellent roads of Shansi have greatly encouraged business and have brought time-saving benefits to many sections. For instance the well-conditioned road that now exists between Hungtung and Taiyuan makes this trip possible in the public buss, in two days, or in a private car in one. Formerly six days was fast time for the heavy, wooden, springless carts which formed the only means of transportation between these towns.

Roads In Shensi

The province of Shensi, with an area of 75,290 squaret miles and a population of approximately 9,000,000, has about 300 li of roads suitable for motor traffic. A regular motor buss service operates upon the principal road, between Sian and Tungkwang, a distance of 290 li. Roads have been surveyed between Sianfu and Lanchow. One route goes by way of Yenyang, Lichuan Yungshou, Pinghsien, Changwu, (crossing the Kansu border) to Lanchow at Haiyuan and Kuyuan. The other line goes to Yenyang, Hinging, Wokung, Fufeng, Kishan, Fengsiang, Kienyang, Lunghsien and crosses the border at Kukwan, by way of Chinghsui, Taian and Kungchang.

Feng Yu-hsiang Building Roads In Kansu

Kansu, the province neighboring on the west of Shensi has an area of 125,483 square miles and a population of about 10 million and until recently had but one road of any consequence, that extending for 1010 li from Lanchow to Minghsia. With the presence of General Feng Yu-hsiang in the province, however, road planning has been widespread and the "Christian General" is vigorously working to bring about better transportation methods for his people. In an interview with newspaper correspondents he lately stated he had recommended to the government that vast sums of money be spent in development projects in the northwest as a means of improving the status of the people and inducing Chinese to emigrate from the densely populated sections to the sparsely populated interior. "We must have railroads," he is quoted as saying, "and wagon roads and irrigation. We must have improved communications and marketing facilities. The sections in the interior must be opened up and transportation to and from all important parts of the province can only be assured by good roads and railways."

Shantung Roads Total 2,761 li

Shantung main thoroughfares already have been mentioned. The distribution in detail in this area of 55,762 square miles and 40 million population, is as follows:

Ichow-Yihhsien	150 li	Enshien-Tehchow	75 li
Pingyuan-Lintsing	205 li	Tsaochwang-Hsinhsin	50 li
Kaotang-Wucheng	120 li	Tsinin-Chaochow	190 li
Chefoo-Weihsien	650 li	Chowchun-Chinchen	110 li
Chuchen-Kaomi	120 li	Wanghoua-Szemuimiao	25 li
Tsimo-Kinkiakow	120 li	Tungchhong city	10 li
Yuchen-Tungcheng	200 li	Kwangtao-Tungchang	130 li
Tsinan-Likow	12 li	Chowchun-Mawan	220 li
Enshien-Lintsing	180 li	Kuyeh-Tsinin	90 li
Enshien-Wuchen	100 li	Total:	2767 li

There is no information available as to roads under construction or contemplated.

Chinese Farmers Roadmakers In Honan

Roads entirely of dirt, heaped up by the Chinese farmers, largely make up the rural routes in Honan. The central pare of the province, a vast plain, with roads of this type, can be traversed in dry weather, but is practically impassable after heavy rains. Motor buss services follow numbers of these dirt roads and also are operated on some of the military roads built by the ex-bandit General Fan. In this province, which

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has an area of 67,940 square miles and a population of approximately 30 million, there are at present a total of 2,579 li of motor roads and 285 li either are being constructed or are under contemplation. These are the roads in operation:—

Kaifeng-Chowkiakow	312 li	Tengfeng-Mihsien	70 li
Choukiakow-Yencheng	120 li	Yuhsien-Chuntien	34 li
Sinyang-Kwangchow	240 li	Kaishien-Paofeng	40 li
Kweiteh-Pochow (Anhwei)	120 li	Luyi city	36 li
Hsuchow-Taikong	247 li	Lushan city	22 li
Hsuchow-Yuchow	90 li	Yuchow-Yunglin	34 li
Hsuchow-Hsiangcheng	90 li	Kungshien city	23 li
Hsiangcheng-Lingying	120 li	Sinan city	41 li
Hsiangcheng-Yuchow	155 li	Chenyang-Kioshan	100 li
Hsiangcheng-Fangcheng	200 li	Hsingyang	45 li
Fangcheng-Shaekichen	50 li	Nanchao	20 li
Shaekichen-Nanyang	100 li	Shangtsai 6 roads	30 li
		Wehsien-Tungkwan	80 li
		Shanchow-Wenhsien	160 li

Total: 2579 li

307 li of Roads Lead From Shanghai

The following are either under construction or projected:

Hwangchow-Shangchow	120 li
Shangchow-Kushih	165 li
Total:	285 li

In Kiangsu province, with an area of 36,610 miles and a population of approximately 30 million, there are about 2,000 li of motor roads in operation and an equal amount either in construction or in the process of building. Practically all of these roads have been created within the past five years. On the eastern Kiangsu sea-board there is a tract about 200 miles long, controlled by certain companies under Mr. Chang Chien. This gentleman is executing plans on a comprehensive scale and much development is going forward. Loans are being negotiated for engineering purposes and twenty million dollars has been spent in this section for road-building. One of the projects is a through canal, one side of which is built up for motor or railroad use. About thirty miles of this avenue have been completed and "motor cars are running now on scheduled time." Roads of the foreign settlements are not included in the following figures for Shanghai and suburbs:

Shanghai-Nanhwei-Chowpu	54 li	Shanghai-Minghong	95 li
Shanghai-Chwangsha	36 li	Shanghai-Woosung-Paoshan	50 li
Shanghai-Liuhu	72 li		
			307 li

In the rest of Kiangsu the road distribution is:

Nantungchow district	150 li
Nantung-Jukao	120 li
Nantung-Haimen	120 li
	390 li
Nanking and Haikwan	100
Yanchow-Chinkiang (Luiwei)	29 li
	129 li

Kiangpei district

Tsingkiangpu-Haichow	240 li	Tsingkiangpu-Hsuchowfu	300 li
Haichow-Sukeo	120 li	Tsingkiangpu-Antung	60 li
Tsingkiangpu-Hwaian	30 li	Funning-Yencheng	125 li
Tsingkiangpu-Shaopo	246 li		
Tsingkiangpu-Suchien	185 li		
		Total:	2135 li

The following are the roads projected, some of them being in process of construction:

Kiangpeh District	
Shatouchwang-Tsingkiangpu	100 li
Siangshuikao-Jukao	400 li
Kunyu-Hwangtungpu	60 li
Tsingkiangpu-Kwachow	350 li
Nanking-Ishing	350 li
Chinkiang-Nantangshan (Nanking)	150 li
Wusih-Kiangying	60 li
Total:	1470 li

The most important roadway contemplated in Kiangsu just now is that planned to connect Shanghai and Nanking, a distance of approximately 250 miles. According to a recent *Kuo Min* news report, engineers now are making a preliminary survey for this highway, the work actually having begun September 8th. The plans of the Provincial Reconstruction Department are to make the Shanghai-Nanking Highway the main public road, from which numerous branches will reach out to join the capital and Shanghai with all important cities of this province.

Dirt Roads in Anhwei

Anhwei province has an area of 54,826 miles and a population (estimated by the Post Office) of 19,832,665. Of the 1,130 li of roads in use in this state nearly all are dirt surfaced, suitable for automobile traffic only during dry weather:

Pengpu-Hwaiyuen	25 li	Szechow-Wuhohsien	90 li
Hwaiyuen-Mengchen	145 li	Nanhsuchow-Lingpi	100 li
Mengchen-Pochow	210 li	Lingpi-Szechow	70 li
Mengchen-Anhsuchow	130 li	Nanhsuchow-Kwoyang	180 li
Kuchen-Szechow	160 li	Kwoyang-Pochow	120 li
		Total:	1130 li

Chekiang, Densely Populated Needs Many Roads

The following are either under construction or projected:

Anking-Linhwaikwan	670 li	Wuhu-Ningkuo	260 li
Luchow-Chaohsien	180 li	Taipinghsin-Shihtai	65 li
Luchow-Chengyang-kwan	270 li	Shihtai-Tsingyang	85 li
		Tsingyang-Tatung	40 li
		Total:	1570 li

South of Kiangsu and Anhwei is the province of Chekiang, where considerable interest in good roads has been developed among the merchants of the larger cities. Several companies are operating motor busses over roads leading from Hangchow, but the high toll charged on these roads hinders the sale of cars and trucks to private owners. Roads from Ningpo to Tinghai and to Tse Chi are reported to have been surveyed, but the construction work has not yet begun. Other roads are proposed from Fuyang to Tunglu and from Tunglu to Yenchow. There is a road which is finished, but for the laying of culverts, from Taichowfu to Tientai. Roads actually in operation now are:

Hangchow City and Suburbs	25 li	Hwangyeh-Tsekueh	41 li
Hangchow-Yuhang	45 li	Hwangyehkiao-Tiaoyukao	30 li
Yuhang-Lingan	45 li	Shankow-Hsilington	32 li
Yuhang-Wukong (Mokanshan)	50 li	Wenchow-Chwang-yuankiao	22 li
Siaoshan-Shaoshing	90 li	Pingyao-Hwangbu	33 li
Hangchow-Fuyang	45 li	Sinchang-Chenhsien	40 li
Hangchow-Kienkiao	50 li		
		Total:	548 li

Following are additional roads under construction or projected:

Wukong-Huchow	100 li	Ningpo-Chinhai	40 li
Huchow-Szean	125 li	Tientai-Taichow	120 li
Huchow-Nanzing	60 li	Tientai-Sinchang	120 li
		Total:	565 li

The need for good transportation routes here is particularly pregnant, since Chekiang is more densely populated than any other province, with the exception of Kiangsu. In an area of little more than 36,000 square miles there are over 22,000,000 inhabitants, or 601 per square mile.

1,600 li of New Roads For Fukien

Fukien, directly south of Chekiang, and facing the Formosa Strait, has approximately 1,500 li of roads either projected or in the process of building. The roads actually in operation probably total around 1,000 li, as the following figures were collected last spring, considerable li having been completed since then:

Foochow city	15 li	Sienyu-Saichi	41 li
Sienyu-Yungchun	120 li	Saichi-Hweian	42 li
Chuanchow-Kiwei	40 li	Saichi-Hankong	70 li
Chuanchow-Hunghai	55 li	Hankong-Fashih	40 li
Hunghai-Yungchun	70 li	Fowkung-Paishuiyang	20 li
Chuanchow-Hweian	57 li	Changchow-Changpu	90 li
Chuanchow-Anhai	50 li	Changpu-Yunsiao	70 li
Sienyu-Chikow	20 li	Siokhe-Nantsing	60 li
		Total:	860 li

Either in construction or projected were these roads, in April, when this information was secured:

Hsinwha-Hunlai	100 li	Yenping-Foochow	400 li
Hsinwha-Foochow	300 li	Changchow-Amoy	600 li
Lungyen-Changchow	200 li		
		Total:	1600 li

Probably the most important of the projected roadways in Fukien is that which is being planned to connect Foochow with Amoy; some of it already has been completed. There is a finished road from Lungyuenchow to Chiangchow which has been in use only a short time. Another road, it is reported, is being pushed from Lungyuenchow to Kham Thou, a distance of approximately 300 li. These roads form valuable connecting links in facilitating the movement of goods from interior regions to ports from which they may quickly be dispatched to ready markets.

Kwangtung Shows Much Road Building Activity

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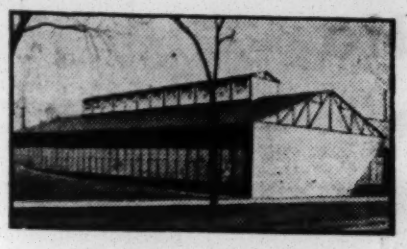
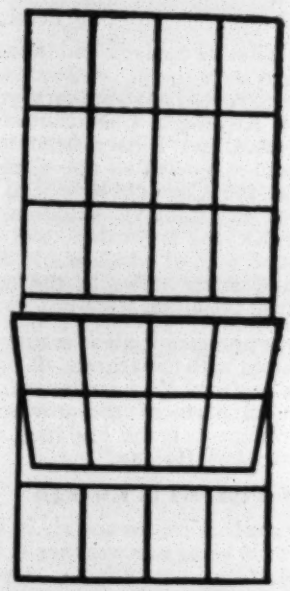


Standard Steel Building



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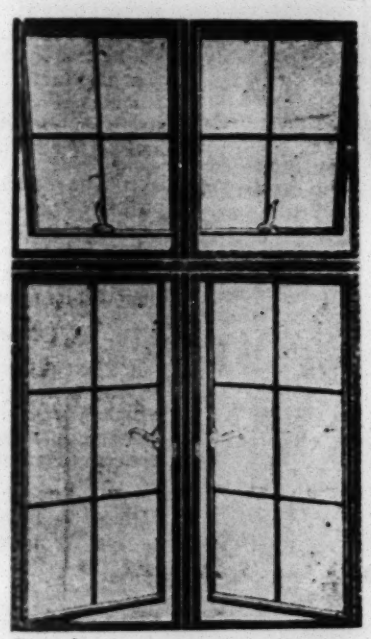

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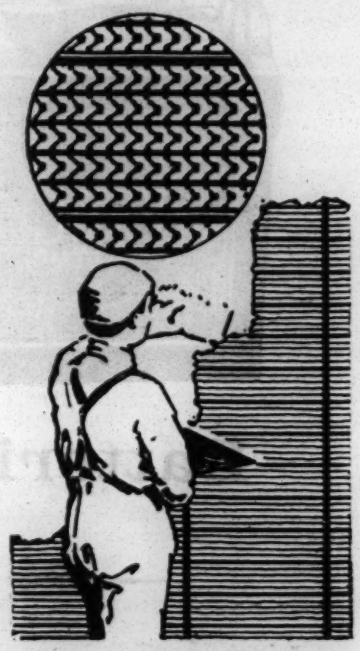

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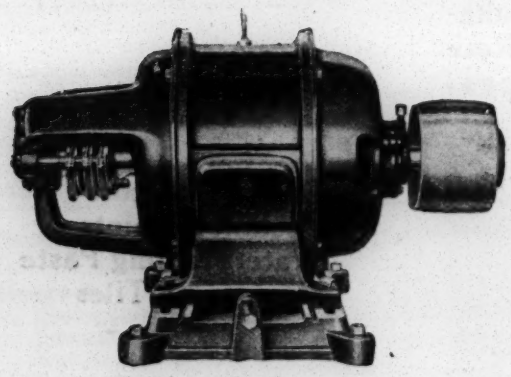

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province is Kwangtung, a district with an area of 100,000 square miles and a population totalling close to 37,000,000. Here we find 1,363 li of roadways in operation and 685 li projected or in contruction. The figures:

		Hainan Island 155x115) miles	
Canton city, and Suburb	81 li	Kiungchow-Kinkiang	120 li
Hoifung-Kungping	30 li	Kinkiang-Limko	140 li
Hoifung-Lufung	30 li	Wenchang-Kiungchow	140 li
Macao-Hengshan	60 li	Kiungchow-Kachek	250 li
Pakhoi-Limchow	55 li	Limko-Madoa	160 li
Weichow city	20 li	Kinkiang-Madoa	140 li
Swatow city	7 li	Kachek-Liamui	100 li
Hsinwei city	10 li		
Hokshan-Wukow	10 li	Total:	1363 li
Hoiping-Changshatong	10 li		

Following are the roads projected, a few of them being in process of construction:

Macao-Shihki	180 li	Kityang-Swatow	90 li
Limchow-Shihkan	45 li	Fatshan-Lokchang	30 li
Pakhoi-Nankan	110 li	Kityang-Wukungfu	60 li
Sheklung-Weichow	120 li		
Kityang-Chaochow	50 li	Total:	685 li

There are three or four miles of roads in and about Swatow and two motor cars in operation there. A Swatow correspondent some time ago wrote: "A road has been surveyed from Canton via our district city of Kityang to Chao-chow-fu. Construction was begun at both ends, and I have been told that several tens of miles have been completed at the Canton end, but only about half a mile at the Chao-chow-fu end. Work has been stopped by reason of the military situation. There was also talk of a road from Kityang to Swatow, and another from Chao-chow-fu to Swatow, both of which would be short stretches—between twenty and thirty miles in the one case, and between thirty and forty in the other.

"The road building in this province is all a matter of the past five or six years and started with the tearing down of the Canton city wall, which was replaced by a boulevard. Roads are projected or talked of in all parts of the province. One of the most remarkable developments is the building of more than 600 li of roads on the island of Hainan."

"Good Roads" Newspapers In Kwangsi

The agitation for better roads is encouragingly in evidence in Kwangsi province, there even being a newspaper in Kweilin which is predicated on a platform advocating a dependable system of provincial highways. The following motor roads are completed and in use:

Lungchow-Nankwan	54 li
Lungchow-Shui Kan	80 li
Wuning-Nanning	110 li
Total:	244 li

A road actually is projected between Lungchow and Po-shui, a distance of 110 li, and correspondents write that there are "plans for a road to run through the province to Samshui where it will connect with the Canton-Samshui railway." Communication between Lungchow and Indo-China, via most of the larger towns along the border, is well established, it is reported. Lungchow is about 40 miles from the border. There are a number of semi-completed roads reaching out from Lungchow, and joining that city with hill towns and cities beyond the mountains, but for most of the journey they are made impassable for automobiles because of a few stretches of narrow, ungraded and often steep and rocky passages. The influence of the good roads in Indo-China has been felt in Kwangsi and it seems entirely probable that construction here will rapidly increase within the next few years, in order to make possible quick, safe and cheap trips between China and the French colony, where rich markets are available for Chinese products.

In Hunan

North of Kwangsi, in Hunan province, there are only 445 li of motor roads to serve a population of approximately 28,443,000 distributed over an area of 83,000 miles. Following are the roads in use:

Changsha-Siangtan	90 li
Siangtan-Siangsiang	75 li
Siangsiang-Yunfengchen	110 li
Hengchow-Leiyang	170 li
Total:	445 li

These roads are projected, some of them being in the process of construction:

Lichow-Tsingshih	25 li	Leiyang-Chengchow	135 li
Changteh-Tselihsien	180 li	Chengchow-Nichang	40 li
Changteh-Taoyuen	55 li	Nichang-Yungchow	370 li

Lichow-Tselihsien	180 li	Leiyang-Anten	80 li
Ansiang-Tsingshih	70 li	Yungchow-Leiyang	230 li
Yungfengchen-Paoking	180 li	Total:	1545 li

Officials of this province, as well as the business classes are awake to the retardments suffered by them because of the serious poverty of roads and great effort is being made to encourage building in all sections, as may be seen from the quantity of li of roads now projected. The road extending from Changsha to Siangtan (90 li) probably by now is being continued to Paoking, as it was reported some time ago that plans were to be effected for this purpose. The Changsha-Siangtan buss service is one of the most efficient operated in China and during its three years of existence is said to have been very prosperous. It is also believed that a well surfaced road may be built instead of a railway which long has been considered for joining Changsha with Changteh, via Ningsiang and Yiyang.

Kiangsi Has Progressive Program

West of Hunan and south of Hupeh, is the province of Kiangsi, a territory of 69,000 square miles with a population of about 24,000,000 which is served, or was until recently served, by only one motor road, a stretch of 42 miles between Kiukiang, on the Yangtsze River, to the foothill of Kuling, the popular Yangtsze Valley summer resort. Numerous roads have been begun in Kiangsi however and it is probable that by now several hundred li more are ready or almost ready for use. In Kiukiang, for instance, the wall has been demolished and in its place a boulevard now encircles the city. Roads are being developed to connect the great porcelain center, King Teh Chen, with river ports or railway. The northern terminus of one of these would join the Yangtsze at a point opposite Anking; another is projected to connect with Kiukiang and a third with Nanchang the capital. Surveying is proceeding in Nanchang, for a proposed modernization scheme which includes the building of roads through and around the city, with the idea of eventually linking the capital with all parts of the province. In Kanchow the streets are being widened and rickshas and motor cars beginning to appear; there also is projected a road from Kanchow to Tangkiang, 60 li, and the military are discussing the building of a road from this city into Kwangtung province. Another important possibility is a motor road from Nanchang, via Fuchow, Kienchang, Nanfeng, Kuangchang, and Ningtu, to Kanchow, following the line of a railway which was surveyed in 1911. This, if completed, would cement North and South China. Following are the roads projected, some of them being considerably advanced in the process of construction:

Nankung-Kiukiang	90 li	Nanchang-Kaoanhsien	120 li
Nanchang-Kanchow	885 li	Kintechen-Ankin (Anhwei)	350 li
Nanchang-Fuchow	200 li		
Nanchang-Kintechen	340 li	Total;	1985 li

Kweichow China's Most Backward Province

Kweichow province, north of Kwangtung, is known to be the most backward in China, so it is not surprising to learn that for its 67182 square miles, populated with 11 million people, there is but one serviceable road, that which projects from Kwieyang, the capital, for about 65 miles into the province. There are said to be only a half dozen wheeled vehicles in the entire province. A road was recently considered by a famine relief committee, to unite Kwieyang with Chungking, in Szechuen, but, so far as known, nothing developed from these discussions. It is believed that road conditions in Kweichow are the poorest of all the eighteen provinces.

Conditions Bright In Szechwan

Looking northward to Szechwan the prospect is considerably brighter. Developments in this province already have been referred to, but the figures below will more accurately indicate the large amount of construction that is proceeding here:

Chengtu-Chienchow	160 li	Tsechun-Chungking	700 li
Chengtu-Tungchwan	300 li	Tsechun-Tselintsing	170 li
Chinchow-Tsechun	280 li	Chungking-Wenhsien	665 li
Tsechun-Kiating	370 li	Total:	2640 li

Hupeh Builds Roads From Hankow

Hupeh province, north of Hunan, has an area of 71,000 square miles and a population of 27 million. There are 370 li of roads in operation, as follows:

Hokow-Fanchen	180 li
Fanchen-Tsaoyang	130 li
Haitien-Hankow	60 li
Total:	370 li

The good roads agitation of farmers and merchants and the educational work of the missionaries in this district have resulted in widespread stimulation of interest in improved highways. Particular emphasis has been laid on the importance of motor roads into Hankow, the river port, and it is understood that much has been accomplished on the 520 li projected between that city and shayang. Figures for roads either in construction or contemplated are:

Shihnan-Ichang	500 li	Paliwan-Shungpu	30 li
Hojung-Shasi	100 li	Shungpu-Sinchow	50 li
Shasi-Hsinti	280 li	Shungpu-Yanglu	130 li
Shasi-Totsingshin	240 li	Wuchang-Kingchow	60 li
Shayang-Hankow	520 li		
		Total:	1900 li

Economic Transportation China's Paramount Need

Thus the advance of road building in old Cathay. It should be emphasized that most of the information upon which this article is based was secured only after long delays and in some instances it is unavoidably incomplete. Many of the reports were conflicting and it has required a tiresome amount of sifting and culling of statistics and correspondence in order to arrive at this approximation of conditions, and to authenticate statements contained in this discussion. It is probable that much of the construction labelled here as "projected" has now gone forward to completion. Yet while it is true that road conditions generally are improving throughout China and that travelling is not quite so difficult as many believe, there is little reason to dispute that for the most part China has scarcely more than begun to attack this perhaps most serious of all her prodigious problems—that of establishing a system of roads (and railroads) which will link together the now unhappily isolated provinces and make China in *actuality* a republic of *unity*.

Until such an arrangement exists there seems small chance for the creation of a real understanding, and desire to cooperate, not only between North and South, but between provinces actually bordering each other. For quick, easy communication is entirely essential to such an *entente*. The prejudices of the walled city tradition, which have prevailed for hundreds of years, can be defeated in no other way. In his "Some Bigger Issues in China's Problems," Julian Arnold, American Commercial Attache at Peking, forcefully presents this fact and also demonstrates how inadequate means of transportation have kept the Chinese apart and belligerent and at the same time have been a tragic oppression to the farmer. He shows, for instance, how Shanghai flour mills can better afford to buy wheat at the prevailing American market price from the grower in mid-west Dakota, bring it a thousand miles to Seattle, ship it six thousand miles across the Pacific and thence up the river to his mills, than he can afford to pay the transportation charges on the Shensi farmer's wheat, even if the latter were to make the mill-owner a present of the grain itself! He clearly pictures the enormous handicaps placed upon the Chinese farmer in marketing his products, and upon the merchant, in arranging for exports and imports in the interior. Certain of Mr. Arnold's observations form an excellent conclusion to this article:

"Basically, China's ills are economic. Little headway will be possible in improving the social and political conditions of the people, without attacking the great fundamental economic problems...."One of China's outstanding problems is that of economic transportation. Those who really have the interest of the country at heart might do well to get behind a nation-wide campaign to popularize railway and road construction....With the developement of economical internal transportation, China will have placed itself in a position to profit by what civilization has to offer in the scientific handling of a country's natural resources."

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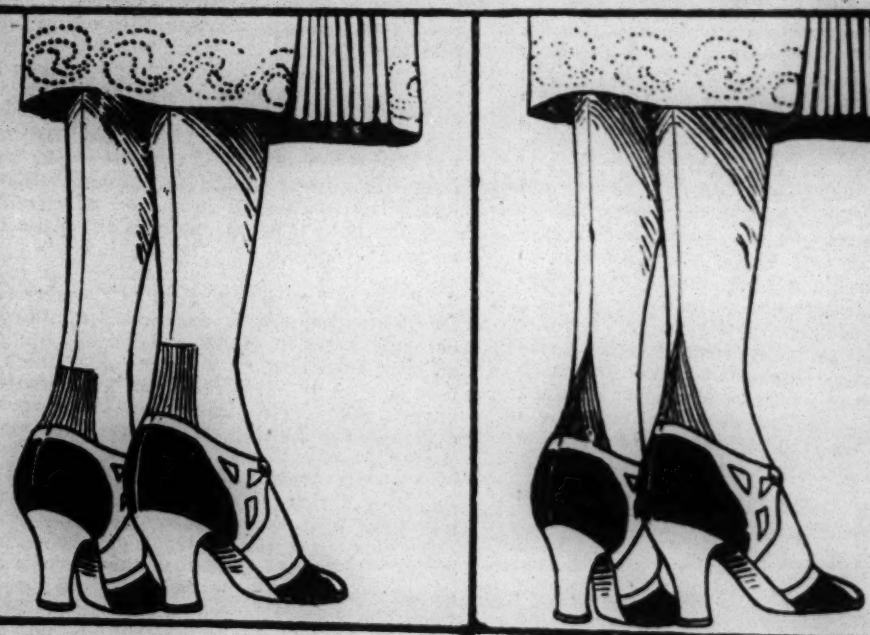

一女界同胞欲具美觀者請看下列圖畫尺寸大小同是一樣一肥一瘦一圖是尖跟令人見之艷羨脚身纖小舉步凌霄風流瀟洒精神美滿一圖是平跟令人見之不雅脚身肥大舉步擁腫絲紋畢現呆笨異常一同是一樣之絲袜穿於足上美惡立見女界欲求美觀請穿足安袜廠特製之2002及909足安牌尖跨純絲袜新頴美麗步履輕盈也

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Recent Industrial Development in Shanghai

BY B. Y. LEE

DURING the past two years of continuous civil war in China almost every line of industry in inland cities has been more or less crippled chiefly due to Communistic activities, while Shanghai alone during this critical period has continuously enjoyed its usual industrial prosperity, and has witnessed many new modern factories established here. Practically speaking, practically every type of industry known in China is located in Shanghai where there are now more than 250 modern factories employing about 300,000 operatives with a capital investment said to be more than three hundred millions of dollars. The industrial development of Shanghai has been so progressive that it has set many good examples for every city in China to follow, for Shanghai is the mother of modern industry in China. Shanghai, then, is the "model" city in China as far as the modern industry is concerned, and always "leads" China in industrial reforms, in organization of labor unions, employers' association, and in establishment of new types of modern factories.

Cotton Mills Most Important

Among the staple industries in Shanghai the cotton mill is the most important and employs more operatives than any other single line of industry whose total capital is around one hundred millions of dollars. The first modern cotton mill was established in Shanghai in 1890, and today there are 58 mills equipped with nearly two million spindles employing about 120,000 operatives. Out of these 58 mills the Japanese own 32, the British, 4, and the Chinese, 22. The British were the pioneers in this industry, and they used to operate 6 large mills but recently one more British owned mill is in liquidation. The reason why they have failed in this enterprise is due to their ignorance of the language and custom of the people as well as the employment of compradores in handling the buying and selling who generally "squeeze" them in every transaction that passes through their hands. The Japanese success along this line of industry is due to many reasons; their mills are under the control and management of a few large corporations which are directly financed by bankers in Japan. They have installed the newest methods of industrial management, and employ men of special training in charge of various departments.

In the Chinese managed mills conditions are different. Most of them are poorly financed and are of small size. Many executives and managers are practical men or men from the "bench", who possess very little knowledge about scientific methods of management, and who depend chiefly upon the "number one men" to handle the labor force for them. Industrial reforms are not deeply considered; technical knowledge is not sought after. During the past few years of general business depression many mills have sold out; many have been reorganized; and many are in the borderline of liquidation. Few mills have realized that there is something wrong in their old ways of management and are eager after improvements. Today many cotton mills, especially the newly-built ones, are managed along the western lines of management, and the result of the new methods has proved very successful thus setting good examples for some old mills in Shanghai and others in the interior to follow.

Old Type Must Go

Most Chinese owned cotton mills are of small units not more than 20,000 spindles or 200 looms each. When the plant is small, it is managed satisfactory; when the unit becomes larger, the old type manager must go or the mill is ruined. In 1921 a rich Shanghai merchant established an unusually large cotton mill of 110,000 spindles, being five times larger than the average size of the Chinese mill; the result of his Hercule-an scheme proved disastrous because his associates were old fashioned. Now-a-day's bitter experiences have taught many

Assembling Wiring Devices in the Porcelain Factory of the China General Edison Plant, Shanghai.

Chinese industrialists to be cautious in establishing too large a plant at the very beginning. Recently the formation of the Wing On Cotton Mill Corporation is a great change in revolutionizing the Chinese modern industry; it is operating three large mills consisting of 130,000 spindles and 1,500 looms. Success of this Corporation is watched with an interest, for the welfare of the future industry depends a great deal upon it. Formation of this Corporation means concentration of production and capital in larger unit under one management. The process of concentration means not only to lower the cost of production but enables the owner to pay higher wages to the laborers, which in turn increases efficiency both in capital and labor force.

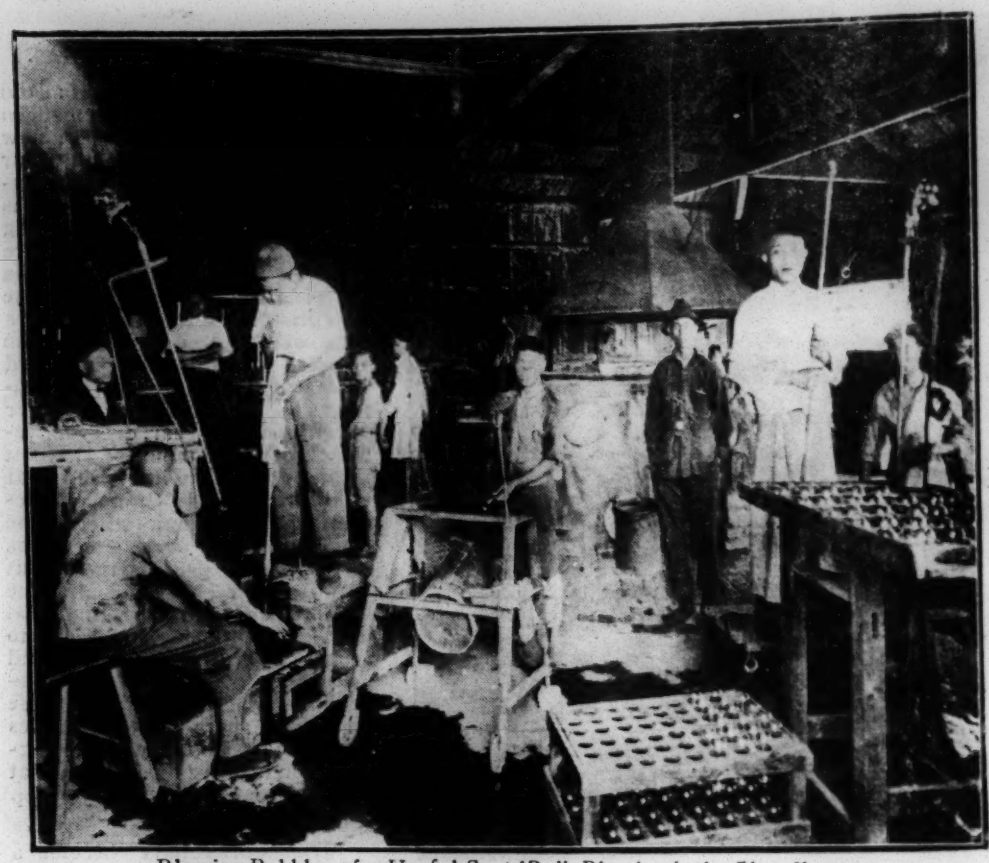
The cigarette industry in Shanghai has undergone a remarkable change of late, especially since the May 30th incident of 1925. It is reported that China annually consumes about 200,000,000 dollars worth of cigarettes, and according to the figures complied by the local cigarette tax Bureau, based on 25% in value on factory output, the monthly receipt amounts to more than 1,000,000 dollars per month or about 70,000,000 dollars a year produced in Shanghai factories. The number of cigarette factories in operation in Shanghai now is reported to be 62 including Nanyang Brothers and the British and American Tobacco Companies. Although most of the smaller factories are with a limited amount of capital varying from 10,000 to 100,000 dollars each, they are very prosperous and are gradually enlarged as less labor troubles are liable to take place. A few months ago the cigarette manufacturers in Shanghai were much excited over the new government cigarette tax thinking it would kill their business, but now they are more prosperous than ever. During the past few months four more cigarette factories have been established.

Paper Manufacture

Paper manufacturing is an old industry in China, but the modern paper mill is comparatively a new enterprise, and at present four modern mills are located in Shanghai whose daily production is about 700,000 pounds of wrapping paper. Two of these mills were formerly owned by the Japanese but after a series of anti-Japanese boycotts during the past ten years they were forced to pass to the Chinese. As China has imported 10,000,000 dollars worth of wrapping and common printing paper from Japan in a year, every movement of anti-Japanese boycott means stimuli to the growth of this enterprise in China, particularly in Shanghai, where the momentum of early start has already begun. During the recent anti-Japanese boycott all the Chinese paper mills in Shanghai have been busy day and night to supply the increasing demand which formerly went to the Japanese manufacturers. "Use these kinds of papers (with samples attached) manufactured in Shanghai Chinese mills" is a slogan that is posted in nearly every shop window, in Shanghai.

Iron works have become a very important industry in Shanghai lately. Small machine shops were first started to do repairing and to make small machine parts; gradually many have been amalgamated and at present two most outstanding iron works are The China Iron Works in Woosung and The Dah Lung Iron Works in Gordon Road; both are manufacturing various types of small machines for silk and cotton mills, such as the baling press, plain and dobby looms, humidifiers, picking machines, etc. Dozens of cotton mills have installed thousands of these "home made" looms. The recent anti-Japanese boycott has greatly strengthened the position of these iron works as orders formerly went to Japan now are given to these shops.

Drawing Filament Wire in the Lamp Factory of the China General Edison Plant, Shanghai.



Blowing Bubbles of a Useful Sort (Bulb Blowing in the Glass Factory)
China General Edison Plant, Shanghai.

The Knitting Industry

The knitting industry was introduced into Shanghai in 1917, and at present there are more than 60 modern factories in operation. During the past ten years these factories have devoted their entire attention to the manufacturing of coarse and common hose for the Chinese market only; gradually the market has been filled with from 20 to 30 centsa pair, hose knitted of 20 to 30 counts of mercerized yarn mostly imported from Japan. Now the larger factories, such as the "Foot Ease", and the "Pioneer Knitting" Factories have turned their attention to making silk stockings for foreign markets. Since 1925 such goods have got hold of markets in Manila, Honolulu, the South Sea countries, and more recently, in South America, and in Central Europe. The exported silk stockings are generally sold from 2 to 4 dollars a pair which are rather too expensive for the home consumption, but cheaper grades of similar kinds are being sold at home. Lately long silk stockings are becoming very popular among the young ladies in China, particularly in Shanghai.

The steam silk filature industry is the largest industry in Shanghai only next to cotton. There are 88 silk filatures in Shanghai employing about 120,000 operatives. Most of them are very small and with a scanty capital. Most managers and overseers are old fashioned, who do not know or care much about modern methods of management or improvements. Scientific methods are not sought after, but instead, the rule of thumb counts. Complaints have been frequently made by foreign exporters as to the evenness, uniformity of color and packing, etc. Indeed this industry has reached the lowest point of efficiency, which has caused export to considerably decrease. Following the cotton mill managers, many owners of silk filatures now heartily welcome suggestions towards improvement. Lately amalgamation has taken place to form larger units; and many have increased their capital so as to install up-to-date machinery.

Many new industries have recently sprung up in great numbers. The hot water bottle is a new luxury; it has been imported mostly from Japan and Germany. In order to meet the popular demand, the Kwong Man Glass Factory located in Chapei has turned out a hundred dozen of cheap grade hot water bottles a day and the price of which is about one dollar and fifty cents apiece. Take the electric fans for instance, which have been imported both from America and England, but recently a Chinese small electric factory named the Wah Sing Company has manufactured a couple of thousands each season. The 16 inch oscillating fan is sold at retail at 33 dollars apiece or less than about a half of the cost of American-made. The paper umbrellas suitable for export and for "gentlemens" use have been made in three Chinese factories, which were started as a result of a series of anti-Japanese boycotts. Electric lamp bulbs are another new article, which are being manufactured by the China Edison Company.

Wages are higher in Shanghai mills, or at least 20% higher than that in inland cities; they are due to many causes. Generally speaking, everything is higher in Shanghai, especially the house rent which is at least four times higher than that in the interior. High wages mean a blessing instead of a curse not only to the operatives but also to the people in general—as is proved in foreign countries; high wages are a stimulus to increase efficiency and force employers to devise ways and means of offsetting the rising wage bills by utilization of more capital per plant and better methods of management. Taking every factor into consideration, high wages are offset by many other advantages offered to manufacturers in Shanghai.

There are at least three distinct recent changes that have taken place in Shanghai industries of late. In the first place in order to compete with foreign imported goods, particularly the Japanese, up-to-date machinery is gradually replac-

Baseball Champions of the General Edison Inter-Factory League

ing the old crude or hand machines. Even in many silk filatures the latest type of machines are being imported both from France and Italy. Two weaving plants have installed complete finishing plants, including bleaching, mercerizing and dyeing, the cost of which amounts to half a million dollars. Some knitting factories have installed the most up-to-date automatic machines costing more than two thousand dollars a piece. The introduction of this up-to-date machinery not only improves the product but also lowers the cost of production.

The Need of Capital

More capital is now required per unit of establishment than ever before. For instance, two million dollars for the construction of a cotton mill was formerly considered a large sum, but to day, take the Wing On Cotton Mill Corporation as an example, ten millions of dollars are required. Many Chinese business men have realized that business competition in Shanghai means capitalistic competition. Of course, factories in the interior require less amounts of capital, as plants located there are generally smaller, competition is not so keen and wages are not so high.

In order to pay higher wages to operatives and to lower the cost of production, concentration of production in larger unit per establishment has recently taken place. One of the chief reasons why the Japanese industrial enterprises in China have been prosperous is because they are under control of a few large corporations which in turn are under control of few banks in Japan. Take this case for instance; the Japanese cotton mills in China are indirectly under control of a bankers in Japan, who also control steamship lines carrying raw cotton from India to Japan and carrying yarn from Japan to China. The Chinese industrialists have realised these advantages. Take the case of Mr. Yung, "the flour king" for instance, who is managing director of a dozen flour mills and three cotton mills in Shanghai. All his mills have successfully passed many financial difficulties during the past few years of general business depression. The success of the Wing On Mills is chiefly due to concentration of management as well as to concentration of capital, for the mills are connected with the Wing On Department Store together with the Savings Department.

Changing Conditions

With tariff autonomy in sight the future prospects of industrial expansion in Shanghai are very bright. Bitter experiences have taught many Chinese industrialists to realize that in order to be successful in their undertakings in Shanghai they must adapt themselves to the changing conditions such as to have greater amount of capital, to acquire better methods of industrial management, and to secure more practical men, and in order to fulfill these wishes, they are ready to cooperate with foreign capitalists to expand the present existing factories and to establish other new industries which have hitherto not developed.

During the past few years a great number of young Chinese, especially the college students and the office workers have begun to wear clothes made in western style, and in order to meet the increasing demand, many factories manufacturing mens' outfits have been lately established. The A. B. C. Factory was organized in 1921 with a capital of 200,000 dollars in manufacturing underwears similar to that of B. V. D in America and also tennis shirts and top shirts. Since last year two more factories are making similar goods; one imports American made cloth and does the cutting and tailoring here. Felt hats are becoming very popular not only among the upper class but also among the middle class. There are two factories in Shanghai making cheap grade felt hats selling retail at from one to two dollars apiece.

Textile Manufacture

Many kinds of textiles formerly imported from Japan now are being manufactured in Shanghai. The Sing Sang and the Sing You Cotton Works, whose capital has been increased to 200,000 dollars, are making Turkish towels, blankets, table cloths and window blinds of various shades and colors, bath robes and many other fancy textile goods. Both of these factories have their own stores in Nanking Road. Flannel and canvas are also manufactured at the Wing On Cotton Mill and also in many other mills. Last Spring the students' "army" in Shanghai ordered more than 10,000 suits of uniforms made of canvas manufactured by the Wing On Mill. Shoes are in great demand; and they are mostly made by hand in various shoe shops. The Chung Wah Shoe Factory is equipped with modern machinery in turning out hundreds of pairs of most up to date shoes daily. Leather goods, such as hand grips, suit cases, etc, are widely used, and the leather for which is made in the local tanneries, which are nine in number including two new ones recently established.

The gramophone was once considered a luxury in Chinat but now-a-days it is common in the homes of many middle class people. One may be surprised to see a nice gramophone sold at 14 dollars in a local store. It is manufactured in Shanghai " factories" or large carpenter shops for there are six such shops in Shanghai. The motors are imported, the cabinets made and painted with artistic designs in these shops. The rate of daily production of gramophones is around 200. The Kinnear Piano Factory located in Chapei near the Commercial Press Factory is "manufacturing" pianos. The springs and motors are also imported; and the cases are made here thus reducing the cost considerably, just the same as in the case of the gramophones and enabling the middle class Chinese to enjoy the music.

Fountain Pens

Fountain pens are becoming very popular of late among the students and merchants. The cheap grades have been mostly imported from Germany and Japan. To supply the increasing demand for them, the Kwan's Fountain Pen Factory located in Connaught Road was established last year and was in operation two months ago. The promotors are merchants from New York and the manager is an American returned student. The machinery was imported from America. The initial capital is $100,000 and the daily production of pens is expected to reach 1,000 which are divided into two types, those with golden points for writing English and those with brush for writing Chinese. The Shanghai Lead pencil Factory in Yangtsepoo is turning out lead pencils for the local consumption.

The making of the cigarette rolling machines is one of the latest industries developed in Shanghai. Most of the larger cigarette factories use imported machines, while the smaller ones equipped with a few machines use the "home made" machines, the price of which is about $1,500 a piece or about a half cost of that of the imported. The speed and the work of the home-made ones are not so good compared with the imported ones. Straw hats have been mostly imported from Japan during the last two decades since the Chinese have begun to wear them, except those costing more than 5 dollars a piece. The cheap grade straw hats are made in many "family factories" in Shanghai where the wages are exceptionally low. The past anti-Japanese boycotts have been a great stimulus to the growth of this industry in Shanghai, particularly since the recent boycott. It is said practically all straw hats worn this season are made here by eliminating the Japanese goods. Patent medicines of various descriptions including pills were formerly imported from Japan or from the Japanese owned factories in China, but now they are made in China.

Shanghai, September 15, 1928.

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China's Foreign Trade and Her Industrial Development.

BY D. K. LIEU, F.R.S.A.

Editor-in-chief, The China Critic; Vice-President, Chinese Economic Society; Chief of Investigation Department, Bureau of Economic Information; Expert, Planning Commission, Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor; Expert, Likin Abolition Commission, Ministry of Finance.

In my recent book "China's Industries and Finance," (1) I discussed at length the relation between industrial development and foreign trade. The principal points may be reiterated here with quotations from one of the Chapters:

> The second conspicuous factor in China's industrial development is her foreign trade. This has three different aspects, which must be dealt with separately. In the first place, it is responsible for the industrial development of the treaty ports, which are the centers of foreign trade.....
>
> The second aspect of the influence of foreign trade on industrial development is its effect on articles for export. The influence here is very direct, foreign demand being responsible for greater production, and greater production usually, if not always, means the establishment of more workshops and factories. The large number of bean oil presses in Manchuria is a good proof of this statement. The rise of steam silk filatures in Shanghai is another.....In fact, there are quite a few articles of manufacture which would hardly be of any significance were it not for the demand in foreign countries.....
>
> Some very conspicuous instances of domestic demand for goods manufactured in imitation of imported articles are matches, cigarettes, canned food, cement and knitted hosiery.....There are in China at present, so far as can be ascertained from the Bureau's records, 134 match factories and 15 factories making sticks, boxes and other accessories.....

The above shows how foreign trade promotes industrial development. At the same time, the foreign trade statistics also serve to show at what rate the development is going on. As export trade has the most direct influence on such development the export statistics are also most indicative of the rate of progress. Below are customs figures showing the value, in million Haikwan taels, of Chinese imports and exports, for every fifth year since 1865, and for every year since the beginning of the Republic.

TABLE I.—CHINA'S FOREIGN TRADE.

(In Million Haikwan Taels)

Year	*Exports (of Chinese Products)*	*Imports (Net)*	*Year*	*Exports (of Chinese Products)*	*Imports (Net)*
1926	864	1,124	1913	403	570
1925	776*	947*	1912	370	473
1924	771	1,018	1911	377	471
1923	752	923	1910	380*	462*
1922	654	945	1905	227*	447*
1921	601	906	1900	158*	211*
1920	541*	762*	1895	143*	171*
1919	630	646	1890	87*	121*
1918	485	554	1885	65*	88*
1917	462	549	1880	77*	79*
1916	481	516	1875	68*	67*
1915	418*	454*	1870	61*	69*
1914	356	569	1865	60*	61*

In sixty years the exports have increased nearly thirteen fold, but the imports have increased even more, in fact, more than fifteen fold. And both started at almost the same figure in 1865, the second year of the customs reports. By taking the figures of that year as 100, index numbers of every fifth year as given in the following table, will show the rate of increase of trad in both directions. (2)

TABLE II.—INDEX NUMBERS OF IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE.

Year	*Exports*	*Imports*	*Year*	*Exports*	*Imports*
1865	100	100	1900	263.3	345.9
1870	101.6	113.1	1905	378.3	732.8
1875	113.3	109.8	1910	633.3	757.3
1880	128.3	129.5	1915	696.6	744.2
1885	108.3	144.2	1920	901.6	1249.1
1890	145.0	208.2	1925	1293.3	1552.4
1895	238.3	280.3			

These indices show that the rates of increase were about thesame for both imports and exports during the first twenty years, but since 1885, that of imports became much faster than that of exports. Especially in 1905, the value of imports almost doubled that of the exports. In 1915, on account of the European War, China's exports almost amounted to the same figure as the imports, and that period was also a period of industrial boom in the country. The rates of increase for each five year period can be better seen from Table III, where the figures against any date shows the increase of that date over the one next.

TABLE III.—INDEX NUMBERS. (By the chain system.)

Year	*Exports*	*Imports*	*Year*	*Exports*	*Imports*
1865	100	100	1900	110	123
1870	102	113	1905	143	211
1875	112	97	1910	166	103
1880	113	118	1915	110	98
1885	85	111	1920	129	167
1890	134	144	1925	143	124
1895	164	134			

Although a Chinese statistician has compiled from the customs reports index numbers for the different years, the data are not at hand, and I am compelled to use the Shanghai and Canton wholesale price index numbers instead, in order to ascertain the extent to which the increase in imports and exports, as shown in the above tables, was due to rise in prices. The index numbers of both cities are calculated on the basis of 1913 prices as 100. On that basis the highest figure for Shanghai is 164.0 for the year 1926. The 1926 index number of Canton is unavailable, and even for 1925 I have only the monthly indices for the first half year. For that half year the index number is 179.0, which is also the highest since 1912, the first year for which index numbers are compiled. (3) Since over forty per cent of China's foreign trade pass through Shanghai, the Shanghai index numbers are of greater importance, and from them it will be seen that the rise in the general price level from 1913 to 1926 was only 64 per cent, while the increase in export values for the same two years was 114 per cent, and for import values, 97 per cent. By rectification the increase in exports becomes 30.5 per cent and that of imports, 20.1 per cent. But such rectification is not quite satisfactory, because the price index numbers used are for the general price level, and not import and export prices in particular.

Industrial Development

A general survey of the import and export situation does not sufficiently indicate the relation between foreign trade and industrial development. For this purpose it is necessary to study the different kinds of imports and exports, especially the latter, as its relation to industrial development is much closer. If the customs reports give detailed data about the machinery and raw materials imported for use in each kind of industry, the former would also be clearly indicative of the growth of certain industries and decline of others, but unfortunately trade reports seldom go into such details. Hence the following table gives only the principal articles of export-namely, those the exportation of which amounted to more than 5,000,000 Haikwan taels in either 1926 or 1925. The classification in the 1924 and earlier reports being different and much simpler, figures for these years are not included herein. My own way of grouping these articles of export is slightly different from that adopted by the customs, hence the percentages in the last column, calculated in most cases by the statistical Department of the Customs Administration, may not agree with the absolute figures in the second column for 1926, compiled by myself. The differences, whenever definitely known, are explained in the last column.

*Every fifth year.

(1) pp. 21—26.

(2) The increase of value due to rise of prices will be considered later. For the time being we have to take the thing as a whole, and disregard the price fluctuations.

(3) See pp. 107,180 of China's Industries and Finance.

TABLE IV.—PRINCIPAL EXPORTS

	Articles of Export	*1926* (*Value in million H.K. Tls.*)	*1925*	*Percentage of Total Exports (1926 only)*	
I.	Animal & Animal Products:—	110.5*	117.1*	12.78%*	
	Bristles (assorted & unassorted)	10.4	9.5	1.21%	
	Eggs and egg products	38.1	33.0	4.42%	
	Hides	9.0	8.3	3.34%	(skins, hides & leather)
	Skins	19.5	21.6		
	Intestines	4.9	5.5		
	Wool	9.7	18.5	1.72%	(including hair and feather)
II.	Vegetable Products:—	381.2*	326.2*	44.11%*	
	Beans	75.0	71.1		(beans and
	Bean cake	70.0	49.4	20.34%	bean products)
	Bean oil	29.9	20.3		
	Bran	6.9	6.5		
	Millet	23.4	19.0	3.32%	(including other cereals)
	Raw cotton	29.3	29.8	3.40%	
	Fibres	7.4	7.7		
	Groundnuts	18.5	17.2		
	Groundnut oil	10.7	7.6	3.45%	
	Wood oil	14.9	17.4	1.73%	
	Tea	26.1	22.1	3.03%	
	Tobacco	6.4	6.1		
III.	Textiles, Textile Products (except silk) & Clothing:—	48.1*	36.6*	5.56%*	
	Cotton piece goods	12.0	11.0	1.54%	
	Cotton yarn	11.0	3.9	1.25%	
	Grass cloth	5.4	3.4		
	Carpets and rugs	6.5	6.3		
IV.	Silk, Silk Materials & Products:—	191.6*	178.4*	22.17%*	
	Silk piece goods	21.3	15.4	3.57%	
	Pongees	9.4	7.7		
	Raw silk	144.7	140.3	18.40%	(including cocoons)
	Silk waste	10.5	8.9		
V.	Wood, Fuel & Paper:—	45.1*	38.4*	5.21%*	
	Coal	26.1	20.0	3.03%	
	Timber	9.5	8.8	1.19%	
VI.	Ores, Metals & Minerals, and Manufactures thereof:—	28.2*	28.4*	3.26%*	
	Antimony	6.3	4.7		
	Tin ingots and slabs	8.7	12.0	1.01%	
VII.	Sundries:—	59.2*	50.8	6.85%*	
	Cigarettes	15.4	15.2	1.78%	
	Medicines	4.4	5.0		
	Total, all exports	864.2	776.2	100%	

Although, at first glance, the products under headings, I, II, V and VI seem to consist mostly of raw materials, and those under III, IV and VII, of manufactured goods, the distinction cannot be drawn so readily. A certain amount of preparation is necessary even in the so-called raw materials before their exportation, and among the manufactured products the amount also varies very widely. Of course cotton and silk piece goods have gone through many manufacturing processes before they are ready for final consumption, yet furs are also final consumption goods, and we need not lament, as some people do, that their exportation means little to the industrial development of the country. If we have a surplus supply of furs, and there is a demand for them in other parts of the world, it matters little whether they require more or less elaborate processes for their preparation. On the contrary, as investigation into the fur industry of Suanhwa shows, that industry there is to a large extent developed and supported by the foreign trade in this article. (4)

The above figures themselves would not even show if the cotton industry in China has sufficiently developed to consume all the raw cotton produced in the country. Over 29 million taels worth of raw cotton was exported every year during these two years, but it does not prove that home consumption was low. It was because native cotton is not suitable to the manufacture of fine yarn, and foreign cotton has to be imported in large quantities to meet this need. The value of raw cotton importation in 1925 and 1926 was 69.9 and 93.7 million Haikwan taels respectively. These figures are much larger than the export figures for the same two years, and so far as they can indicate, there seemed to be a larger demand in 1926 than in 1925, which in turn would mean greater activity in the cotton mills in the former year.

*Subtotals. These subtotals may slightly differ from the sums of the separate items, because of the omission of all digits below the sixth.

(4) See pp. 3-5 of China's Industries and Finance.

Cotton Consumption

A comparison of the raw cotton consumption statistics of the cotton mills for these two years shows only an increase of approximately 480,000 piculs. (5) The increase in imports in 1926 over 1925 was 937,567 piculs. At the same time, the production of cotton in the country decreased by 1,895,000 piculs. However, the latter is of less significance to the cotton mills than the former, since much of the native cotton produced is consumed by the old-fashioned spinning industry and as wadding for clothing, while all of the imported cotton goes to the modern mills. The comparative figures are given below:—

Table	Consumption of Raw Cotton. (in piculs) 1926	1925
Production	5,680,000	7,575,000
Importation	2,745,017	1,807,450
Total	8,425,017	9,382,450
Less Exportation	878,512	800,786
Net quantity consumed	7,546,505	8,581,664
Consumed by modern mills (5) Percentage of net quantity	4,983,685 66	4,505,531 52

The increasing exportation of cotton yarn is even more indicative of the growth of the spinning industry in this country. In 1921 the quantity exported was only 25 thousand piculs, in round numbers, but this increased to 38 thousand in 1922, 88 thousand in 1923 and 146 thousand in 1924. There was a lull in 1925, when only 64 thousand piculs were exported, but in 1926, the figure reached 192 thousand, the highest on record. Of course these cannot compare with the quantities imported every year, yet they prove at least that for yarn of lower counts, the mills in China are now able to produce a little more than is necessary for domestic consumption.

Similarly with cotton piece goods, where the increase in exportation, though not so fast as cotton yarn, was more steady than the latter. This is probably to some extent due to the adoption of value instead of physical quantity as the basis, as the customs reports record the exportation of certain kinds of piece goods by piculs and others by pieces, and no total can be given of both except by their value. By value the exportation of cotton piece goods in 1921 amounted to 5.8 million Haikwan taels; 5.7 in 1922; 9.1 in 1923, 12.0 in 1924, 11.0 in 1925, and 12.0 in 1926. Reference to the special section in the customs reports on the exportation of Chinese factory products shows that a large proportion of the cotton piece goods exported consists of products of modern factories, being 8 million taels in 1925 and 9.1 million in 1926. This means that the gain of 1,000,000 taels in 1926 was entirely due to increased exportation of factory products.

Although the cotton industry is not prospering as much as it should be because the cost of raw cotton is high and price of yarn and piece goods cannot be raised on account of keen foreign competition, the silk filatures seem to be in an even worse predicament. An investigation into the Shanghai silk industry by the Bureau of Economic Information last year showed that many of the filatures were not in full operation and the margin of profit was very narrow. Fortunately their plants were mostly rented at reasonable figures, and it was not necessary to tie up large amounts of capital in the plants. This was perhaps why they were able to get along at all, the loss having been borne by the original owners of the plants, who either had sold them below cost, or rented them at figures which yielded very low returns on the original capital invested. However, the silk produced at the rented filatures is generally of a rather low grade, and supplies the domestic instead of the foreign market.

The customs figures also show that raw silk exportation has been quite irregular during the last twenty years. In 1926, as shown in the following table, the quantity of raw silk exported was 135 thousand piculs and in 1913, 119 thousand. This means an increase of only 13.4 per cent. Moreover, although the quantity of silk exported in 1925 and 1926 was better than that of any year since 1920, it was not much higher than that in 1919, and the figures for the five years between 1920 and 1924 showed no improvement whatever over those of the previous years. And this does not take into account of wild silk, the exportation of which has shown even less improvement.

(5) Statistics of Chinese Cotton Mill Owners Association, for all modern mills in China, including foreign-owned. However, some of the mills did not give their figures correctly, and the result is not entirely accurate.

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SLABS
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SLEEPERS—Steel
SPRING STEEL
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TERNE PLATES
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However this might be, raw silk is still the largest single item of China's exports, so far as value is concerned. Although exportation of bean products together amounts to an even larger figure, and shown in the customs charts as making up 20.34 per cent against 18.40 per cent as representing raw silk and cocoons, the former consists of many items, while raw silk alone was exported to the amount of 144.7 million Haikwan taels in 1926. If silk piece goods be added, as well as cocoons, the combined percentage would be 21.97, which would be the highest of any group of exports.

Unsatisfactory Silk Situations

The trade in silk piece goods is about as unsatisfactory as raw silk, although they too occupy a very important position among the exports. The value of these goods was 17.0 million Haikwan taels in 1921, 14.9 in 1922, 16.8 in 1923, 15.7 in 1924, 15.4 in 1925 and 21.3 in 1926. The only significant increase was in the last year; for all other years the changes were always within a range of less than 15 per cent, Yet the situation is not so bad when the small importation of foreign piece goods is taken into consideration. The value of such imports has always been somewhere around one million Haikwan taels, and it shows that if Chinese silk goods are not exported in larger and larger quantities, they at least have an advantage in the domestic market. In fact, Chinese manufacturers have been able to produce goods in imitation of foreign imports, such as Indian silk, tafetta, etc, and sell them at lower prices, thus holding their own against foreign competition.

TABLE V.—SILK EXPORTATION

(*in 1,000 piculs*)

Year	*Silk*	*Wild Silk*	*Year*	*Silk*	*Wild Silk*
1926	135	31	1916	103	18
1925	133	34	1915	109	34
1924	108	22	1914	87	21
1923	107	31	1913	119	29
1922	119	23	1912	121	36
1921	113	37	1911	96	33
1920	82	21	1910	110	29
1919	131	33	1909	95	34
1918	96	28	1908	94	34
1917	107	18	1907	92	23

The once very important article of export, tea, has constantly declined in importance in China's foreign trade. A statistical review of the situation during the last twenty years, as may be seen from the following table, shows that the quantity of such exports was formerly around one and a half million piculs, but has since 1918 dropped to below one million, and in three years below half a million. The years 1925 and 1926 showed some slight improvement, but complete recovery is yet very far off. Competition of Ceylon tea is the principal cause of this decline, and improvement in the quality of the Chinese product is perhaps the only way through which recovery may be attained.

Russia's Takings of Teas

In 1925 Russia began to order large quantities of tea from China, which during the year totalled 319,000 half-chests. This held out great hopes to the teamen, but the restrictions imposed on importations of tea by the Soviet Government affected the trade so much that only 172,000 half-chests went to that country in 1926. This shows that, in order to increase tea exportation, special attention must be paid to such restrictions as adopted by the foreign nations, especially those that buy heavily from China, and the best thing would be for the Chinese Government itself to establish a testing house where all tea for export must be tested before it leaves the port, and the requirements adopted abroad for such purposes must be made known to all tea merchants so that they will know what tea to buy for exportation. When the merchants are strict in their choice, the farmers who raise tea will also try to improve its quality, while the establishment of experiment stations for the cultivation of this product will also be a great help in reviving this declining industry.

TABLE. VI—TEA EXPORTATION

(*in 1,000 piculs*)

Year	*1000 Piculs*	*Year*	*1000 Piculs*
1926	839	1916	1,542
1925	833	1915	1,782
1924	765	1914	1,495
1923	807	1913	1,442
1922	576	1912	1,481
1921	430	1911	1,462
1920	305	1910	1,560
1919	690	1909	1,498
1918	404	1908	1,576
1917	1,125	1907	1,610

The growth of the bean oil industry in Manchuria is nothing short of romance. Very little was produced or exported until the latter part of the Manchu dynasty, and even in the First Year of the Republic (1912) only half a million piculs were exported, valued at 3.9 million Haikwan taels. The quantity soon doubled in 1915, tripled in the following year, quadrupled in 1918 and quintupled in 1926. The value increased more than seven times in fourteen years, or practically doubled every two years. The quantity as well as value of beancakes exported is even greater than that of bean oil, but the increase during the same period is not as fast as the latter. The increase in quantity is only a little over threefold, and that in value, fourfold.

Beans and Bean Oil

Both oil and cakes are the products of bean oil presses. The largest number are found in Manchuria, around Dairen and Harbin, where the supply of beans is abundant. However, Hankow has also many of them, and there are some in Kiangsu and other provinces. These regions also export beans in large quantities, and if the oil industry is further developed, the proportion of raw materials to the finished products exported would perhaps change more in favor of the latter. In 1926, for instance, the combined value of oil and cakes exported was nearly 100 million taels, and of beans, 75 million, or about in the ratio of 4:3. Further development in the industry may cause a larger quantity of the beans to be kept in the country to be manufactured into oil and cakes before exportation. It is significant enough that the quantity of beans exported had been only doubled and the value tripled from 1913 to 1926.

Cigarettes were exported in very small quantities during the early years of the Republic, the 1912 exportation being valued at less than 800,000 Haikwan taels, and that of 1913 less than 400,000. The situation changed considerably since the European war, when in 1919 the exportation reached the value of approximately 6.5 million taels. During 1925 and 1926 the figure went beyond 15 million, or about 20 times that in 1912 and 40 times that in 1913.

While the British and American Tobacco Company and the Nanyang Brothers, Ltd., are the two largest factories, there are numerous other cigarette manufacturers in the country. Many new ones came into existence during the last year in Shanghai alone, not to mention other cities and provinces. These so well supplied the domestic market that the value of cigarettes imported in 1926 was almost the same as that exported. In 1912 and 1913, however, the ratio of exports to imports was 1:10 and 1:30 respectively.

Egg products constitute another large group of exports. They include many things—dried and frozen egg albumen, dried, moist and frozen oylk, dried, moist and frozen whole egg, as well as fresh eggs in shell and preserved and salted eggs. Many of these are prepared in modern factories, of which there are now quite a number, and their exportation increased steadily from about five million taels in 1912 to 38.1 million taels in 1926.

Although machined milled flour does not amount to very much in the export statistics, of recent years the industry is of great importance to this country, and it has undergone much development within the last two decades. There are 22 mills in Shanghai and Wusih, with a daily producing capacity of 116,700 bags, not to mention those in Harbin, Tientsin, Tsinan, Hankow, etc. According to one Chinese authority, (6) there are about 130 flour mills in the country at the present moment. The connection between the growth of this industry and foreign trade is seen in the importation of foreign wheat, rather than the exportation of Chinese machine-milled flour. In 1912 only 7,000 taels of foreign wheat were imported; in 1926, nearly 18 million taels; an increase of 2,500 fold.

During and immediately after the European War, the export trade in Chinese flour was at its height, reaching in 1919, for instance, to 10 million Haikwan taels. In 1922 it dropped to 3.6 million, and in the next year to less than one million. Since then, it became no more important as an article of export.

From the above review of the few principal articles of export which except tea, have close connections with the development of modern factories in this country, it will be seen that they have in most cases grown in importance. Raw silk and silk piece goods have barely held their own ground, while tea and machine-milled flour have declined, especially the latter. Nevertheless, the growth in most cases is not quite satisfactory. If not for the adverse circumstances to be mentioned below, these industries would have undergone even greater development, and their products would have been exported in larger quantities every year.

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(6) Chen-Chengyi, Promotion of Native Products. However, this is the same as the figure given by Chen Chung-min in his History of China's Foreign Trade for 1920, and the actual number at the present time is probably larger.

That internal warfare during the last ten or more years was responsible to a great extent for the frustration of industrial development is such a platitude that it need not be further dwelt upon. Rather, it was a marvel that industries did develop at all in spite of it. With the conclusion of the Northern Expedition and the unification of the country under the Nationalist Government, we may well hope that such warfare will not be repeated in the future.

The first economic factor that affects industrial development, especially those industries above reviewed, is the inadequate supply of good raw materials. For instance, American cotton has already been transplanted into this country, but the quantity produced is still too small to meet the demand of the spinning mills. Furthermore, it degenerates after a couple of years, so that transplanting has to be done over again every two or three years. In the case of flour mills of Shanghai, the wheat supply has to come from Canada, as the Kiangsu product is not of the best grade. The Tientsin mills are better supplied in this respect, yet even there much imported wheat is also used.

To make up for this defect agricultural improvements should be carried out by the Government and the agricultural colleges. More experiment stations should be established, and the farmers should be taught modern agricultural methods. Better agricultural implements, better fertilisers and better seeds should be made accessible to the farmers. This in turn means better credit facilities, as the farmers are often too poor to avail themselves of better things. The success in growing Virginia tobacco in Shantung, Honan and Anhwei is due to a large extent to the free supply of foreign seeds by the cigarette factories.

Transportation Handicaps

While the adaptibility of the soil has certain natura limitations, the inadequate transportation facilities furthe affect industrial development by making the supply in distan parts of the country practically unavailable to the factories Shensi produces very good cotton, but the transportation expenses from Shensi to Shanghai are so high that it cannot compete with the imported variety, even when they are of the same grade. Hence the advantage of setting up cotton mills in Honan. The higher transportation cost is most graphically shown by Mr. Julean Arnold, in his recently published charts, "Some Bigger Issues in China's Problems". The introduction says:—

> The farmer in the Wei Basin (in Shensi) is..... about three or four hundred miles from a railway. To carry his wheat over this distance of about 1000 li, he is obliged to.....use either pack animals or human beasts of burden.....A coolie carrier in that section of China will carry a load of one picul a distance of 50 li in one day for 30 cents Chinese silver.....It works out upwards of one half a cent silver per picul per li.....This, combined with other incidential charges, brings the ratio up to at least one cent per picul per li.
>
> The average rate over the American railway is one and one-tenth cents gold per ton per mile. The poor human beast of burden in China is about 15 times as costly as the luxurious train in America. (7)

For the same reason, and for another one to be now discussed, the gypsum of Yincheng, Hupeh cannot compete with German gypsum in the Tientsin Market, and Shangha manufacturers buy Chilean nitre instead of that of Hsuchow in the same province.

The third factor—poor transportation being the second-is the existence of internal tariff barriers in the form of likin and similar collectorates. Brick tea, transported from Hankow to Suiyuan, on its way for exportation to Russian Siberia and for sale in Mongolia, has to pay thirteen levies. Wool for use in the manufacturing of carpets has to pass seven barriers between Tatung and Peiping. (Peking). The final levy is in the city of Peiping itself, and when the manufactured carpet is to be exported, three more levies have to be paid before it can be loaded on the boat. For this reason, the center of the carpet industry has moved from Peiping to Tientsin, where the Tatung wool still pays the same taxes as in Peiping, but the taxes on the carpet are reduced. If a slight reduction of transit taxes is sufficient to make industry prosper in one city instead of another, how much effect would there be on industrial development in general if all internal barriers are abolished?

Tariff Not Scientific

The other aspect of the question is the absence of a scientific tariff for imports and exports. Of course China does not expect to erect high tariff walls once her tariff autonomy is restored, but some differentiation is necessary in the treatment of various kinds of commodities. In certain cases, some slight protection may be given to industries that are beginning to develop in this country, so that their growth may not be frustrated by foreign competition. This of course brings up the question of foreign factories in China, but they are after all few in number, and regulations may be drawn up to prevent cut-throat competition between these factories and those established by the Chinese themselves.

On the financial side, the lack of adequate capital, and convenient banking facilities operates to the great disadvantage of Chinese industries. China is under-supplied with industrial products, as may be seen from the general standard of living and the import statistics, but to increase industrial production much capital is necessary. Large sums have to be sunk in industrial plants and machinery, and more money is needed as current capital to operate them. The Chinese cotton mills and silk filatures cannot even compare with the foreign mills in China, in size and equipment, much less with similar mills abroad, which ship their products to China in competition with these native factories. For the nation as a whole, an estimate by Mr. Arnold gives three quarters of a mechanical slave to each man, woman and child in China and 25 to 30 slaves to each in America. Although such comparison cannot be accurate, it gives some idea of the lack of industrial machinery in China.

Capital has a cumulative effect. The more there is in the country, properly used, the more additional capital it will produce, and so on indefinitely. Another point to be emphasized is, that, although we may object to capitalism capital itself is of the greatest benefit to humanity. The more capital there is, the cheaper it becomes, and the higher the value of the human being. In China at present, the situation is just the reverse. The lack of capital has enhanced the rate of interest, while the large supply of human labor, which cannot be profitably employed for lack of industrial development, depresses the wages. As a result of this situation, the Chinese factories try to use as much as possible of cheap labor, and as little as possible of power plants and industrial machinery. This is the fifth factor responsible for the lack of industrial development in this country.

Limiting, as I have tried, to economic factors only, I finp there are these five outstanding things which make proper industrial development difficult, if not impossible. That there has been already some development in spite of all these, as may be ascertained from investigations in the principal industries and comparison of the foreign trade statistics, says much for the Chinese manufacturers—in this case including also the foreign manufacturers in China. In almost all the industries reviewed above, there are foreign factories in this country, and in some of them these factories hold very important positions. Of course in many senses they contribute much to the industrial development of China, but the Chinese people naturally cannot rest satisfied with having the work done by foreign manufacturers, but they must push ahead for themselves. For that purpose, improvements must be had in the supply of raw materials at home, the provision of better transportation facilities, the abolition of likin, and other transit taxes, the adoption of a scientific tariff and, finally, supply of industrial capital. How these changes may be brought about involves too many details to be discussed in the present article.

SOME COMPARISONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

China, with its dependencies, has a larger area than the continental United States, and without its dependencies, a somewhat less area. The population of the United States is about one hundred and ten millions and that of China about four hundred millions. The climate is somewhat similar, all depending on latitude and elevation. China, however, has only a seaboard to the east, while America has a seaboard both to the east and west. America's chief valleys and rivers run in a southerly direction; in China they run in an easterly direction. America has 250,000 miles of railways; China has 7,000 miles. America has 500,000 miles of surfaced roads; China has 5,000 miles. There are about 22,000,000 licensed motor vehicles in operation in the United States, compared with about 22,000 in the whole of China, the latter being mostly in Foreign Settlements or in settlements built up under foreign control. It is only parts of China that are overpopulated. About six-sevenths of China's population is concentrated in one-third of its area. The most densely populated district of China is in the delta of the Yangtsze river, where within an area of about the size of the state of Illinois, or about 50,000 square miles, lives a population of approximately 40,000,000. In said area the population averges about 800 people to the square mile, as compared with Manchuria with a population of only about 70 to the square mile.

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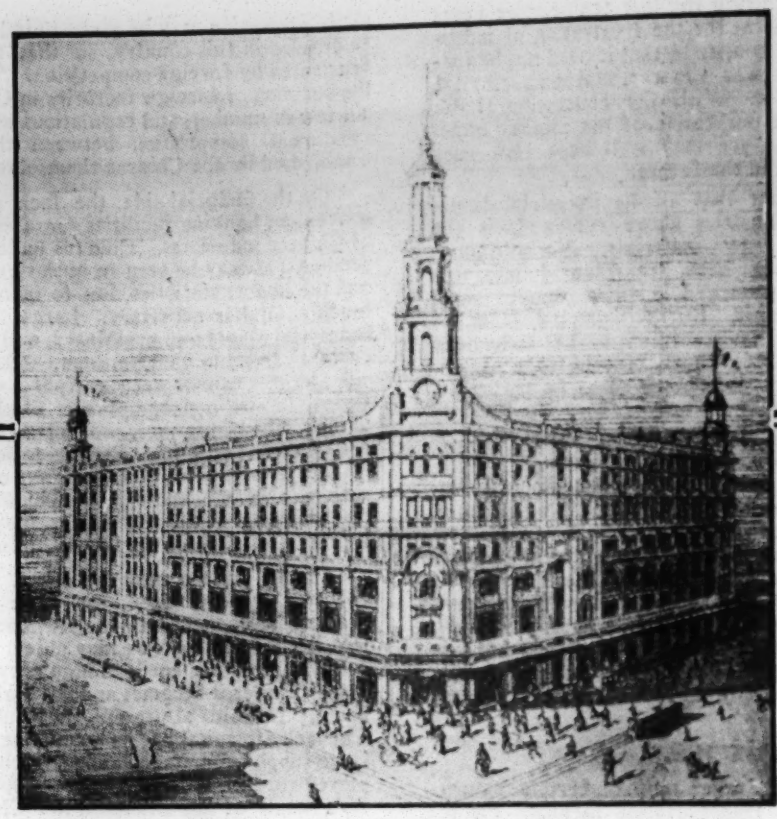
(7) Some Bigger Issues in China's Problems, p. 2.



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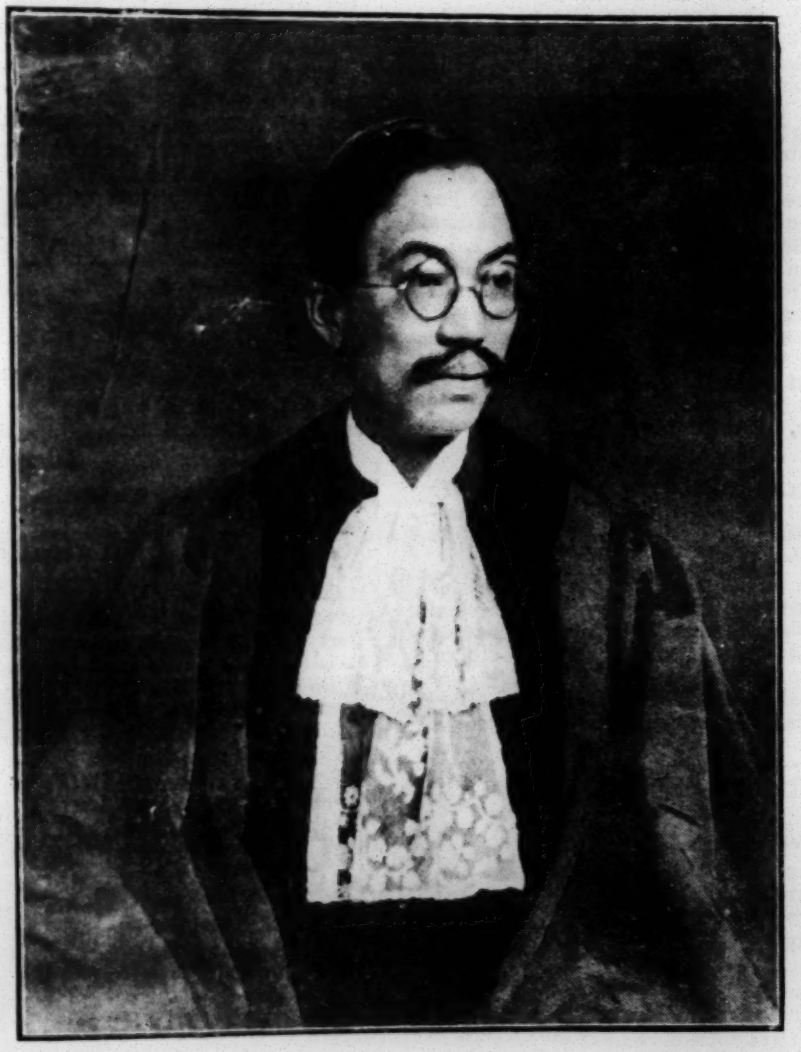
NANKING AND CHEKIANG ROADS

Judicial Reform Under the Nationalist Government

BY LIANG YUENG-LI

Secretary of the Ministry of Justice

THE first attempt on the part of the Chinese Gove nment to better its time-honored laws and judicial system dates as far back as the days when the Manchu House, stung by repeated defeats suffered at the hands of the foreign Powers, especially Japan, decided to inaugurate a general reform movement which emphasised, among other things, the reign of law in the government. This movement received an added impetus when in the negotiation of Sino-foreign treaties following the Boxer uprising, the contracting Powers promised to relinquish their extraterritorial rights when Chinese laws and judicial system were brought into accord with those of other countries. Immediately afterwards the Manchu House authorised the establishment of a Codification Commission entrusted with the duties of preparing drafts of civil, commercial, criminal, and procedural (civil and criminal) laws. Upon the inauguration of the Republic, the Commission was reorganised, and until recently, it continued to function in Peiping. As a whole, the work accomplished by the Codification Commission is worthy of commendation, as it is principally on the basis of its work that the Chinese Government proceeded to create new machineries of public justice and to revise its century-old laws and customs. In fairness to the Commission, it may be said that China owes a debt to the Commission for most of the judicial reforms introduced since the Republic.



Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Minister of Justice in the Nationalist Government

In the Nationalist conception it is held that judicial reform should be made a distinct problem from the abolition of extraterritoriality—though the former might mean an incidental inducement of the latter—and it is deemed regrettable that in the past the efforts at judicial reform should have for their principal motive the satisfaction of foreign Powers regarding judicial conditions in China. Indeed the predominance of such a motive in the important work of judicial reform, which is a task directly concerning the interests of our own people, is liable to produce unfavorable results—the most obvious one being that by trying to conform to the laws of other countries, we forget our own crying needs. Dr. Sun Yat-sen regarded the judicial power as one of the five powers of the government that must be properly wielded if China is to become a modern state. Naturally, in order that this power may fulfil its momentous mission, the present judicial system and laws must be so reformed as to be able to meet the peculiar needs in the juridical life of our people. Although in the improvement of our own judicial system and laws we may and should avail ourselves of the past experiences and good examples of the Western Powers, yet we would be killing our purpose if we copy blindly the system and laws of other countries with the view to getting their approbation as a means to induce them to relinquish their extraterritorial rights.

To Fit the Social Life

This conception seems to lie at the bottom of the Nationalist efforts at judicial reform. We are bent upon evolving a new judicial system that will cater to the demands of our own social life. In spite of the fact that the Nationalist Government has existed for the brief period of a little more than three years only, the progress it has made along the lines of judicial reform is quite noteworthy. In the present article, the writer will attempt to outline such progress under separate heads of the judicial system and the laws. Reference will also be made to the programme of judicial reform for the nearest future now under preparation by the Government.

1.—The Judicial System

(*A*) *Administrative Jurisdiction in judicial matters.*—The administrative jurisdiction over civil, criminal, and contentious matters, the establishment of courts and prisons, the appointment of judicial officers, the admission of persons to the bar and othe matters come within the competency of the Ministry of Justice. The organisation of the Ministry of Justice is provided for in the Law of the organisation of the Ministry promulgated by the Nationalist Government on November 15, 1926 and later revised on August 9 and on November 5,1927. The Ministry is under the direct control of the Nationalist Government, administering the judicial affairs of the whole Republic and authorised to direct and superintend the exercise of judicial administrative powers by the highest local administrative officials in the various provinces and districts. The Ministry contains a Bureau of General Affairs, a Bureau of Civil Matters, a Bureau of Criminal Matters, and a Bureau of Prison Affairs. The Bureau of General Affairs has charge of affairs concerning (a) the establishment and abolition of justice and the alteration of their jurisdiction, (b) the examination, appointment, and dismissal of judicial officers and subordinate judicial personnel, (c) lawyers, (d) the budget, settlement of accounts, and other fiscal matters of the courts and of the Ministry. The Bureau of Civil, Criminal, and Prison Matters manage all administrative affairs concerning civil law, criminal law, and prison respectively. The Staff consists of the Minister of Justice, a Vice-Minister, counselors, directors, secretaries, sectionchiefs, experts, and clerks. The Ministry as at present constituted bears a close resemblance to the Ministry of Justice of the defunct Peking Government.

Two Organs That Assist

Two organs are attached to the Ministry of Justice. One is the Codification Commission, consisting of five members, engaged in the compilation and preparation of codes. The other is the Judicial Council, whose organisation was authorised by the Government on March 19 1928. It is composed of the Minister of Justice, the Vice-Minister, the President of the Supreme Court, and six other members invited to serve on the Council by the Minister of Justice, The Council meets regularly once every month to consider measures for the improvement of the judicial administration, the appointment of judicial officials, and other matters of importance submitted by the Minister of Justice,

(*B*) *The Courts.*—As yet no radical changes have been introduced by the Nationalist Government in the organisation of the Courts. The system providing for four grades of courts with two appeals is still in force, *i.e.* the local courts, district courts, higher courts, and the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court of the Nationalist Government was established by the authority of an order of the Government dated December 25, 1927. A set of regulations was promulgated on the same date regarding the organisation of the Court. According to these regulations, the trials of the Supreme Court are conducted before benches consisting of five judges. The President of the Court is empowered to unify the interpretation of law, but he has no power to direct the judges as to how they shall try and decide the particular cases with which they are entrusted to decide. As at present constituted, the Supreme Court staff consists of a President, six Division Chief Judges, twenty-four judges, and a number of clerks.

A significant change effected by the Nationalist Government in regard to the court system is the abolition of the procuratorates, which formerly existed side by side with the courts. As is generally known, the procurator in criminal cases, conducts the preliminary investigation, institutes prosecution or refuse to prosecute, conducts the prosecution, supervises the execution of the sentences, and controls the judicial police. In civil and other cases involving matters of public interest and morals, the prosecutor acts as a representative of the state. It had long been felt that the maintenance of procurates side by side, and on an equal footing, with the courts was disadvantageous for three reasons. First, the maintenance of two organs entailed a heavy budget. Secondly, the system of separate organs dealing with the same case proved too complicated a procedure for the litigants. Thirdly, the existence of two officers one set against the other on the same footing was deemed productive of disputes. For these reasons, Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Minister of Justice, petitioned the Nationalist Government on August 16, 1927, for the abolition of the organ of the procuratorate. The procurators still continue to function as members attached to the courts instead of belonging as before to the procuratorates. Their position at present is not dissimilar to that of the "state attorney" attached to the courts of the United States. The former Chinese equivalent for "courts", namely Shen Pan Ting (審判廳) which was contrasted with "procuratorates", namely, Chien Chai Ting, (檢察廳) is now changed to Fa Yuan (法院).

A new law for the organisation of the Judiciary has been drawn up and submitted to the Political Council for examination. More changes in the judicial organisation will be effected when the new law is passed.

(*C*) *The Special Provisional Criminal Courts.*—Revolutionary interests necessitated the creation of Special Criminal Courts to deal with counter-revolutionary offenses and offenses of "local miscreants and bad gentry". The fact that both of these offenses were not provided for in the criminal law rendered the establishment of special criminal courts necessary. The courts are of two grades, the provincial courts and a Central Court of Appeal. The organization of these courts was provided for in a set of regulations promulgated by the Nationalist Government on December 1, 1927 and later revised on March 31, 1928.

Provisional Courts to be Abolished

It was decided at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee that the Special Provisional Criminal Courts be abolished in the shortest time and their functions taken up by the regular courts.

(*D*) *Judicial Officers.*—According to the Regulations governing the appointment and examination of judicial officers promulgated by the Nationalist Government on August 9, 1928, judges and procurators are appointed from persons who, possessing certain qualifications, have passed the prescribed examinations which consist of a preliminary examination, a first examination, and a second examination. Persons who have passed the first examination are sent to a court on probation. After a certain probationary period, they shall undergo a second examination. Successful candidates at this examination are appointed expectant judges or procurators and are appointed judges and procurators whenever vacancies occur.

Those who have passed the second examination under the former Ministry of Justice and those who are at present serving as judicial officers are exempt from the examinations but they shall submit their written decisions for investigation as to their merits and for the confirmation of their appointment.

(*E*) *Lawyers.*—Lawyers who have been previously admitted to the bar before the inauguration of the Nationalist Government are required to submit their certificates for examination and new certificates are issued in the name of the Nationalist Ministry of Justice to those found eligible. The Ministry promulgated on August 5, 1927 a set of regulations concerning the qualification of persons eligible for exemption from the examination for admission to the bar.

Judicial officers possess a good behavior tenure and are not subject to removal except after due investigation and decision by the Committee for the Disciplinary Punishment of Judicial Officers acting directly under the authority of the Nationalist Government. The Regulations for the Disciplinary Punishment of Judicial Officers were promulgated by the Nationalist Government on May 12, 1928, and shall remain in force pending the organisation of the Supervisory Department.

2.—Laws.

The Nationalist Government, in an order dated August 11, 1927 declared that "pending the promulgation of laws and ordinances by the Nationalist Government, all those substantive laws, codes of procedure, and appurtenance rules and orders which have been promulgated or are in effect, are continued in force temporarily, except where inconsistent with the Kuomintang aims and principles or where in conflict with the laws and orders of the Nationalist Government." This declaration accounts for the fact that many of the former laws of the defunct Peking Government are still recognised as having legal validity. Indeed, this is the only *modus vivendi* during the period of transition following a revolution. It reminds one of the declaration of the Republic on its first establishment in 1912 to the effect that "whereas the laws of the Republic have not yet been promulgated, it is hereby ordered that all the laws previously in force and the Provisional Criminal Code, for the time being, be applicable; provided that such articles as are repugnant to the republican form of government shall be void."

The Nationalist Government is, however, far from being satisfied with the former laws which indeed have long outlived their usefulness. The Government, in an order dated August 11, 1927, urged the Ministry of Justice to hasten the work of codification. The Ministry accordingly created the Codification Commission for the drafting and preparation of law codes. In the meantime, the Law Compilation Bureau (法制局) directly under the Nationalist Government, besides, preparing administrative ordinances and rules for the Government, were also charged with the work of codification.

A Survey of the Laws

A brief survey will now be made of the various laws enacted by the Nationalist Government.

(*A*) *The Law governing Procedure of Law-Making*—The Law governing the Procedure of Law-making promulgated on March 11, 1928, is no doubt the first law that must claim our attention. This law provides for the mode how a draft acquires the force of law. According to this law, the Central Political Council of the Kuomintang has exclusive powers to make or pass laws which shall be handed to the Nationalist Government through the Central Executive Committee of the Party for promulgation and enforcement of the Laws, but such regulations must not come into conflict with the laws. The various Ministries, the Provincial Governments, and the Special Municipalities may submit law drafts to the Political Council for examination decision, and adoption. The Nationalist Government, on receipt of any law bill passed by the Political Council, shall promulgate it within ten days, during which period the Government may request the Council for a reconsideration of the bill, but such reconsideration may be requested once only for each bill.

(*B*) *The Constitution.* Although the Nationalist Government is yet without a written Constitution, we may safely say that many of the Constitutional principles are definitely embodied in the party principles. These in effect possess the force of unwritten constitution in China. Any law or regulation that is in conflict with or repugnant to the party principles and programmes must fall to the ground. This is a necessary corollary of the principle that the Nationalist Government is founded on the bedrock of the Kuomintang Party.

At the fifth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, Mr. Wang Shih-chieh, Chief of the Law Compilation Bureau, made a proposal for the drafting of a Provisional Constitution for enforcement during what Dr. Sun Yat-sen called the "Political Tutelage Period", *i.e.* the age following the "Military Period" and preceding the "Constitutional Period". The Constitution will provide for the Rights and Duties of Citizens, the Organisation of the Central Government, the Relation between the Central Government and the Local Governments, and the Relation between the Party and the Government. The proposal was adopted at the session. A draft of the constitution on the above basis is in the course of preparation and will be submitted to the Third Party Congress for adoption early next year.

(*C*) *Criminal Law*—With the promulgation of the new Criminal Code* on March 10, 1928 and its enforcement on September 1, 1928, the former Provisional Criminal Code, which were in force for exactly seventeen years, automatically

*See the writer's article on the new Criminal Code, China Weekly Review, September 8, 1928.

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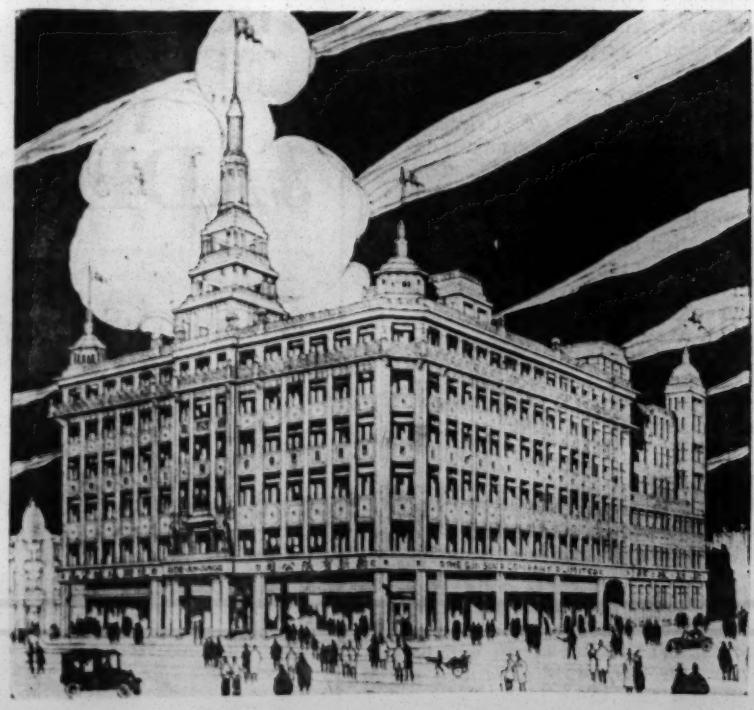

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went out of effect. The new Law is agreed upon to be a distinct improvement upon its predecessor both in respect of substance and technique, besides being based upon the new developments in criminal legislation.

In spite of the enactment of the new Criminal Code, some special criminal laws are still in force, of which a passing mention will be given. On account of the heinous character of the offenses of robbery and brigandage, the Provisional Regulations regarding the Suppression of Robbery, Insurgency, and Brigandage, promulgated on November 28, 1927, were to be enforced for another five months beginning from May 31, 1928, according to an order of the Government dated on May 31, 1928. The Law against Counter-revolutionary Offenses promulgated on March 9, 1928 and the Regulations against offenses by "Local Miscreants and Bad Gentry" promulgated on August 18, 1927, are in force because of revolutionary needs. The former is directed against all kinds of offenses inimical to the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government while the latter is against the exploitation and oppression of the people by the local miscreants and bad gentry, offenses of the latter category being very frequent in the interior. These laws were intended to be provisional only in order to meet the present revolutionary situation. There is another set of regulations having the character of special criminal law. *i.e.* the Regulation against the Commission of Offenses by Party Members in breach of their Oath, promulgated on September 22, 1926. According to these regulations, party members committing offenses in breach of their oath are punished with the punishment prescribed in the Criminal Code increased by one degree. These Regulations were later extended to apply to officials in the government service.

D) Civil Law.—No civil code has as yet been promulgated by the Nationalist Government. The Codification Commission and the Law Compilation Bureau are working upon a new code of civil law. The Parts on "Family Relations" and "Succession" have been finished by the Law Compilation Bureau and submitted to the Political Council for examination. These Parts were drafted on entirely a different plan from those upon which the drafts of the Peking Codification Commission were based. The Parts on General Provisions, Obligations, and Things are under preparation by the Codification Commission of the Ministry of Justice. Not long ago, Dr. John C. H. Wu, member of the Codification Commission, submitted a lengthy memorandum concerning the innovations to be introduced into the new civil code, which aroused considerable discussion in the Chinese judicial circles.

Pending the promulgation of the civil code, the Courts still draw upon the "Laws in force", supplemented by the Supreme Court Decisions, in the decision of civil cases. Several important decisions have been handed down by the Supreme Court, Nanking. One is to the effect that an unmarried daughter has the right to the inheritance estate as her brothers. Another concerns the imposition of usurious interests, which is strictly prohibited by an order of the Nationalist Government to the effect that high rates of interest should be limited to 20 per cent.

(*E*) *Procedural Laws.*—The new Code of Criminal Procedure was promulgated by the Nationalist Government on July 28, 1928 and came into force on September 1, 1928. The Code of Civil Procedure has been completed and is now under examination by the Political Council.

(*F*) *Labor Laws.*—The protection of labor being one of the fundamental principles of the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Government was not slow in making due provision for the numerous cases of conflict between capital and labor in China. The Government promulgated on May 23, 1928 the Law governing the Adjustments of Disputes between Workmen and their Employers. The Political Council passed on September 5, 1928 the Law governing the Organization of Labor Unions. Laws and regulations on other aspects of the labor problem are under preparation.

Miscellaneous Laws

Among the other miscellaneous laws promulgated by the Government, the Law on Copyright promulated on May 14, 1928 and the Law on Eminent Domain promulgated July 11, 1928, deserve special mention.

As the result of an important decision passed at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, a new form of the highest judicial organ will be introduced. The decision provides for the establishment of a Judicial Board which will stand on the same footing as the Legislative Board, the Administrative Board, the Examination Board, and the supervisory Board, the five boards constituting the Five Power Government, whose organisation was emphasized in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's lecture on Democracy in the Three People's Principles as a corrective of the prevailing defects in modern political organisations. This doctrine of the separation of powers will make the judiciary even more independent than is at present the case. Thus constituted, the Judicial Board will include both the present Ministry of Justice, assuming administrative jurisdiction in judicial matters, and the present Supreme Court, exercising the highest power in litigious affairs.

As for judicial reform along general lines for the nearest future, the Ministry of Justice has prepared a programme for execution during the "Period of Political Tutelage", which has been ushered in by the conclusion of the "Military Period." The following are the salient points of the programme:

(*1*) *Increase of the number of courts.*—The disadvantages of the *Hsien* magistrate acting concurrently in a judicial capacity have been long felt. The Ministry now proposes to establish as many *Hsien* courts as possible in the comparatively rich provinces. Where the *Hsien* courts cannot be established on account of financial difficulty, the judicial function will be principally vested in the Trial Officer sitting as the judge, while the *Hsien* magistrate will serve as procurator. In this way, the administrative officer, *i.e.* the *Hsien* magistrate, will be prevented from interfering with the judgment of judicial matters. In the meantime, more district courts will be established in the principal ports and cities of the various provinces. Branch Higher Courts will also be established in the principal divisions of each province. The Ministry has prepared a list of the courts to be established at various administrative districts in the order of urgency, specifying the time when each kind of courts shall be established.

(*2*) *Prison Reforms.*—The Ministry has drawn up a plan whereby within a definite period the number of modern prisons is to be increased. In the meantime instructions are being issued to the prison authorities emphasising the careful selection of prison warders, the health of the prisoners and the sanitary facilities of the prison, and the supervision of the prison officers.

(*3*) *The Training of Judicial Officers.*—Definite plans have been made by the Ministry for the examination, and the investigation of qualifications, of the judicial officers. A training institute for judicial officers will soon be established where supplementary training and practice work will be given to graduates in order to prepare them for work in courts. Regulations for the examination and training of minor judicial officers such as trial officers attached to the courts of the *Hsien* magistrate, judicial registrars, and process-servers, are also under preparation.

(*4*) *Codification of Laws.*—The Codification Commission of the Ministry of Justice is endeavoring to finish the civil code and the commercial codes at the end of the present year so that a complete set of civil law will be available for application in the courts.

Nanking, September 7, 1928.

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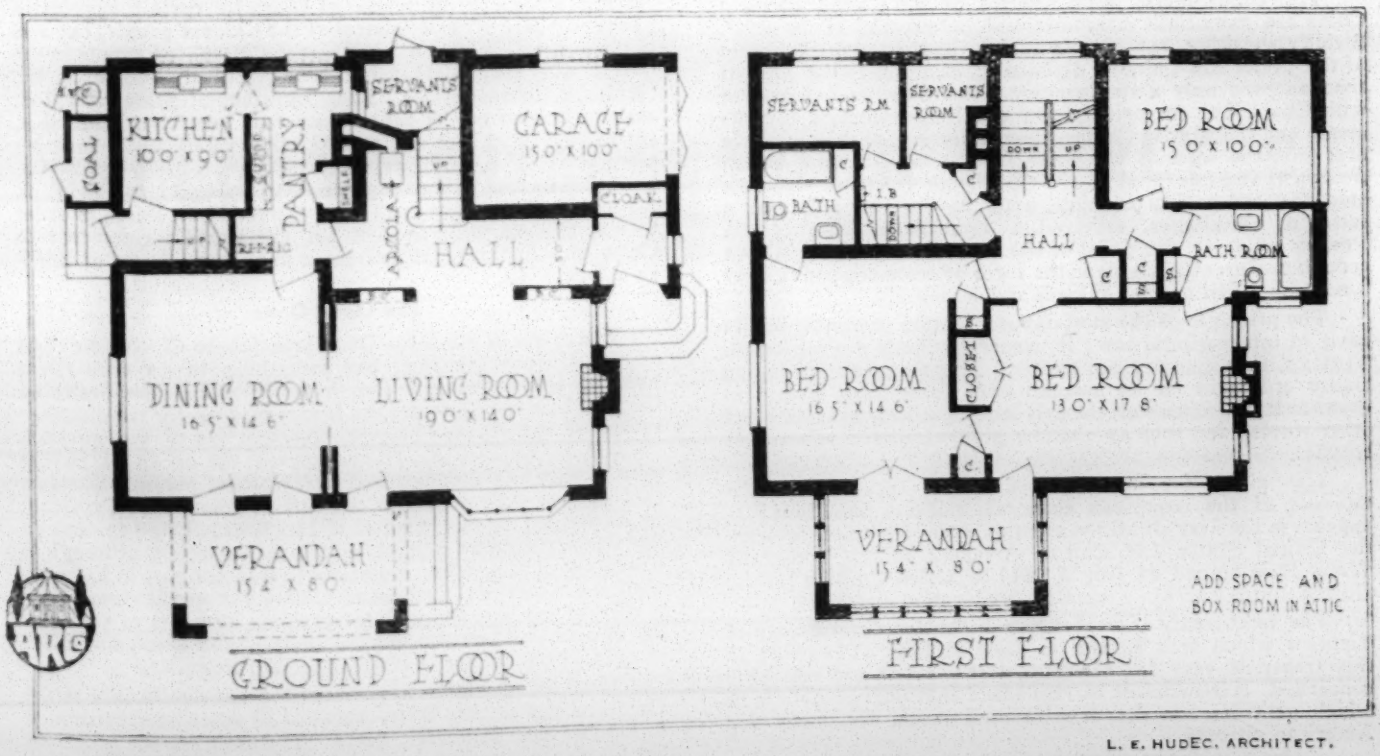

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The Financial Policies of the United States in China

BY S. H. TAN

Introductory

BEFORE proceeding to discuss the question of American financial policies in China, I should like to make the observation that in the relations of the United States and China there is a constant and grave discrepancy between the theory of diplomacy as grandiloquently announced in diplomatic notes and on domestic political platforms, and the practice of diplomacy as actually worked out on the battlefield of rival nationalistic interests. And even within the scope of what I have just called the theory of diplomacy, a distinction must be made between the general state policies presumably to have been continuously adhered to and the interim policies based on the judgments of the secretaries of states, which are generally formed with the assistance of other competent officers, with references to specific issues and under certain given circumstances. In other words one can hardly follow the development of the policies of the United States Government towards the financial transactions between American citizens and the Chinese Government without being able to distinguish the general principles adopted by the Department of State and the temporary decisions which partake of the nature of a sagacity in the conduct of certain specific affairs. The former are the inheritance of the Department, so to speak, and do not come from the brain of any single man; while the latter are executive decisions, specially made with reference to specific questions and circumstances, many times in great moments.

Presently, I shall deal with the general principles which cover briefly the Amercian claims for most-favored-nation treatment, the pronouncement and the nature of the Open Door Doctrine for China and the policy of the American Government toward investments by American citizens in China. Next I shall discuss the question of the application of these principles. The treatment will be chronological and the period to be covered is approximately 30 years. Thirdly, and by way of conclusion, I shall relate the results of American financial policies in China. It is under this topic that I will point out that American financial activities in China have not been very successful.

The General American Economic Policies in China

The fundamental state policies of the United States in China are essentially economic and commercial in character. Strictly speaking, the United States, had, from the inception of the American-Chinese diplomatic relations to the present time, adopted only a single policy concerning its intercourse with China, i.e., the principle of equal opportunities in commerce and industry in China. The assertion of this principle first took the form of the claim for the most-favored-nation treatment and later that of the Open Door Doctrine, when the most-favored nation principle, after having suffered from a series of shrinkages, received a fatal blow from certain Powers who, at the point of the sword, demanded of China certain preferential rights in the form of economic and railway concessions, first options in loans and leaseholds.

The principle of the most-favored-nation treatment has its basis in international law; it generally finds expression in Treaties of a commericial nature. The most-favored-nation clause ordinarily in its unconditional form binds a state to grant to its co-signers all the privileges similarly granted to all other states, and such as shall be granted under subsequent treaties.

The claim for most-favored-nation treatment is the tap-root of the American economic policies in China. It appears in the first of all the treaties ever concluded between the United States and China. Article 2 of the Treaty of Wang Hsia signed on July 3, 1844 by Caleb Cushing for the United States, carries a most-favored-nation clause.

The next treaty of importance is the American Treaty of Tientsin which was signed on June 18, 1858. The effect of this treaty is very far-reaching, but so far as our subject is concerned, it is sufficient to reproduce that part of Article 30 which provides for the most-favored-nation treatment for American citizens.

> The contracting parties hereby agree that at any time the Ta-Tsing Empire grant to any nation, or the merchants or citizens of any nation, any right, privilege, or favor connected either with navigation, commerce, political or other intercourse which is not conferred by this Treaty, such right, privilege, and favor shall at once freely ensure to the benefit of the United States, its public officers, merchants, and citizens.

Article 14 of this Treaty is also of the nature of a most-favored-nation clause, which relates to the privilege of American merchants to trade in ports already opened and in those to be opened.

The Burlingame Treaty

The commercial and economic relations between the United States and China had been fairly definitely defined by the above mentioned treaty and its additional Articles, commonly known as the Burlingame Treaty, signed on July 28, 1868. Treaties concluded after the latter date, such as the Treaty of November 17, 1880, concerning Intercourse and Judicial Procedure (Article 3) and the Commercial Treaty of October 8, 1903 (Art. 3, 5, 7, 8.) are mere supplements.

The Open Door Doctrine in China is the offspring of the claim for most-favored-nation treatment, for the latter is almost as old as the American trade relations with China and its maintenance is, in substantial effect, the maintenance of the Open Door, although the term "Open Door," as far as its application to China is concerned, did not appear until 1898 in England and a year later in the United States.

The doctrine of Open Door in general is the antithesis of the "closed door" policy, an old colonial policy widely adopted in the 16th and 17th centuries by countries which believed their colonies existed solely for the benefits and exploitations of the mother country. Owing to a change of circumstances there was ushered in during the last quarter of the 18th century, a reversal of the old colonial policy, that no nation, because of its political influence or military power, had any exclusive right to preclude other nations from participating in the commerce and navigation in the economically less advanced areas of the world. The General Act of Berlin of February 16, 1885, the Anglo-French Convention signed in Paris on June 14, 1898, and the Anglo-French Declaration of April 8, 1904 are excellent illustrations.

The early principle of commercial equality in China which we may now conveniently call the Open Door Doctrine, reached its maximum of theoretical development in 1856 when the Tientsin Treaties were signed. But shortly after that the principle was subject to a series of shrinkages as already said. The fatal blow came immediately after the Sino-Japanese War, culminating in the summer of 1898 when preferential rights in the form of leaseholds, strategical and commercial railway concessions, declarations of non-alienation of territory and first option in loans were demanded of China by certain aggressive powers not only to the detriment of the Chinese people, but also of the commercial nations. In short the march of events in the Orient was toward what has been popularly known as the "scramble for concessions." Thus Secretary of State John Hay, availing himself of the opportunity for American leadership, stepped out upon the arena of Asiatic politics and issued his now famous Circular Notes, on September 6, 1899 to Berlin, London and St. Petersburg, on November 13, to Tokio, on November 17, to Rome and on November 21, to Paris, in order to maintain an open market for the world's commerce in China and to remove therefrom a dangerous source of international conflict.

The Open Door

The origin of the Open Door principle in China, like that of the Monroe Doctrine, had something to do with Great Britain. It had its inception in 1808 through the desire of Great Britain to counteract the forces making for the disintegration of the Chinese Empire. Irrespective of the question of real authorship, Mr. Hay deserved the credit of having been sponsor of a time-honored international policy. The fact that he was able to enlist the ardent support of President McKinley and the wise counsel of Mr. Rockhill, and to direct a diplomatic technique in proclaiming a policy which, although as a measure of temporary expediency, was not only in harmony with the American traditional claims for equal commercial privileges in China and with the growing interests of the trading nations, but had also averted the probable dismemberment of the Chinese Empire, warrants special recognition.

The United States has attached great significance to the Open Door, which has in the course of 28 years been reiterated in innumerable diplomatic notes. The more solemn occasions to reafirm this principle are, for instance, on July 3, 1900, concerning the Boxer crisis; on November 30, 1908, as provided in the Root-Takahira Agreement; on March 18, 1913, in a statement issued by President Wilson in regard to the support requested by the American Banking Group in the Old Consortium for China; on May 13, 1915, in view of the negotiations between China and Japan consequent upon the Japanese ultimatum of May 7th to China; on November 2, 1917, in the Lansing-Ishii agreement; and last but not the least, on February 6, 1922, as provided in the Nine Powers Treaty relating to Principles and Policies concerning China.

The Hay Notes did not secure for the United States a complete open door. According to the original proposal, the

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Open Door Doctrine contains three elements; (1) non-interference with the vested interest of one another in the treaty ports "spheres of interest" or leased territories; (2) the maintenance of the Chinese treaty tariff in the "spheres" (except in "free ports") under Chinese management; and (3) no differential treatment in harbor duties and railway charges in the "spheres." Granting that such a policy was to be faithfully adhered to by the Powers, the United States would not have secured more than what had already been accrued to it under the most-favored-nation clauses in treaties. The principle to maintain the integrity of China has been considered to be coordinate with the principle of equal opportunity of trade, and as such, a part of the Open Door Doctrine. The first Hay Notes of September 6, 1899, do not of themselves provide sufficient ground for the subscription to such a view. John Hay did not expressly make the integrity of China a postulate of the Open Door Doctrine, although it can be reasonably maintained, that the integrity of China was to him an implied prerequisite for the successful operation of the principle of equal opportunity of trade.

The Doctrine Now Wider Door

The Open Door of the today is much larger in scope than it was 25 years ago. In practical application it is taken to be synonimous with the equality of commercial and industrial opportunities. It is very intimately connected with economic concessions. The American Government's understanding of the Open Door Doctrine is that it is of common application to trade and industries in China, including investments in public loans, railways and mining interprises, and all sorts of public utilities and industrial undertakings. The United States is disposed to believe that the adhesion by the Powers to the Open Door Policy debars their governments from any claims to exclusive privileges in any designated regions of China. It has held the view that any assertion or arrangement by which the Powers seek to establish, in favor of their own interests, a general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated regions of China, or to create such monopolies or preferences as would exclude other nationals from undertaking any legitimate trade or industry or from participating with the Chinese Government in any category of public enterprise, is at variance with the Open Door Doctrine, As regards China, the United States takes the position that the granting of special concessions by China of a monopolistic or preferential character, or which would secure a general superiority of rights for one Power to the exclusion of equal opportunity for other Powers, is in opposition to the maintenance and application of the principle of Open Door.

With respect to its general attitude toward American investments in China, the Washington Government has since the last decade of the 19th century professed the view that it does not consider itself an endorser of American competitors or an accountable party in any economic undertakings. What it desires is that American citizens in China should have equal opportunities to compete for contractural favors on the same footing as any other foreign competitor. Individual Americans interested in the economic development of China are generally reminded of the fact that they must rely primarily upon their own initiative, offort and resources, looking to the Government only for such assistance and protection as are ordinarily given to "legimate" and "beneficial" American enterpreises in foreign countries. In the actual carrying out of this general principle, however, much is left to the discretion of the American Legation at Peking. The latter's judgment, experience, and estimation of the firm seeking assistance carry a great deal of weight, although it is required to refrain from advocating the projects of any one firm to the exclusion of others.

American Investments

On the whole the American Government assumes very little control over investments by American citizens in China. In recent years the Department of State had made it known that it is the policy of the Government to "request" the American financiers to inform the Government fully before floating any foreign loans in the United States. As far as the Chinese loans are concerned, this has been the usual practice. Practically in every case of the proposed enterprises the Department's opinion is solicited, and it is duly informed of the essential facts of the negotiations and the subsequent development of importance.

In thus requesting the American banks to consult it before floating any foreign loan, the Department of the State hopes to prevent American funds from becoming involved in sectional affairs and civil strife in foreign countries, and from being extended to governments and regimes which the United States has not recognized.

Here it is interesting to inquire into the general attitude by the Department of States toward financial transactions between American capitalists and the Chinese Government. This general principle found, for the first time, a clear statement in the instruction of Mr. Olney to Mr. Denby, of December 9, 1896, which, together with the Department's instruction of October 21, 1905, and the instruction of Secretary W. J. Bryan to Charge d'Affaires E. T. Williams dated September 11, 1913, the Department considers still generally applicable.

According to these instructions, the American Government wishes to participate in opening the almost untouched resources of China, to promote, "in every way", the "legitimate" enterprises of American citizens in China, and to develop to the fullest extent the most extended and intimate trade relationship between the two countries. It, too, expects "that American enterprises should have opportunity everywhere" in China to compete for contractual favors on the same footing as any foreign competitor to make good his ability to execute the contract by showing his responsible standing or giving appropriate security for the execution of his contract". In the instruction of Mr Olney to Mr. Denby of date December 19, 1898, the following statement is found:

> ..The Department thinks that you should use your personal and official influence and lend all proper countenance to secure to reputable representatives of such concerns the same facilities for submitting proposals, tending bids, or obtaining contracts as are enjoyed by any foreign commercial enterprise in the country.

In thus instructing its diplomatic representatives in China, the Department of State does not think it practical strictly to define their duties. On the contrary it chooses to leave a leaway to the discretion of its Legation at Peking and to the initiative and responsibility of the American concessionaires trying to establish themselves in China. Thus Mr. Olney continued:

> Your own judgment and experience, the standing of the firms who seek your assistance and of their agents, must all be given due weight and your action shaped accordingly. Broadly speaking, you should employ all proper methods for the extension of American commercial interest in China, while refraining from advocating the projects of any one firm to the exclusion of others.

In the instruction of Secretary Bryan to which reference has been made the same general policy finds vivid expression, however, in a slightly different language.

Here another question can be raised as to the nature and degree of diplomatic support that may be given to American financial enterprises in China in the matter of securing concession advantages as well as procuring for them just treatments, if wrong be done to them in their business relations with the Chinese Government and with their fellow competitors of other nationalities in the Chinese field. Limited space does not permit the discussion of the American general practice of contractual claims in international law; suffice it to say, however, that the Department of State has not put itself on record beyond the assurance that "it stands ready, if wrong be done toward an American citizen in its business relations with a foreign government, to use all proper effort toward securing just treatment for its citizens" and that it "must, in accordance with its uniform practice, exercise the right to decide each case independently as it arises, according to the circumstances and condition that may exist at the time".

Policies in their Applications

With the possible exception of the American attempt at the application of the principle of equal opportunities the success of which is largely dependent on the cooperation of the other Powers, the American economic policies in China are characterized by hedging and startling inconsistencies, which in great measure are conditioned upon the dispositions, personal experience with the Far Eastern situation, information on the questions at issue and interest in the Far East in general and in China in particular as a possible field for future commercial and economic expansion, of the chief executive, the competent officers of the Department of State and the American Legation at Peking, and sometimes of those in the other services of the Government. They, too, reflect the gradual passing of the American people from an agricultural to industrial means of livelihood, the increasing economic pressure and the need of foreign markets for their surplus products and capital, and the growing consciousness of their national strength.

In the main the Open Door Doctrine has been well observed by the United States. But, in the course of American-Chinese relations for the past 20 years, one can find several occasions on which the American Government felt it opportune to give up the policy in order to recognize the alleged special interests of certain Powers in China. The Root—Takahira Agreement of November 30, 1908 and the Lansing—Ishii Agreement of November 2,1917 are excellent illustrations. In

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the Root—Takahira Agreement the American Government recognized Japan's "status quo" in China and in the Lansing—Ishii Agreement the American Government recognized Japan's "special interests" in China because of territorial propinquity.

In the main the American policy of not giving governmental countenance and official endorsement to enterprises of American citizens in China was well observed from 1896 to 1908. During this period American economic enterprise in China were brought about by individual efforts. The Canton—Hankow Railway concession which was cancelled by mutual agreement in August 1905 at a compensation of $6,750,000, and the Hsinmintun—Aigun Railway project and the proposed purchase of the South—Manchurian Railway and the Chinese Eastern Railway by Mr. Edward H. Harriman in connection with his round-the-world transportation scheme the last two of which ended in failure, were all originated as individual attempts. In fact this policy was carried to the extreme, and, amounting to an attitude of *laissez faire*, was somewhat accountable for the failure of Mr. A. W. Bash to secure the concession of the proposed Peking—Hankow railway in 1896. The Canton—Hankow Railway concession furnishes an excellent illustration that the United States did not promise protection in advance to secure the execution of a contract between a citizen and a foreign government. The American—China Development Company upon entering into a contract on April 14, 1898 with the Imperial Chinese Government, requested the Department of State for a promise of protection in advance. In his reply of August 24, 1898, Secretary of State Day informed the Company "that the Department is unable to give you such a letter as you request. While the Government of the United States is always ready to enforce the just rights of its citizens abroad, it has always declined to become the guarantors of their contracts with foreign governments. As a rule, it has declined, where such a contract was alleged to have been violated by the foreign government, to interfere beyond the exercise of good offices. This being so, still less can be assumed beforehand to guarantee the execution of the contract."

America's Awakened Interest

Since 1909 the American Government showed signs of awakening to the commercial and investment opportunities in China, especially in Manchuria. It was from that year that American alienation from Japan and *rapprochment* with China began. Instead of remaining any longer a complacent spectator, the Department of State, under the leadership of Secretary of State Knox and President Taft, ushered in "Dollar Diplomacy", which had won for the American financiers a quarter share in the Hukuang Railway Loan and brought the United States into direct conflict with five formidable Powers with Russia and Japan leading the opposition. The "commercial neutralization" plan for the Manchurian railways and the Chinchow—Aigun Railway project were the results of this dazzling diplomacy, but they met with spectacular failure.

The term "dollar diplomacy" was one of President Taft's own authorship. In his last annual message to Congress he thus described the diplomacy of his administration; "The diplomacy of the present administration has sought to respond to modern ideas of commercial intercourse. This policy has been characterized as substituting dollars for bullets". For the first time in the history of American investments in China the Department of State took the initiative in enlisting the financial support of the leading American banks to aid in preserving a government policy in China. That the Department of State was the sponsor for the sections of the American financial group in the Hukuang Loan is beyond the shadow of a doubt; President Taft regarded the group of American bankers as "indispensible instrumentality" for carrying out a broad policy of great national interest. Throughout the entire episode of the Hukuang diplomacy, the Department of State assumed full responsibility for the general basis of the negotiations, bringing every possible source of diplomatic pressure to bear on the party which refused to meet the American demands. The political importance of this loan is adequately revealed in a remarkable *tour de force* by which President Taft saved the prestige of his administration. Breaking all diplomatic precedents he sent a personal message on July 15th to Prince Chun, Regent of the Chinese Empire in which he stated:

> I am disturbed at the reports that there is certain prejudiced opposition to your Government's arrangement for equal participation by American capital at the present railway loan. To your wise judgment it will of course be clear that the wishes of the United States are based not only upon China's promises of 1903 and 1904, confirmed last month, but also upon broad national and personal principles of equality, and good policy in which a regard for the best interest of your country. I send this message not doubting that your reflection upon the broad phases of this subject will at once have results satisfactory to both countries.. I have resorted to this somewhat unusually direct communication with your Imperial Highness, because of the high importance that I attach to the successful result of our present negotiations.

As a result of President Taft's personal interposition, China and the three Powers made a virtue of necessity. And thus the American Group was admitted with the Hukuang Railway Loan, sharing in equal participation with the other Powers, a one fourth interest in the loan of $6,000,000.

In pursuance of the same policy and partly for benevolent reasons, the American Government attached great importance to the Currency Reform and Industrial Development Loan which the Chinese Government offered, as a special trust to the American Banking Group. The Administration considered this concession the second tangible result of its new policy in China and felt confident that it would amply justify to the American bankers of the wisdom of their venture in China. The original intension of the Department of State was to float the loan as a purely American undertaking and to insist on regular and honest administration of all the loan proceeds. This however, was soon given up when the Department was advised that the American banks did not feel competent to undertake a loan of such magnitude without the assistance of European financiers. Thereupon, at the instance of the American group, and upon the solicitation of the American Government the Chinese government consented to the participation of the British, French and German banks, thus forming the so-called Four—Power Consortium.

The Revolution Supervenes

Then came the Chinese Revolution, which interrupted the arrangement for the floatation of the currency loan under the term of the Agreement of April 15, 1911. Under the altered conditions thus resulting, the banks postponed further actions on the project in order to undertake a reorganization loan requested by the newly established Republican Government. The negotiations for the Reorganization Loan were by far more protracted and trying than those for the previous loans. It was during that time that the Powers resolved to enforce the policy of international control over China's finance; and to that end Russia and Japan forced their entrance into this international syndicate.

While the Chinese Government was resisting the unendurable terms of foreign control imposed by the sextuple consorum, the Wilson Administration came in. On March 18, 1913, President Wilson issued to the Press "a declaration of the policy of the United States with regard to China," in which, after reciting that the American bankers "declared that they would continue to seek their share of the loan under the proposed agreements only if expressly requested to do so by the Government," he stated that "the administration has declined to make such request, because it did not approve the conditions of the loan or the implications of responsibility on its own part which it was plainly told would be involved in the request. Thus President Wilson continued:

> The conditions of the loan seem to us to touch very nearly the administrative independence of China itself; and this administration does not feel that it ought, even by implication, to be a party to those conditions. The responsibility on its part which would be implied in requesting the bankers to undertake the loan might conceivably go to the length in some unhappy contingency of forcible interference in the financial, and even the political, affairs of that great Oriental state, just now awakening to a consciousness of its power and of its obligations to its people. The conditions include not only the pledging of particular taxes, some of them antiquated and burdensome, to secure the loan, but also the administration of those taxes by foreign agents. The responsibility on the part of our government implied in the encouragement of a loan thus secured and administered is plain enough and is obnoxious to the principles upon which the government or people rests.

President Wilson's statement was immediately communicated to the interested governments and the American bankers formally withdrew from further paticipatiou in the Reorganization Loan. In theory as in utterance the policy of the Wilson administration which was permeated with the spirit of sympathy for the Chinese people, promised well for China; in practical effect, however, it seemed to have worked detriment to China in subsequent years in so far as it had removed the friendly and liberal influence of the Americans in China's financial affairs, and had, by reversing the policy of the Taft regime, destroyed the confidence of the American financiers in the policy of their government, thus creating a situation in which the floatation of any considerable loan for China in the United States was impossible.

Chinese Government Railways

Lung-Hai and Pien-Lo Lines

In Operation: From Tapu (Haichow) to Shanchow: 800 Kilometers

In Construction: From Shanchow to Sianfu: 250 Kilometers

"The Great Overland Route in China"

This Line will soon become the most important Railway in China, connecting as it will, the remote provinces of Kansu, Shensi and Honan with the sea and passing through the ancient and famous capitals of Lanchow, Sian, Loyang and Kaifeng.

There are many points of historical interest to visit along the line, the best known being Lung-Men with its gigantic display of carved stone Buddhas, dating back from the introduction of Buddhism into China, some 2000 years ago.

The Lunghai and Pienlo Lines are connected at Hsuchow with the Tientsin-Pukow Railway and at Chengchow with the Peking-Hankow Railway.

An "Express" train, runs twice a week, connects Hsuchow with Chengchow. This train is provided with 1st and 2nd class cars, sleeping and dining accommodations.

For further detailed particulars, intending passengers are requested to apply to the Traffic Manager at Chengchow, Honan.

From the spring of 1913 to that of 1916 the period was practically one of silence and stagnation on the part of the American financiers in China. In the meantime American finance under the leadership of certain individuals and firms attempted to make investments and to undertake development works in China independently and without express encouragement from the Government. The Siemens—Carey railway concesssions and the loans floated by Lee, Higginson and Company, and Continental and Commericial Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago were cases in point. The Huai River conservancy, having been considered a humanitarian undertaking, however, had received the support of the American Government from the very beginning.

Since the spring of 1916 the American Government had favored an independent financial course in China, which view was persistently held until the winter of 1917, shortly after China's entry into the War on the side of the Allies. On July 25, 1916, Secretary Lansing requested the American bankers to make a loan to the Chinese Government. The American Banking Group in the Old Consortium for China, however, excused its inability to make the solicited loan on the ground, among others, that it was bound by the intergroup agreement of the Consortium Powers of June 18, 1912 and could not enter into competition with their late colleagues in the Consortium. At the end of September, 1917, some forty days after China's declaration of war against Germany and the Central Powers, the American Government considered seriously the question of making a loan to China from its own treasure; the proposal, however was finally dropped partly due to the war situation and partly to the United States' new relationship to Japan as expressed in the Lansing—Ishii Agreement.

The latest development indicates another change of policy. The New Consortium Agreement of October 15, 1920, promises to be the foundation for "financial cooperation" among the Powers in China under American leadership. In recent years the American Government had taken strong actions to preserve American interests in China, as is well revealed in the unrelenting assistance given by the Department of State to the Radio Corporation of America over the Federal Wireless Controversy, to Continental and Commericial Trust and Savings Bank over the default of payments of its loans by China, and to the American holders of the German series of the Hukuang bonds over the question of interest accrued since China's declaration of war on Germany.

A New Phase

Hitherto, the American Government, with the exception of the Hukuang incident, generally sought to withdraw its influences and allowed its policies to be superseded by gradually yielding to the policies of other Powers before the situation assumed a serious aspect. But now she came out to make events, proving to the other competing Powers especially to Great Britian to whom Americans had shown strong inclination to look for leadership in casting about for some international alignment to meet situations in China, that the United States was no longer a negligible factor. At any rate the New consortium, whether for good or otherwise, marks a radical change in the American financial policy in China. What the United States had purposely refrained from doing in 1913 now it proposed to do. In 1914 the Department of State refused to give official support to J. G. White and Company in connection with the Company's attempt to join with other foreign firms in the construction of Chinese railways, for in the opinion of the Department, such an enterprise involved a monopoly of railway construction in China and many difficult international problems which the American Government would endeavor to avoid. However, one of the essential conditions of membership in the New Consortium is the pooling of preferences and options for loans to China for administrative, railway construction, industrial or other purposes, which condition involves a monopoly as well as numerous international complications. It, too, differs from the policy of independent financial action. In short, the financial diplomacy of the United States in China has since 1920 assumed a new phase. And since then stronger support has been rendered to American interest in China.

Results of American Financial Policies in China

Americans have been given more investment opportunities in China than the people of any other foreign nationality. China's policy has been to offer to Americans as special trusts certain strategic railways, important political and reform loans and "development" works, besides other contractual favors in which preference to the nationality of the concessionaires is not so particular. But somehow before the negotiations were concluded the American interest failed before the competitors of other nationalities. There were instances where the Americans, after having secured the award of contracts, found it impossible to execute them either because of foreign pressure, or because of financial inability without European support. Another type of cases are those in which Americans first attempted to materialize their projects independently, but were later compelled to relinquish or to share their interests with other nationals.

Much Diplomacy; Little Investment

While there is a great deal of diplomacy, the actual investment is extremely small. The total figure of American investments in China of the character of economic concession, i. e., investments in Chinese Government securities issued for administrative and reform purposes, in railway construction, "development" works, river conservancies and other public utilities, is generally estimated at $29,000,000 gold. If we are to include long-term credits by American companies to the Chinese Government railways and other communication enterprises and investments of American firms operating in China in lands, buildings and other equipments, the total figure is raised to $70,000,000 gold. Now American citizens have about 39 outstanding contracts with the Chinese Government and its administrative divisions. Most of these are only parchment. Among the various kinds of American concessions in China investment in railways seems to have been the least successful. If the Americans had availed themselves of the opportunities offered to them and had rendered the contracts into steel rails, sleepers and freight cars, they would have financed and built a direct and almost continuous (except for a short distance from Chinchow to Peking) line of communication from Aigun on the Amur River to Canton with a branch line to Samshui, and several important trunk lines branching into the interior provinces. and secured numerous practical trade, financial and other advantages incidental to railway development.

Many are the factors which have minimized the success of American finance in China. Especially significant is the opposition from other Powers who are either immediately interested in the concessions concerned, or desirous to maintain their policies in other parts of the world, or both. Aside from the fact that Oriental diplomacy is a phase of world diplomacy, American investment in China has been adversely affected by fortuitous international events. The international engagements which appear to have delimited American freedom of action fall under three classes: (a) treaties and agreements, both open and secret, entered into by certain Powers relating particularly to China, but without its participation and even knowledge; (b) non-alienation declarations made by China to, and other agreements with, certain Powers; and (c) the so-called "right-of-aid" pledges given by the Chinese Government or its officials to certain legations at Peking.

There is also a three-fold difficulty awaiting the solution by Americans in their foreign investments: (1) financial unreadiness particularly from 1898 to 1910; (2) insufficient development of the habit of foreign investment, and the disposition to make "quick turns"; and (3) the provincialism of the New York bankers.

The weakness of American diplomacy in China and the constantly shifting nature of the impulse from the chief executives and the secretaries of state are also grave faults. In the field of Chinese investment the United States has made quite a few mistakes in diplomatic calculation, and for these mistakes she has amply paid.

LACK OF MODERN TRANSPORTATION IN CHINA

Owing to the lack of a network of railways in China, most of the transportation is done by canals in the more level parts of the country, and by carts or donkeys where canals do not exist. In the more remote regions of China labor is so cheap that it practically costs the same to have cargo carried on human backs as on the backs of animals. However, the net result of the system in China, despite the apparent cheapness of labor, is that carrying costs are much higher in China than they are in the United States, and as a result wheat and flour from the western states of the United States are delivered at the coasts ports of China at a cheaper price than they can be brought from any appreciable distance from interior points in China.

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This road will lead you to The Finest Health Resort in China.

This road will afford you the Most Comfortable & Speedy Service.

THE LINE

This line, touching the richest section in Shantung, links up 56 stations with Tsingtao and Tsinan as terminals. It is unique in that the whole line is naturally decorated with green forests. Added with the picturesque landscape of Shantung and the splendid train services, it fulfills all the requirements of a "PLEASANT TRIP." The trunk line is connected up to the richest mining districts of the province by three branches. All arrangements are being made to afford comfort and speed in addition to all sanitary equipments under the strict supervision of well-experienced medical officers.

The "EXPRESS EXTRA" Trains with First Class Sleeping Cars attached, in run both directions during the night and arrive at both destinations early in the morning, thereby, giving more convenience to busy passengers. Two other MAIL TRAINS run daily with all accomodations and, like the EXPRESS, have the conveniences of BUFFET and DRAWING ROOM cars.

PLACES OF INTEREST

Tsingtao, the riviera of the Far East, with her Oceanic Climate, Beautiful Bathing Beach, Not-distant Mountains and her verdure of Forest Parks, is always pleasant and delightful to Visitors all the year round for Health and Pleasure.

CONNECTION WITH OTHER LINE

At Tsinan, connection is made with the Tientsin-Pukow Railway and thence to all the other railways in North China. At the Tachiang Harbour station in the vincinity of Tsingtao, connection is also made with Mail Steamers plying to and from all the important ports of the world. A short cut to Chefoo by motor service is facilitated at the Weihsien station on the main line.

TICKET AGENTS

For the convenience of passengers, Exchange-Coupons, Time-Tables and Information can be obtained at the Offices of:

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American Express Co.,
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For further particulars, please apply to:
The Traffic Manager,
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Tsingtao.

The Reconstruction of China's Railways, Telegraphs, Wireless and Postal Services

BY SAMUEL CHANG

FOLLOWING the conclusion of the Northern Punitive Expedition which closed the military stage of the National Revolution and marked the beginning of the period of Political Tutelage in the Kuomintang's program for China's regeneration, the Nationalist Government almost immediately addressed itself to the gigantic task of Rehabilitation. First, there was the National Educational Conference held throughout the latter part of May, 1928, at which a comprehensive program of education was formulated. Then there was the National Economic Conference held in June at Shanghai under the auspices of the Minister of Finance at which the country's financial leaders and economic experts were invited to offer their advices and to cooperate with the Government in its program of financial reform. The National Economic Conference was followed by the National Finance Conference held in the first part of July at the Capital, when the Government's financial officials from the various provinces assembled to devise effective means of improving the financial administration of the country. Finally, but not the least important of all, was the National Communications Conference held also at Nanking in the month of August. The significance of the last conference lies in the fact that it was the first national conference of its kind ever summoned by the Chinese Government and that upon the successful execution of its general system of national communications the prosperity and general advancement of the entire Chinese people depends.

Before dealing with the general scheme of development as proposed by the Ministry of Communications, it may not be amiss first to briefly consider the present state of the country's communications.

There are at present approximately seven thousand (7,000) kilometers of railway in operation throughout the entire country, a total length of 87,000 miles of telegraph wires, a little over 50 wireless stations, about 100,000 telephones, and slightly less than 400,000 tons of commercial shipping, owned by private navigation companies. All this for the use of a population numbering more than four hundred millions and scattering over a territory of approximately four million square miles!

Wang Po-chun, Nationalist Minister of Communications

Liabilities Contracted

With the exception of shipping which is a purely private enterprise, the Chinese Government through the Ministry of Communications alone, up to the end of 1924, had contracted a number of loans totalling seven hundred million dollars ($700,000,000). What other liabilities and how much were incurred by the former Peiping Government from 1924 to its termination in June of the current year remains is a question yet to be answered. With the exception of part of this vast debt which is secured on the salt revenue, China has not been able to meet the payments of even the interest due. Had the Government Railways and the Government Telegraph Administrations been properly managed, the revenue would have been sufficient to pay all the interest and even part of the principal. But as it was, by the end of 1923 the Military and various Government organs had run up an account on credit amounting to forty million dollars ($40,000,000). A total of sixty-two million dollars had also been remitted to the Ministry of Finance to meet the financial needs of the Peiping regime, while at various times small loans totalling eleven million dollars ($11,000,000) were contracted by the Ministry of Communications. A further total deficit of two hundred and forty million dollars ($240,000,000) has been incurred by the Ministry since 1924.

In addition to the increasing liabilities, there has been considerable loss and depreciation in the equipment, due primarily to the incessant civil wars throughout the last ten years. Of the 1,140 locomotives, 2,169 passenger cars and 17,524 freight cars only about half are in usable condition. Interference by the military authorities, especially in placing incompetent men in responsible positions, has also been largely responsible for much corruption in the management of the various Railway Administrations.

In view of the deplorable state of the country's communications and as a step towards the realization of the project of general national reconstruction, the Ministry of Communications, therefore, addresses itself to the following threefold scheme of Communications: Rehabilitation, Construction and Expansion.

Rehabilitation

In the rehabilitation of communications, which concerns itself with the various Railway Administrations, early resumption of normal communications on the various Railways is of prime importance. For this purpose, the following five measures are being enforced with varying degrees of success by the Ministry of Communications:

1. To investigate into and report on the damages sustained by the various Railway and Telegraph Administrations during the last few years of neglect and abuse and an estimate of the cost and time required for repairs thereto.

2. To ascertain the number of locomotives and passenger and freight cars, both in running order and damaged, in the control of the various Railways, and to restore operation of the various machine-shops so that the damaged locomotives and cars can be repaired within the shortest possible period.

3. To introduce efficiency into the various Railway Administrations by eliminating the incompetent officials, especially those appointed by the Militarists for the latter's own benefits.

4. To prevent commandeering of locomotives and cars by any military authority stationed at any particular locality, by creating a Special Military Transportation Bureau under the direct jurisdiction of the highest military authority to cooperate with the Railway Administrations in maintaining normal traffic on the Railways.

5. To repair the Yellow River Bridge on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway and to restore the through train service on the Tientsin-Pukow Line. (This measure has been defeated by the Japanese military authorities stationed at Tsinan.)

As with so many of the obsolete Government organs, no improvement can be effected without first effacing the inherited system of corruption, the Rehabilitation program provides for the immediate carrying into effect of the following measures of reform:

(1) Liquidation of outstanding accounts including unpaid interest and principal, unpaid purchasing accounts, and salaries in arrear.

(2) Establishment of a Finance Supervisory Committee for the centralization of financial power, appropriation of expenditure, to look after the payment of loans and to audit the accounts. In the control of this Committee will be a Treasury for the safekeeping of funds and to be responsible for all payments of large sums of money not included in the budget but sanctioned by the Minister.

(3) Establishment of a Central Purchasing Committee to be responsible for all purchases. Tenders for the supply of huge quantities of materials required by the various Railways should be open to the public.

(4) Employment of minor staff members by qualification and appointment of higher and responsible members by examination. A system of merits and demerits will also be introduced in keeping the record of each individual staff member.

For the encouragement of all men in the communications service, the Ministry will institute a system of bonus, superannuation, compassionate grants for death through accidents and facilities for education.

To encourage the use of various Railways, a uniform passenger and freight rate will be instituted in all lines, special rates being given to students, laborers and those travelling in groups.

For actual constructions, the program limits itself to certain improvements of the several trunk railway lines to meet the increasing demands, some inexpensively and useful innovations in the telegraphic service and the extension of the postal system. A summary of the important measures is as follows:

I. Railways

A. *The Peiping-Suiyuan Railway.* To construct a number of steel bridges and to complete the station buildings together with various necessary equipments. The system of interlocking signals and electrical switches will also be installed as soon as possible throughout the entire line which is more than 800 kilometers and is the trunk railway line in the Northwest. More locomotives and cars will also be placed on the Line from time to time to meet the increasing volume of traffic. To enable the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway Administration to look after the necessary repairs to its rails, locomotives and cars, the repair shop at Nankow will be enlarged and fully equipped with adequate machinery for various purposes.

B. *The Peiping-Hankow Railway.* To construct a new iron Yellow River Bridge to replace the existing one which is no longer considered as safe. Of the various designs for the new bridge the one submitted by the Anglo-Belgian Union Company is regarded as the most suitable. The estimated cost of the new bridge is $10,000,000. Owing to various military and political disturbances in the past, no step had been taken to carry out the scheme, but with conditions becoming more settled, the construction of the bridge should be started immediately.

The reinforcement of all bridges on the line for the convenience of through transportation and the inter-changing of engines, the replacement of the lighter rails of 75 lbs. by the heavier 85 lbs. rails as in all other Railways, the purchase of more rolling stock and the replacement of old sleepers are some of the other measures to which the authorities concerned have been called upon to give their immediate attention.

C. *The Tientsin-Pukow Railway.* The Tsin-Pu Railway has perhaps suffered most heavily of all Government Railways from military operations. Most of its locomotives and cars have been commandeered and damaged through successive regimes of militarism. The purchase of more rolling stock, therefore, is the immediate step of restoring communications on this principal North to South trunk line connecting the interior with the seaboard. The occupation of Tsinanfu by Japanese troops and their refusal to allow the Chinese to repair the Yellow River Bridge above Tsinan has rendered through service impossible at present; but this ought not to deter the Government from making the necessary preparations to restore normal communications on the line. A second urgent need of the Tsin-Pu Railway is an iron bridge across the Yangtsze River from Nanking to Pukow; but since the Government is not in a position to meet this heavy item of expenditure, an efficient ferry service whereby both passengers and freight could be ferried across the river in their original cars should be immediately instituted by the Tsin-Pu Railway Administration to facilitate transportation and for the convenience of the public.

D. *Peiping-Mukden Railway.* Comparatively little fighting has taken place in the Northeast and consequently the Peiping-Mukden Railway is perhaps in the best of conditions compared with the other lines. But the section between Kinchow, near the Great Wall, to Mukden is equipped with 65 lb. rails which should be replaced with 85 lb. rails to bring unity to the entire line. The Peiping-Mukden Station at Tientsin is far too old and should be rebuilt as soon as possible. Finally, as is the case with the other lines, more locomotives and cars are needed.

E. *The Lung-Hai Railway.* This line passes through the provinces of Kansu, Shensi, Honan and Kiangsu, serving as the principal means of communication from the immense Northwestern territory to the coast. It is the only overland route, and, from the point of interior communication, is of equal importance as the Yellow and the Yangtsze Rivers. But it is yet unfinished at both ends and the unconstructed section, therefore, must be immediately completed. Like the Tsin-pu Line, it has suffered greatly from military operations and is badly in need of repairs at various places. The shortage of rolling stock should also be made up by new purchases.

Telegraph, Telephone and Wireless

A. *As regards the Telegraph.* Two improvments are considered desirable at present: firstly, the substitution of the Morse system of transmission by the Sounder system and, the replacement of the simplex system by the more modern duplex or quadruplex system as in other countries.

B. *As regards the Telephone.* To instal automatic telephones so as to save time and to insure accuracy; to establish telephone exchanges at all telegraph offices throughout the country to expedite transmission of messages and news; and to instal long-distance telephones. The need of a system of long-distance telephones linking up various important centers throughout the entire country with one another has long been felt. According to an estimate submitted by a commission appointed by the Ministry to investigate into the project, the cost of such a nation-wide system will be approximately ten million dollars ($10,000,000).

C. *As regards Wireless Stations.* All existing wireless stations throughout the country should adopt the tube and discard the spark transmitters in accordance with the decision of the last International Wireless Conference held in 1927.

III.—The Postal Service

At present the total length of railway mail lines throughout the country is about 23,000 li; of steamer lines, 90,000 li; and by couriers, 703,000 li. All mails are being delivered by couriers on foot which means a maximum of cost at the lowest speed. It is the hope of the authorities concerned that with the building of motor roads in the various provinces, the postal system will soon be modified so that more rapid and frequent delivery of mails may be made possible.

Expansion of the Postal service by opening more post offices and postal stations is likewise being planned by the Government. According to the latest statistics available, there are only about 2560 post offices, 9600 postal agencies, 7000 rural offices and 22,000 rural stations. The official postal report for 1926 shows that mail matter posted during that year totalled approximately 580,000,000 pieces which means one and a quarter letters to each person for the whole year. The aim of the Government, therefore, is the establishment of post offices in the Districts where none has been established heretofore and the increasing of all possible facilities for further development of the post service in other parts wherever the situation demands.

One particular phase of the Postal service which warrants immediate development is the Postal Savings Bank. According to statistics for 1927, there are little over 300 Postal Saving Banks with approximately 50,000 depositors whose deposits total over eight million dollars ($8,000,000). This is nothing short of a remarkable record when it is realized that the system was only inaugurated less than ten years ago in 1919. The majority of the depositors, however, are officials, students and merchants which fact can only mean that the general public are not yet familiar with the object and advantages of the Postal Savings Bank. It is the intention of the Government to extend this service and to introduce it to the masses.

Construction

The modest and unpretentious program of construction proposed by the Ministry of Communications shows that the Government entertains no illusion about its ability to undertake even the minimum requirement of completing the country's existing system of railway communications. The program provides not for the construction of new lines which

will be utterly beyond the financial ability of the country and will certainly remain a scheme on paper for some time to come, but rather for the completion of the various Railways which would have been completed long before now had it not been for the continual political disturbances throughout the last decade and a half. The proposed constructions are as follows:

I.—Railways.

A. The Chuchow-Shaokwan section of the Canton-Hankow Railway. According to the estimate of the Ministry, the sum of approximately sixty million dollars ($60,000,000) will be required for the construction expenses.

B. The Chientang-Tsao-o section of the Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo Railway. Approximately ten million dollars ($10,000,000) will be required for the completion of this section.

C. The Linpao-Lungchow section of the Lung-Hai Railway. This comparatively longer and more difficult section, due to the mountainous regions through which the line will traverse, will cost ninety million dollars ($90,000,000).

D. The reconstruction of the Kinchow-Mukden section of the Peiping-Mukden Railway. This consists mainly of the replacement of the lighter rails with the heavier ones. No estimate of the cost is yet available due to the delay in surveying.

E. To provide normal passenger and freight transportation services on the various Railways, it is obvious that more locomotives and passenger and freight cars be added from time to time to meet the increasing demand as well as to replace those out of condition.

On the basis of the statistics for 1915 which gives the figure of 1140 locomotives, 2169 passenger cars and 17,524 freight cars, and judging from the present volume of traffic, a yearly addition of 60 locomotives, 150 passenger cars and 1300 freight cars should be provided.

II.—Wireless.

Wireless telegraphy being the cheapest means of communication, its practicability cannot be over emphasized, especially in view of the fact that no considerable sum is available. The following program for the construction of wireless stations is included in the Ministry's project of expansion:

A. The construction of 76 wireless stations, a certain number each time at regular intervals, throughout the entire country. For practical purposes, the country is to be divided into four districts with the 76 wireless stations distributed in the following manner:

25 in the South-eastern District
28 in the North-eastern ,,
12 in the North-western ,,
11 in the South-western ,,

B. In addition to the 76 wireless stations to be established throughout the country, there will be one central station in Shanghai which will be powerful enough to communicate direct with Europe and the American Continents. The time limit set for the completion of the Shanghai station is two years.

C. Six other short-wave broadcasting radio stations for communication with foreign countries will also be established at various strategic points throughout the country.

D. To supply all Government radio stations with the necessary equipment, a factory for the manufacturing of radio apparatus will be operated by the Government. (In this connection, it is interesting to note that under date of September 15, the semi-official (Kuo Min) News Agency issued a statement to the effect that the National Reconstruction Committee had already arranged for the erection of such a factory in the neighborhood of the Kiangnan Arsenal at Shanghai.)

III.—Aviation.

Aviation, like many other innovations in present day China, is still in the infant stage of development. The Government, in order to stimulate public interest in and encourage any private attempt at developing this comparatively simple and inexpensive system of communications, aims, firstly at the opening of a number of aviation fields along the sea-coast and at various important centers of communication, and, secondly, at the inauguration of a domestic commercial aerial passenger and freight service along the principal trade routes:

1. Mukden to Canton
2. Peiping to Canton
3. Shanghai to Chengtu
4. Tsingtao to Suchow
5. Antung to Urga.

(A Kuo Min News Agency report of September 17 states that the National Aviation Association has purchased four aeroplanes with a view to inaugurating a commercial aerial passenger and freight service between Shanghai and Hankow as an experiment.)

IV.—Navigation.

Shipping has been altogether a private enterprise from the be beginning. But due to the general political instability and frequent interference from the Military, its development has been retarded. Henceforth, aside from providing facilities for the normal development and expansion of all private commercial navigation, the Government will aim at the restoration of its power to control navigation. It will also formulate and promulgate regulations governing navigation in the waters under its control.

Expansion

The scheme of expansion aims at the eventual completion of a network of railways connecting all provincial capitals with one another and making the interior part of the country directly accessible from the various seaports and harbors. In formulating the scheme the Ministry of Communications, it is safe to say, did not concern itself with the length of time for the realization of the entire project, which is largely dependent upon the general political situation in the country and the financial ability of the Government. The plan was drawn up in the hope that it will be referred to as a basis of any proposed constructions in future and that whenever circumstances permit, periodical surveying of the routes and estimate of the costs will be made in preparation for such construction as the Government may find itself in a position to undertake. In other words, the program was set up as the goal for the attainment of which the Chinese Government will henceforth continue to strive. The significance of the ambitions project does not lie so much in its comprehensiveness as in the fact that it clearly demonstrates to the world the keen realization of the Nationalist Authorities as regards the importance of communication facilities to the normal development of the country.

I. Railways.—The program provides for the construction of two classes of branch railway lines after the completion of the existing trunk lines. The first class includes all main branch lines which measure from 500 to 1000 kilometers in length, connecting at least two provincial capitals or important cities or leading direct from any important inland city to the coast. The second class branch lines are those less than 500 kilometers in length, connecting one District with another.

II. Highways.—Three kinds of public highways are included in the plan of expansion: the National Highways, the Inter-Provincial Highways and the motor roads. As in the case of the railways surveying of the various highways will be commenced only when adequate funds are available for each section or road under contemplation. According to the budget, an average of three thousand dollars ($3000) will be required for the completion of one kilometer of motor-road. The vast amount of contruction expenses will be jointly borne by the Central and Provincial Governments.

III. Navigation.—Ocean navigation will likewise be encouraged and protected by the Government and a system of Government Marine Insurance will be introduced for the benefit of all private navigation companies. To facilitate the development of navigation, two ship-yards will be built at Canton and Hankow for building steam launches suitable for shallow water navigation and small coastal steamers, while the three ship-yards already in existence at Shanghai, Foochow and Taku will be expanded and equipped for building ocean liners.

Such, in brief, is the communications program proposed by the Ministry of Communications. It contains all the important and necessary measures not only for the improvement of communications throughout the country but also for accelerating the material progress of the entire Chinese people. It may take years before even a reasonable degree of success can be attained but it points unmistakably the way to a new and better China.

Shanghai, Sept. 21, 1928.

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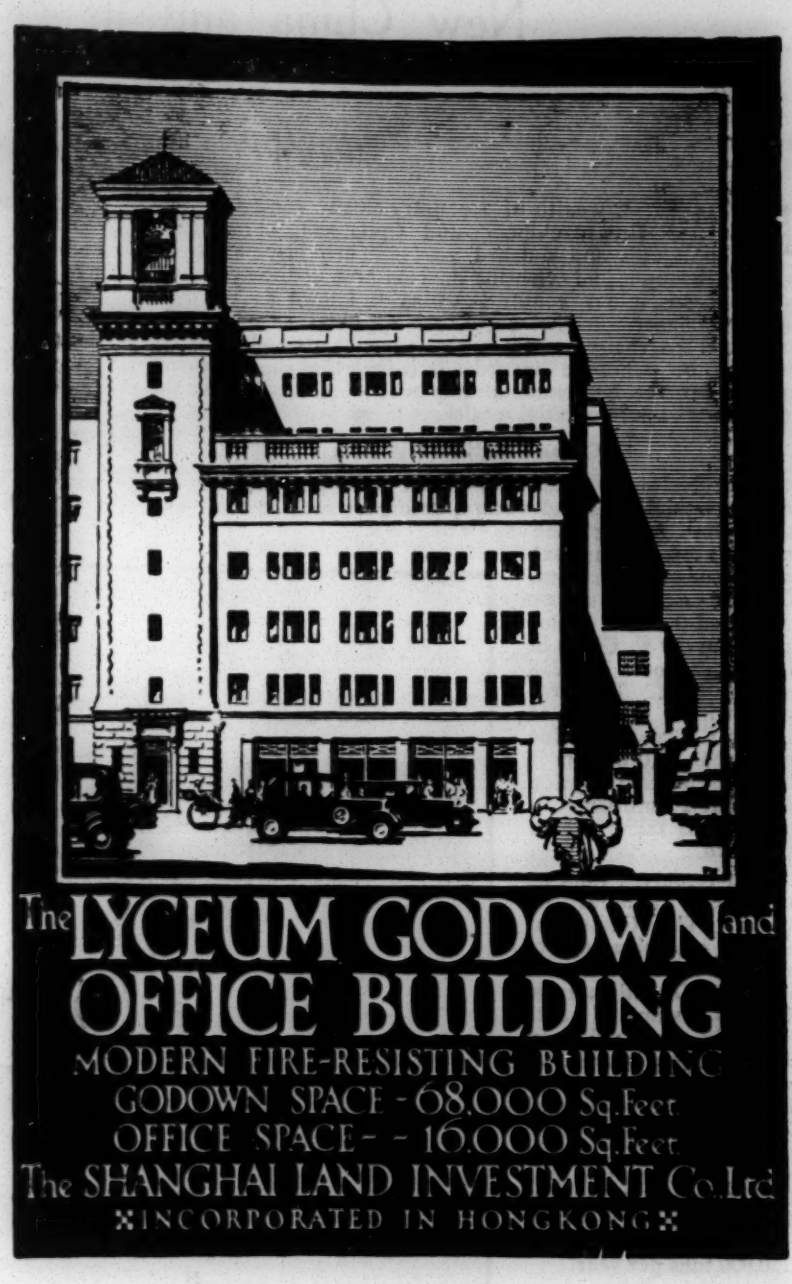

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New China and Its Human Wealth

BY CHANG TUH-YUI.

Actuary, China United Assurance Society.

NATIONAL wealth of a country chiefly consists of raw materials, machinery and equipment, mines, land, buildings and finished goods. Their mere existence without economic and scientific development and management will not enrich any country. China is known as the most wealthy country in the world, yet capital is so scarce that industrial enterprises cannot be started or roads and railroads be built or mines be opened. It is then that capital is most needed for the economic development of China and for the realization of her potential wealth.

China's National Wealth

The National Wealth in China at present includes her land, raw materials and natural resources such as coal, iron and oil. Among the minerals of China, coal is the most important. Coal reserves were estimated by the Geological Survey to China in 1926 at a total of 218 billion tons. This reserve will be sufficient to supply China's need for more than 10,0.0 years if her present consumption of about 20 million tons per year is taken as the standard.

Iron resources rank as the next mineral of China. The Geological Survey of China reported the known iron reserve at 677 million tons. It was estimated that probably the unknown and undiscovered reserve would amount to one-half of the estimated known reserve. The total, therefore, is in round figures, 100 million tons. At present the iron production in China is roughly estimated at 150,000 tons per year.

Next to iron and coal is petroleum. The oil output in the province of Shansi was 85,000 catties in 1921. And some areas of oil shale, such as in Jehol, are yet undeveloped. Among other metals produced in China are gold, silver, tin, copper, antimony, lead, zinc, mercury, tungsten, bismuth, etc. Of these antimony ranks as the most important.

The vast forestry in Manchuria is another National Wealth in China. Only a few districts have been developed in accordance with the forestry principles; the unknown areas of forest that await to be developed in later years are prodigious. The Forestry Law was promulagated in 1915.

China United Assurance Society Building, 34 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai.

The richness of land is also manifested in the agricultural products. Pastural products are also numerous. Again there is silk.

Enough has been said about the existing potential National Wealth, and all these indicate that China can be developed into a strong and rich nation by industrialization and scientific management of her material wealth.

The use of machinery to increase production and the training of labor to be more skillful are some problems of industrialization, while the applied economic sciences such as corporation finances, methods of depreciation and sinking fund are some of the principles of scientific management of properties. Thus we may safely conclude that capital and labor are indispensable in the economic development of a country. There is, however, another factor which is even far more important than capital or labor in the economic development of a country, that is Human Wealth.

Human Wealth—The Greatest Wealth In China

China has a population of not less than 400 million people. Assuming each person has an earning capacity of ten dollars a month (a fairly conservative average), it would mean that a person is worth two thousand dollars if we capitalize the income of ten dollars per month at 6% per annum. Multiply 400 million people by 2,000, it means $800,000,000,000 of Human Wealth. To convert it into gold dollars: It is almost five times the total amount of Life Insurance in force in the United States and almost equal to the total National Wealth of the United States. This vast Human Wealth is represented by such human factors as personal skill, industry, judgment and driving force. These factors together with capital and labor will undoubtedly develop China into a strong, rich and self-dependent country.

Human Wealth Used to Develop Economic Wealth Through the Medium of Life Insurance

The only scientific recognition of human values is by means of Life Insurance. Property values have for years been regarded as capable of scientific management. They are subjected to immediate and ultimate loss. Scientific method is, therefore, devised as regards depreciation, sinking funds and contracts of indemnity to give property a definite economic value. Life values should also be treated scientifically and be made tangible and definite. The only medium through which such scientific treatment can be applied to human values is Life Insurance. Like property, human life is subjected to immediate and ultimate loss, and Life Insurance is a means to indemnify the loss and also to recognize human wealth. When human wealth is recognized and established, life insurance institutions will accumulate assets through deposits, thus providing a large reservior for capital. Capital in China as mentioned above is urgently needed to establish industries, build railroads and highways and develop her natural resources. With the presence of capital, labor can be utilized more advantageously and the national aspirations of China can be easily attained.

Life Insurance in China

Life Insurance is a new business in China; it is indeed in its infancy, for it has not yet completed its thirtieth anniversary. During such a short period, many failures have occurred. It is, however, not due to the impracticability of carrying on life insurance business in China, but it is because

life insurance business is being done unscientifically and there has not yet been passed any legislation on the part of the government toward regulation and supervision of life insurance companies in China.

In a life insurance business, there are five important departments which are indispensable. They are as follows:—

1. Actuarial Department
2. Medical Department
3. Managerial Department
4. Investment Department
5. Production Department

1. Actuarial department deals with the technical side of life insurance business such as the calculation of premiums, the apportionment of profits to policy-holders, the determination of expense and mortality by loss and gain exhibit, the preparation of financial report, the valuation of reserve, assets and liability and the making of policy conditions (it is the most important department of life insurance business) without which no company can operate on a sound basis.

2. Medical Department attends to the selection of risks Poor risks or unhealthy persons should be rejected. The success of any company largely depends upon the efficiency of its medical department.

3. Managerial Department controls the whole office staff in all matters such as renewal division, policy division, etc.

4. Investment Department handles all the company's investments. Investments should aim at safety rather than at large returns. The Security of principal and high rates of interest do not mix. In any case no speculation should be allowed.

5. Production Department is one of the most important departments of a life insurance company. Selling insurance involves first class salesmanship. A constant increase of the volume of business is the only way to build up a company. Special knowledge and technique must be acquired by the agents who sell insurance.

The above five departments are all important and indispensable. They interlock each other. The prosperity and success of a life insurance company depend on the efficiency of all the departments.

Many life insurance companies in China have failed because of dificiencies in any of these departments.

Government Regulation and Supervision

In order to understand the significance of government regulation and supervision of life insurance, an explanation as to the meaning of regulation and supervision is necessary. By government regulation is meant that an insurance law be enacted with a view to protecting the interests of the public who enter into contract with the life insurance company. Supervision is to see that the insurance law is observed or enforced. In short, supervision supplements regulation: the latter is legislative and the former executive. An insurance law is merely a dead letter without supervision.

Life Insurance is a long term contract covering a period of a man's lifetime; policy contracts are worded and designed by the company, which is usually a quasi-public institution created by the state. Above all, life insurance is closely interwoven with the welfare of the rank and file. All the above facts indicate the necessity of regulation and supervision of some kind. It has been proven in the leading countries of the world that government regulation and supervision produce the most desirable results. Of course, the pre-requisite of government regulation and supervision is a stable government. With a sane and stable government to regulate life insurance by healthy and constructive legislation and to supervise it with able commissioners who possess an intimate knowledge of the law and business, all the benefits which are connected with life insurance will be obtained. Life insurance involves a public interest which must be protected. Life insurance business itself, which stimulates and promotes industry, must also be protected by putting it on a safe and conservative basis.

Insurance is the opposite of speculation. It creates certainty out of uncertainty. Hence regulation of some kind is indispensable to the maintenance of the highest degree of certainty and safety. Supervision is important in that it carries regulation into effect. Life insurance in the leading countries enjoys a reputable name because it is properly regulated and judiciously supervised. Life insurance would be greatly restricted in its usefulness, should it not be guided by regulation and supervision of one kind or another. The first step toward regulation and supervision is the adoption of a model insurance law. The model insurance law must aim at three different angles:—

1. To encourage the insurance business from a national point of view.

2. To guide insurance companies to the door of success.

3. To protect the interest of policy-holders to their fullest extent.

Life insurance companies are strong financial institutions and also national enterprises. We welcome companies owned and operated by foreigners that they must be subjected to certain regulations as a guarantee, restriction of investments, auditing companies' accounts and their actuarial calculations and participating of management by Chinese. Chinese companies will be subjected to the same regulation and supervision of the government so that they may not go on the wrong track.

By far the most important is the protection of policy-holders of insurance companies. There must be encouragement and guidance to establish life insurance business on its proper basis but this must not be done at the expense of policy-holders of insurance companies. The interests of policy-holders should be the first consideration and need to be protected in every way. With proper guidance and healthy encouragement by the government, insurance companies will flourish, and best results and benefits will be obtained to the attainment of China's national aspirations.

Conclusion. China potentially is a rich country having vast national resources. In order to realise such national wealth, capital, labor and brains are needed. The most logical way to raise capital is by means of life insurance. Life insurance companies collect small amounts and accumulate large sums. They furnish capital through investments. Labor and brains are the huge human wealth which must be capitalized and conserved. Life insurance is the only means to capitalize and conserve human wealth. Therefore life insurance must be encouraged and guided so as to percolate the mass. Life insurance concerns the interests of the public which must be protected; hence government regulation and supervision are considered. Life insurance is a national enterprise; Chinese life insurance companies should be given the best encouragement and assistance both from the public and the government. When the life insurance business is well established, there will be no apprehension as to whether or not capital can be secured and human wealth be realized. With vast human wealth and capital, China can gradually build up her industry and become a wealthy and strong nation.

The Personnel and Organization of the Nationalist Government

Councils

The Legislative Council
The Judical Council
The Examination Council
The Supervisory Council
The Administrative Council
The National Defence Council (Provisional)

Committees

The National Construction Committee
The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Committee
The Overseas Affairs Committee

Ministries

Ministry of Interior
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of War
Ministry of Finance
Ministry of Education
Ministry of Communications
Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor
Ministry of Agriculture and Mining

The Central Executive Committee

Wang Ching-wei	Tsai Yuan-pei
Tan Yen-kai	Li Shih-cheng
Chiang Kai-shek	Teng Tze-ju
Hu Han-min	Ho Ying-ching
Kan Nai-kwang	Li Tsung-jen
Chen Kung-po	Pei Chung-hsi
Sh o Li-tza	Chen Ko-yu
C. C. Wu	Chen Ming-chu
Sun Fo	Ho Yai-chu
Chu Pei-teh	Yeh Chu-chang
Chang Ching-chiang	Feng Yu-hsiang
Ting Wei-feng	Koo Yin-feng
Wang Fa-Ching	Yen Shih shan
Wu Tze-hwei	Yu Yue-jen
Chen Yue-jen (Eugene Chen)	Yi Pei-chi
Ho Hsiang-lin	Yang Shu-chuang
Sung Tze-wen (T. V. Soong)	Huang Fu
Li Chi-sem	Koo Meng-yu
Chen Ko-fu	H. H. Kung
Li Lieh-chun	Wang Peh-chun
Tai Chi-tao	Hsieh Tu-pi
Pei Wen-wei	C. T. Wang
Hsiao Fu-chen	Miao Ping

The Nationalist Central Government Council

Yu Yue-jen	Chen Tiao-yuan
Wang Fa-chun	Chang Ching-chiang
Wang Peh-chun	Chang Chi
Pei Yung-ti	Huang Shao-hsiung
Ho Hsiang-ning	Hsu Hsiung-chi
Chu Chi-ching	Niu Yung-shin
Koo Ying-fan	Feng Yu-hsiang
Pei Chung-hsi	Yen Shih-shan
Tien Tung	Yang Shu-chuang
Chu Pei-teh	Ching Heng-yi
Li Tsung-jen	Hsiung Kei-wu
Li Chi-sem	Teng Che-ju
Li Lieh-chun	Tsai Yuan-pei
H. H. Kung	Fan Chung-hsiu
Ho Ying-chung	Liu Chou-chung
T. V. Soong	Chiang Kai-shek
Sung Yuen-yuan	Chiang Tso-ping
Lin Sen	Tai Chuan-yen
Chow Chen-lin	Tan Yen-kai
Pei Wen-wei	Chao Tai-wen
Yi Pei-chi	Miao Ping
Tin Chao-wu	Chu Chi-chin

Chairman of the Central Covernment Council—Chiang Kai-shek

Councils

The Legislative Council.....Hu Han-min, Director.
Tai chi-tao, Asst-Director

The Judical Council.....Wang Chung-hui, Director.

The Examination Council.....Tan Yen-kai, Director.
Sun Fo. Asst-Director.

The Administrative Council.....Chiang Kai-shek, Director.
Feng Yu-hsiang, Asst-Director.

The Supervisory Council.....Tsai Yuan-pei, Director.
Li Tsung-jen, Asst-Director.

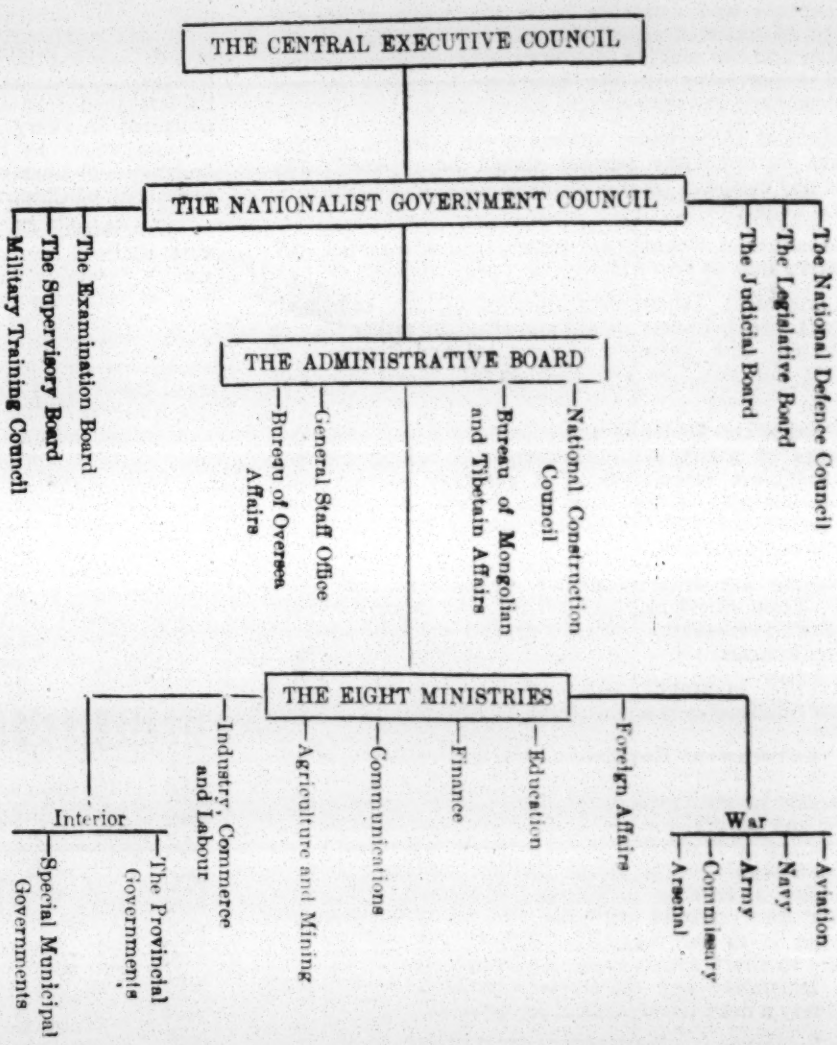
The National Defence Council.....Ho Ying-ching.

Committee

The National Construction Committee....Chang Ching-chiang, Chairman.
Li Shih-cheng Vice-Chairman.

THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT

System Of Chinese Government As Decided At The 5th Plenary Session Of The Central Executive Council Of The Kuomintang In Nanking, August 14, 1928



This ineresting chart shows the plan of the Nationalist Government since the re-organization measures were introduced. The changes tend to add to the centralization of government functions, while such impor ant branches as the judicial and legislative bodies are made independent.

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The Overseas Affairs Committee .....Li Lieh-chun, Chairman

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Judges of the Special Criminal Court of the Nationalist Government.....Tung Hang-shi
Chang Kuo-hui
Chi Shou-wen
Chang Hung-chih
Chang Yu-shan
Tseng Yueh

Chief Judge of the Special Nationalist Court, Trials for Communists and Counter-Revolutionaries Tin Chao-wu

Supervisory Council

Members.....Tsai Yuan-pei
Yi Pei-chi
Yeh Chu-chuang
Tin Chao-wu
Chu Chi-chin
Wu Shih-hwei
Yu Yue-jen
Koo Shing-yi

Administrative Council

Chairman of the Administrative Council....Chiang Kai-shek

National Defence Council

Chairman of the National Defence Council..Ho Ying-ching

National Construction

Members .....Chang Ching-chien
Chao Teih-chao
Cheng Hung-nien
H. S. Li
Ma Hsiao-chun
Tai Chi-tao
Cheng Yoh-siu
Li Fan-yi
Director of the Peiping Department,.....Li Shih-cheng
National Construction Committee

Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Committee

Members.....Pei Yung-ti
Chang Chi
Tsai Chih-jen
Chen Chi-sen
Li Feng-kong

Overseas Affairs Comittee

Members .....Li Lieh-chun
Sung Yuen-yuan
Chung Wing-kwang
Chen Chi-liang
Chen Chi-keng
H. H. Kung
Lin Sen
Hsiao Fu-chen
Teng Chi-lu
Chow Chi-kong
Chiu Hsin-chun

istries

Officers in the Ministry of Interior

Minister.....Hsueh Tu-pi
Vice-Minister.....Chao Peh-lien

Officers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Minister.....C. T. Wang
Vice-Minister.....Y. L. Tong
Councillors.....Chang Hsing-hai
Chu Pan-nien
Chief of the First Division.....Chi Tiao-seng
„ of the Second Division.....Chow Lung-kiang
„ of the Third Division.....Hsu Mo
„ Secretary .....Fan Kwang
„ Social Secretary.....Loh Shao-kwen
„ of the General Affairs Department..Chu Ta-pen
Commissioner of Foreign Affairs at Peiping.....Tao Li-chien (?)
„ „ „ „ of Hopeh..Soo Ti-jen
„ „ „ „ of Hupeh..Kan Chia-hou
„ „ „ „ of Shantung .....Tsai Chih-chieh
Commissioner of Foreign Affairs of Yunnan.....Chang Peng-han
„ „ „ „ of Hunan..Chung Fong
„ „ „ „ at Canton..Chu Chao-hsin
„ „ „ „ at Ningpo..Chiang Shih-hou
„ „ „ „ at Wuhu..Quo Tai-tseng
The Examination Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Members .....C. T. Wang
C. C. Wu
Hsiao Fu-chen
Hu Han-min
Chu Min-yi
Chu Chao-hsin
Y. L. Tong
Wang Chung-hui
Soume Tcheng, Miss

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Tan Yen-kai
Tsai Yuan-pei
C. T. Wang
H. H. Kung
Chang Yen-chi
Wu Ching-heng
Li Yu-kuei
T. V. Soong
Yi Pei-chi

Officers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kiangsu Province

Commissioner of Foreign Affairs of Kiangsu.....King Wen-shi
Chief Secretary of the Department of the Diplomatic Affairs .....Wu Pao-yu
Chief Secretary of the Department of the Commercial Affairs.....Chu Hoh-kao
Secretaries.....Kuan Ching
Wu Chang
Yang Kia-cha
Wang Hou-jui
Yen Sha-sheng
Chen Chi-wen

Officers in the Ministry of Finance

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Vice-Minister.....Chang Shou-yung
Directer of the Auditing Department.....Chu Chung-tao
Chief Councillor.....Liang Ngoh-lai
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„ of the Salt Smuggling Prevention Force .....Lu Chung-tau
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Director of Customs at Fengyang.....Chow Shao-ming
Director of Customs at Soochow.....Wen Ping-chung
Chief of Tobacco and Wine Tax Bureau..Chen Sha-tu
Director of the Nationalist Cigarette and Kerosene Tax Bureau.....Hsia Chi, Loy Chang, Asst-Director
Chief of the Stamp Tax Bureau.....Li Tai-sen
Treasurer of the Ministry.....Li Chao
Chief of the Accounting Department.....Chu Chung-tao
„ of the Internal Tax Department.....Kia Tza-nyi
„ of the National Bond Department....Chung Yen-chen
Vice-Chiefs of the National Rolled Tobacco Tax Bureau.....Wang Chi-ting
Wu shou-nai
Chief of the Anti-Opium Tax Bureau of Chekiang Province.....Yu Wong-tuan
Chief of the Anti-Opium Tax Bureau of Kiangsu Province.....Tseng Yung
Chief of the Anti-Opium Tax Bureau of Hupeh Province.....Hsia Ying
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Chief of the Oil Tax Bureau, Shanghai Office of the Ministry of Finance.....Kwo Tsung-chuan
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Director of the Labor Bureau ..... Huang Tsu-pei
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Chief Engineer in charge of Industry Affairs ..... Hsu Hsien-hsiang
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Chief of the Department of Commerce .... Samuel U. Zau

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Vice-Ministers ..... Li Kung-sung
Zung Hung-yen
Secretary-General ..... Hsu Siu-chih
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Yuan Ke-ming
Tung Chuh-hsin
Director of the Telegraph Department ... Chuang Chin-huan
Director-General of Post ..... Liu Shu-fan
Deputy Director of Post ..... Li Chi-fan
Co-Director-General of Post ..... Chen Ting-chun
Chief of the Railway Department ..... Chao Shih-shun

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Li Tsung-jen
Chiang Kai-shek
Li Chi-sem
Ho Ying-ching
Chu Pei-teh
Yang Shu-chuang
Feng Yu-hsiang
Tan Yen-kai
Yen Shih-shan
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Director of the SHANGHAI Office of Agriculture and Mining ..... Yang Kao-tao

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Chiang Tso-ping
Ma Fu-hsiang
Chen Tiao-yuan
Chang Chi
Liu Shou-chung
Wang Fu-ching
Chao Tai-wen
Li Chung-tung
Li Shih-chen
Sheng Chen
Liu Chen-hua
Chairman ..... Chang Chi

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Ma Fu-hsiang

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Shan Chen
Dien Tung
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Cheng Tze-pang
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Li Wen-fan
Feng Tsoh-wan
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Kin Wen-kai
Chairman ..... Li Chi-sen

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Chiang Tsen-chun
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" " Reconstruction ..... Chiang Tsen-chun

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Cheng Shi-kwei
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Chen Pei-kun
Chen Chu-nan
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Commissioner of Civil Affairs ..... Chen Nai-yuan
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Hsu Yung-shu
Yen Chi-yi
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Sun Huan-luan
Li Hung-wen
Chu Shou-kwang
Sheng Ying-mu
Tuan Chung-lin
Lu Hsien
Li Chin-yuan
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" " Finance ..... Li Hung-wen
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Yen Tsung
Shih Ying
Liu Shu-chi
Li Shou-tung
Li Wen-hao
Tao Chun

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Commissioner of Civil Affairs	Yen Tsung
„ „ Education	Liu Shu-chi
„ „ Reconstruction	Shih Tsung

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	Li Chien-lung
	Chang Ting
	Liu Choa-pu
	Tseng Chi-we
	Li Yu-shih
	Chow Lan
	Ho Chien
	Liu Hsin
	Chen Chia-jen
Members	Liu Yoh-chih
Chairman	Lu Ti-ping
Commissioner of Civil Affairs	Chen Chia-jen
„ „ Finance	Liu Yoh-chih
„ „ Education	Chang Ting
„ „ Reconstruction	Liu Chao-pu

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	Yen Chu-chang
	Chen Hai-chang
	Ho Yu-shu
	Miao Ping
	Ma Ying cho
	Wang Tseng-wu
Chairman	Niu Yung-chien
Commissioner of Civil Affairs	Miao Ping
„ „ Education	Wei Ku
„ „ Reconstruction	Wang Tseng-wu

Kwangsi Provincial Government

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	Wu Ting-yang
	Lu Wai
	Wong Chi
Chairman	Huang Shiu-hung
Commissioner of Civil Affairs	Lu Wai
„ „ Finance	Wong Chi
„ „ Reconstruction	Wu Ting-yang

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	Lueh Chu
	Kung Fan-wei
	Wei Tsung-chin
	Chiang Tso-ping
	Ho Sze-yaun
	Ting Wei-fen
	Tsai Ts-shen
	Yu Eng-po
	Yen Shou-ching
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	Ting Liang-chen
	Chin Teh-shun
	Li Ching-shi
Chairman	Sun Liang-chen
Commissioner of Civil Affairs	Chen Hseuh-nan
„ „ Finance	Wei Tsung-chin
„ „ Education	Ho Sze-yuan
„ „ Reconstruction	Li Ching-shi

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	Hsu Chien
	Liu Wen-lung
	Yen Yoh-hsien
	Chang Pa-teng
	Nan Yao-nan
	Tu Pei-wen
	Li Yung
Chairman	King Su-kiang
Commissioner of Civil Affairs	Hsu Chien
„ „ Finance	Yen Yoh-hsien
„ „ Reconstruction	Chang Pu-teng

Kwangtung Provincial Government

Members	Li Chi-sen
	Chen Ming-chu
	Hsu Ching-tang
	Feng Tsoh-wan
	Liu Tsai-fu
	Wu Te-chen
	Li Lu-chao
	Ma Chao-chun
	Hwang Shih
Chairman	Li Chi-sen
Commissioner of Civil Affairs	Liu Tsai-fu
„ „ Finance	Feng Tsoh-wan
„ „ Education	Hwang Shih
„ „ Reconstruction	Ma Chao-chun

Yunnan Provincial Government

Members	Lung Yun
	Hu Ying
	Ma Tsung
	Chen Chin
	Ting Chao-han
	Chang Pang-han
Chairman	Lung Yun
Commissioner of Civil Affairs	Hu Ying
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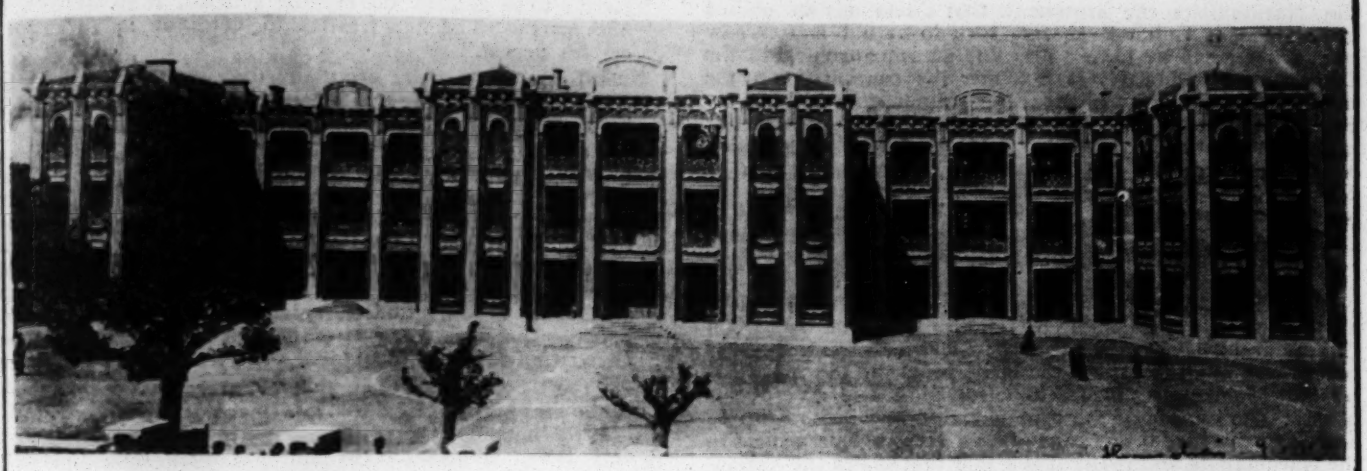

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20 January 1928.

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Shanghai, January 5, 1928

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Nationalists and the Tariff Problem

BY C. Y. W. MENG

WITH the occupation of Peiping, the old capital, and with peaceful negotiations going on between the Nationalists and the Fengtien Party for the voluntary transfer of the Three Eastern Provinces to Nationalist control, which would have been effected had the Japanese not interfered by delivering an ultimatum to General Chang Hsueh-liang, now in control of these districts, threatening him that the Japanese would take all necessary steps should the Three Eastern Provinces join with the Nationalists, the argument that China has no unified government is nullified. Having torn down old houses, new ones are necessarily to be built. The pressing problem that is facing the Nationalists is no longer the continuation of the northern punitive expedition, but rather the building or reconstructing a new China. But all the constructive measures would be paralized should the financial condition of this country not be improved. The reconstruction of Nanking, not to speak of disbanding surplus troops, improving communications, developing industries, requires, it is estimated, $50,000,000. That explains why the Economic Conference and Finance Conference were necessarily among the first ones called. And this also explains why the Nationalist select the tariff problem for discussion before any other. With the coming of January 1, 1929 the date when China should have restored to her tariff autonomy—comes only three months hence, the tariff problem, the most important problem, has indeed to be solved in one way or the other. The signing of the commercial treaties with America and Germany just at this time gives a great encouragement to the Nationalists, and really it is a spur that hasten the Nationalists to prepare themselves for such a event.

Steps Towards Restoration

(1) One of the strong arguments for opposing the restoration of tariff antonomy to China is that China has no unified government, and thus the revenue derived from the Customs would only be used for military purposes thus prolonging the civil war in China. But a stated above, such an argument is now being quashed, as China has already a unified government. The British Government instructed its Minister in Peiping that as China has now a unified government, the British forces in China should be gradually evacuated. But at the same time, it is earnestly to be hoped that our Government should develop into a strong, centralized government, capable of governing internally, and capable of facing all the aggressive and imperalistic nations, externally. Our people should likewise give every support to the government in fighting for our sovereign rights.

(2) When January 1 1929, comes, the Nationalist Government should enforce the national Tariff Law without any hesitation. We are justified to do so even arbitrarily! Any fraudulent suggestion, such as the calling of an international conference to discuss or decide this problem should be immediately refused. Past experiences have told us that such conference only offers a chance to some influential powers, who are animated by selfishness, to muddle the hoped for restoration, rather than doing any good to China. Between 1858 to 1922, for a period of sixty-four years, four tariff conferences were held in which China attempted to raise her tariff rate. But the result of the second conference of 1902, only gave China 3.7 % effective, while the conference of 1918 gave China only 4% effective. Only at the fourth conference of 1922 was China given a 5% effective tariff. In other words, it took China sixty-four years to fight for a 5 % effective tariff which China is entitled to get by virtue of treaties made between China and the powers.

Further, in case such an international conference is called, "unanimous consent" from some dozen nations is required for the enforcement of the decision. But experience has shown us that such decision not only takes time but is practically impossible to arrive at. It should be the policy of the Nationalists in dealing with the powers concerning any problem deal with them individually and separately.

(3) Before the coming of January 1st, 1929, it is necessary for the Nationalists to declare to all the powers that those who desire to trade with China on and after January 1, 1929 must conclude new treaties with the Nationalists, the condition being that such treaties must be based on the principles of equality and reciprocity, should they not agree they are reminded that they have only two alternatives, either to leave China with their cargoes and never come to China with their goods, or else come and submit themselves to the Chinese national tariff law. But we want to remind our government that we should not enter into any agreement with any power before the enforcement of the national tariff law on January, 1929. We recall that the Japanese representatives to the Special Tariff Conference to Peiping, 1925, had already demanded that previous agreements should be made with different powers before the enforcement of the national tariff law. Mr. Hioki, the Japanese delegate to the conference, proposed, "During the same interim period, China on one hand, and the other contracting powers on the other, shall conclude several treaties which may incorporate reciprocal conventional tariffs to be applied on certain articles, if so desired by both parties. The new treaties to continue in force for a certain period."

To be sure, there are many disadvantages should the Nationalists enter into any agreement with any of the powers before the enforcement of the national tariff law.

(a) Such agreement must necessarily result in detriment to the Chinese and benefit to the power with whom China concludes such agreements. As the Nationalist are anxious to declare tariff antonomy, some powers may take the occasion as a "lever" to extract promises from the nationalists in favor of their trade in China. Their exorbitent demands might again muddle the restoration of tariff autonomy. Precedent once created will no doubt be followed by other powers. We maintain that China should open negotiation on a reciprocal tariff, only when the time comes.

(b) By consenting to enter into agreements with some of the powers previous to the enforcement of the national tariff law, the nationalists are merely giving them a chance to delay the enforcement of the national tariff law. Certainly, the contracting powers may claim that the national tariff law could not be enforced until an agreement is previously entered into. Such agreement undoubtedly takes times, and we may just imagine how much would be the loss to our exchequer! Should this happen, we do not believe the Chinese National tariff law would be in force on January 1 1929.

On the other hand, there are many advantages should the nationalists refrain from entering into agreement with any power previous to January 1, 1929 (1) Without entering into a special agreement with any power, the nationalists are free to dictate, thus China is in a better position to talk on a reciprocal tariff. (2) Agreement following the enforcement of the national tariff law will be more reciprocal in fact and beneficial to both contracting parties.

Therefore, it is our opinion that when the time arrives the nationalists will enforce the National tariff law arbitrarily, and previous to starting to do it no agreement with any power regarding tariff should be entered into. Nor, should the nationalists consent to such a proposal as the calling of an international conference to decide this problem. To handle the situation with firmness is our humble suggestion to our government. We are reminded that the fight for tariff autonomy is only first of our many fights for the restoration of our sovereign rights. Certainly we should not show our weakness in our first fight!

The Abolition of Likin

January 1, although it is the date when China again becomes master as far as her tariff is concerned, should also be the date when the obnoxious Likin must go away forever. That likin has done much harm to both Chinese and foreign merchants needs no further explanation by us. But we would like to ask what is meant by abolition of Likin? What is Likin? The term "likin" is so vague that it practically includes all internal taxes. The total abolition of these would amount to $40,000,000. excluding some other miscellaneous taxes which come under the term likin which amount to about $9 889,000. But at the same time, we know too well, that no matter how much the loss will be when it is abolished, it has to go forever simultaneously to the enforcement of the national tariff law.

Likin, consisting of more than ten internal taxes, may be grouped under three categories: (1) Departure likin, which is of the same nature as the production tax; (2) Transit likin, which is transit taxes on all goods passing from one place to another; (3). Terminal likin, which is of the same nature as the consumption tax. As to the first and third, though they are termed Likin, and are collected by the likin stations, they are, *however* quite common in all other foreign countries, only they bear different names. In many states, they have production and consumption taxes. What is most harmful and hateful is the "transit likin."

Readers are reminded that such vices were discovered long ago. At the end of the 20th century, steps were already

taken to improve conditions. Then, the "consolidated likin," came into existence. By this we mean that each province is designated as a likin district, and to each district, the likin rate is the same. The tax is to be collected at the departure of the goods (departure likin) and at the place of destination (terminal likin) and intermediate stations are only allowed to examine and inspect goods but not to tax. Such a step was taken after signing the treaty with the Japanese in 1895 when China decided firmly to abolish likin and to increase the tariff rate. Should said system be effectively carried out, the obnoxious transit likin would have gone away long ago.

But unfortunately, the reform was not carried effectively, and in many places, consolidated likin exists only in name. That explains why the transit likin is still in existence today. As stated above the first and third likin, though they are likin in name, are common in all other states. By abolition of likin, we mean only the transit likin and all other taxes which are in the nature of transit taxes as should be abolished. The Chinese delegates at the Special Tariff Conference, 1925, only agreed to the abolition of such transit likin.

Having a unified government, and having fulfilled our promise—that is the abolition of likin—having reached the promised date, the restoration of tariff autonomy to China should be the natural sequence. But we want to suggest to our government that after the restoration, China is naturally to derive more revenue from customs. As to the meeting of our obligations which we owe to foreign states, our government should appropriate a certain percentage out of the custom revenue to be used exclusively for meeting such obligations. This is necessary, in order to do what we had promised to do, and also to place China on sounder financial standing. It has been suggested that a joint commission consisting of Chinese and representatives of the foreign states concerned to take charge of this portion of revenue be established, but we believe there is no necessity for this, as China has now an unified government capable of taking responsibility on her shoulders.

Other Necessary Abolitions

Having tendered our humble suggestions as to the steps to be taken towards the restorations of tariff autonomy, we want further to suggest to our government some of the reforms which we have so long in mind. The first ones to be suggested will be some other necessary abolitions:

(1) Coast trade duty be abolished:

By coast trade duty, it is meant that when the native goods is shipped from one port to another within China paying the export duty (5%) must pay half of the export duty as the coast trade duty. When the native goods is shipped through foreign merchants, the same duty is to be collected, but when the same goods is again shipped to the third port, no further duty neither export nor the coast trade duty—would be levied.

To trade along the coast, properly speaking, is a right only to be enjoyed by the citizens of that state. States are too jealous to give such rights to foreign nationals! To tax merchants along the coastal lines is an internal sovereign right. The limitation of the rate is therefore considered by us as an encroachment of Chinese internal sovereignty. In suggesting its abolition, we are further supported by the following reasons:—

(a) As the coast trade duty is a tax levied on native goods going from one port to another, it is also a tax which is transit tax in nature. In our foregoing paragraphs, we already suggested any tax which is transit tax in character must be totally abolished.

(b) To tax goods from one coast to another is a right belonging to the internal sovereignty of one state. Treaty could provide only the import and export tariff rates but not the internal tax rate.

(c) When the foreign imported goods is shipped from one treaty port to another it is free to go by applying for transhipment and is free to enter another port by presenting such transhipment. But the Chinese native goods when they are shipped from one port to another must pay the coast trade duty. That is to say, the Chinese native goods has to pay 2½% more than the foreign imported goods when both of them are transfered from one port to another. As a matter of fact, it should be the policy of our government to encourage the free circulation of the native goods in order to facilitate the industrial development, but to prevent the free going of the foreign imported goods in China.

(2) Transit Duty be abolished:—

What is meant by transit duty is that in order to avoid all the internal taxes, the foreign imported goods just pay another half of the import duty to the port of arrival and such goods will be free to go to any interior part of China. When the Chinese native goods is shipped from interior to a treaty where it is to be exported through foreign merchants, such good will avoid all internal taxes by paying 2½% transit duty to the port where the goods is to be exported.

Such system is certainly too good to foreign merchants but is too harmful to Chinese. In suggesting its abolition, we are further supported by the following reasons:—

(a) Again, it is a question of sovereignty. Being a sovereignty state, she is free to levy any internal tax.

(b) When the foreign merchant pays 5% for the import duty and 2½% for the transit duty the goods are free to go to any interior part of China. When the native goods, mostly raw materials, are shipped from the interior to a treaty port through a foreign merchant they will be exempted from all the internal taxes by paying 7½% altogether at the port where the goods are to be exported. But when the Chinese merchants ship goods to interior or from interior to a treaty port they must pay all the internal taxes which may cause the price of goods to be a hundred times higher than before. How could the Chinese traders compete with the foreign traders!

(c) The present system tends to destroy the business morality of the Chinese merchants. As a means to avoid the taxation, it is frequently that some Chinese merchants fly foreign flags or enter the citizenship of other states.

(3) Native Customs be abolished:—

The tax collected by the native customs, being also a kind of transit tax in nature, is the same as Likin taxes. They are different from each other in three ways:— (1) Native customs have longer history being enforced from early times while the Likin tax came into existence only during the Taiping Rebellion (1856). (2) The native custom tax rate is more uniform, being 2½% throughout, while the rate of likin tax is irregular to extremity. (3) The revenue derived from native customs are usually sent to the central government while the likin revenue is considered only as provincial revenue. Be it better or worst, it is a transit tax in nature alone this reason justifies its abolition. But the following reasons are further added:

(a) Having such a tax, it prevents, as it is the case with Likin, the free circulation of the goods. Now, as likin is abolished, it should be abolished at the same time.

(b) According to treaty provision, the Inspector-General (foreigner) of customs should be permitted to appoint some of the custom staffs to be supervisors of the native customs, That is to say the internal sovereign right is further encroached by the foreign overhead control.

In suggesting some reforms, we need only to quote what has been suggested by the Chinese staffs of Shanghai customs, The second article of their proposal submitted to 5th plenary congress of Kuomintang says:—

"The organization of the branch customs be reorganized. After the restoration of the tariff autonomy, all the native customs be abolished. The tonnage dues levied on the native junks must be collected by the customs. All the customs along the sea coast which are now collecting the import and export duties must be changed into the branch customs. All the customs established on the border line with other state for the collection of the import and the export duties must be changed into the "land customs", all belonging to the control of the Customs Administration Bureau. To each of these customs there should be a head and vice head. Should the head be a foreigner, the vice head must be Chinese. Should the head be Chinese, the vice head might be a foreigner."

(4) Export tax on native goods from one port to another be abolished:—Lastly, we suggest that when the native goods are exported from one port to another, within China, no export duty should be collected. The Chinese delegate at the special Tariff Revision Conference 1925, declared,"—China is prepared to relinquish the right to levy the existing export duty on native goods not destined for exportation to foreign countries, and coast trade.....,' Mr. Liang Sao-yi, member of the committee, established by the Special Tariff Revision Conference, in submitting his ten proposals, says, "the following mentioned transit taxes, be it belonged to the central or provincial government, must be totally abolished: Likin, consolidated likin, native customs (both within and without 50 li radius of the maritime customs), all taxes which are transit tax in nature, transit duty, coast trade, export tax on Chinese goods within China." We want to reaffirm that these reforms must be all carried out.

Tariff Policy Suggested

Having suggested the other abolitions in addition to the abolition of Likin, we are presenting a drafted tariff policy to our government for consideration.

The question of custom tariff is purely a domestic question. The right to regulate the tariff is most important in order to guard the integrity of which no nation can be too jealous; not only because it constitutes a part of the power of taxation—that is, a part of the territorial right of a nation—but also because the tariff rate has the power to control the

direction of the economic development of a country, that is, from an agricutural to a commercial and industrial tendency.

It is always the policy of a state to encourage the export but to discourage the import. It is always the policy of a state to levy heavy duties on import and only low duties or no duties on export. It is always the policy of a state to levy heavy duties on imported luxuries while exempting all goods which are needed by the people of that country. In case the state is in need of further revenue, the first step to be taken is to increase he tariff rate.

But when we come to China, the reverse is true. 5%, *ad valorem*, the lowest tariff rate in the world for both import and export has been enforce for more than three quarters of a century, the longest conventional tariff in the tariff history of any nation in the world. When China is in need of more revenue, the usual practice is to levy more internal taxes. At present, there are many "special taxes" such as on wheat, flour, oil, coal, sugar, etc—all these are daily necessities of the Chinese people! We believe any small increase in the tariff rate will yield far greater revenue than levying ten cents per picul on flour! Further it is strange to relate that such "special taxes" are only applied on Chinese goods, not foreign imported goods. There is no special tax on foreign imported wine, or sugar, etc! Sometimes, the same tax is also levied on the foreign imported goods but the Chinese tax-collector could not collect a single cash if such goods is in the foreign concession or settlement. The stamp tax on cigarette could now only be enforced on Chinese manufactured cigarettes, not the foreign manufactured or imported cigarettes. That explains why the Chinese cigarette manufacturers or dealers complain that the price of Chinese manufactured cigarettes is higher than foreign timported cigarettes.

It has been the present tendency that inasmuch as the Chinese government is not free to deal with foreign imported goods, the Government begins to treat the Chinese goods on the equal footing with the foreign goods. For example, the Chinese manufactured cigarettes are taxed at the same rate as the imported cigarettes or cigarettes manufactured in China by foreigners. As a matter of "ought", it is always the policy of a state, in case of this kind, to tax heavily on the imported Cigarettes while slightly on the native manufactured cigarettes, giving the native products some weapon to combat with the foreign imported goods. In view of the present circumstances, China is specially justified to treat the national goods and foreign imported goods or goods manufactured in China by foreign merchants "discriminately". We are reminded that the present tariff system in China works only for the benefit of the foreign merchants and foreign trade in China to the loss and detriment of the Chinese. Let us stand firm that such system be done away with forever!

I—Import

According to the Chinese national tariff law, there are two tariff rates—the national tariff rate—that is, the tariff rate provided in the national tariff law, and the conventional tariff rate—that is, the tariff rate to be agreed upon by mutual consent between China and some powers. By conventional tariff it is meant the reciprocal tariff. It is necessary for a state to enforce his own tariff rate. The following may be said are the reasons :— (1) As a retaliatory measures :— Should the goods of one state when imported to the other is not fairly treated, the former state may take some retaliatory measures by raising the tariff rate on the goods imported by that state. (2) As preventive measures :— To some goods, which are really not welcomed by one state, a high rate is usually set up in order to prevent its importation. (3) As combatant measures :— In case there is a competition between the native goods and foreign imported goods, and the latter has further advantages over the other, a high tariff rate is always set up in order to give the native goods a weapon to fight. Lacking of all these powers explains why the Chinese native producers have no match with foreign traders in China.

As to import tariff rate, the national tariff commission is now just at work to revise the tariff schedule, we leave such work to them. But it is our opinion that a few years following 1929, the nationalist government should enforce "provisional tariff rate." During these few years, the tariff rate for import should be more "moderate," the reason being that should the tariff rate at once be raised too high, it would undoubtedly effect the foreign trade too much. To some countries, like Japan, which depends on their trade with China, the sudden increase of the high tariff rate has the effect to close up all factories in Japan in a couple of months. Therefore, the import tariff rate should be increased gradually.

However, in deciding the import tariff rate it is well to keep in mind how much China will lose when China abolishes all other transit taxes. The following table will show the losses :—

Likin	$39,152,000.
Other taxes included in Likin	9,889,000.
Native Customs (within 50 Li)	6,081,000.
Native Customs (without „ „)	7,541,000.
Coast trade duty	3,771,000.
Transit duty	4,411,000.
Export duty on native goods within China.	14,836,000.
Total losses	$85,681,000.

Having this table in mind, it is easy for us to ascertain what should be our general import tariff rate. It is our belief that the mere enforcement of 12½% on ordinary imported goods which will yield only $27,09 ,285 without considerable increase in rate on luxuries which we suggest should be 100%—55% for the first class luxuries for the first few years, it is not possible even to make up the losses. Such rate is nothing "too harsh." On tobacco, Japan levies a duty of 335%, and Italy 300%, while England levies a duty of 465% on tobacco and leaves 500% on prepared tobacco. In regard to brandy, Britain levies a duty of 800%. We may further declare that it is our policy to keep our doors open for foreign trade. We have not the slightest intention to set up a high tariff wall after January 1st. What we do want is to give a fair chance to foreign trade in China but, at the same time, we want to help and to protect the Chinese infant industries.

In addition, we shall put some of general principles for a reciprocal conventional tariff for public consideration :—

(1) The number of nations with which China shall make a reciprocally conventional tariff should be small and their colonies shall be excluded.

(2) Kinds of commodities on the basis of a reciprocally conventional tariff should be few.

(3) The classification of commodities should be minutes.

(4) The kinds of commodities used for making a reciprocally conventional tariff should be well chosen.

(5) The purpose of making a reciprocally conventional tariff should be to help domestic industries as well as foreign trade.

(6) The loss of revenue from reduction from duties to one contracting party should be equal to that of the other contracting party.

(7) The "most favored nation clause" should not be used for making a reciprocally conventional tariff.

(8) The duration of a commercial treaty for making a reciprocally conventional tariff should not be too long.

II—Export

Generally speaking, it is the policy of states to levy no export duty on goods exported to foreign ports. The modern tendency is to encourage export but to disencourage the import. States deem the trade as "unfavorable" when import is greater than export! But under some circumstances, states may levy tax duties. (1) It is because of the financial reasons, that is, states being anxious to derive further revenue, may levy export duties. (2) Sometimes, by levying the export duty on some goods, states aim at the protection of the home industries. That is, should the raw material be permitted to be exported without any tax, it means to give the foreign producers cheap material. (3) To some goods which could only be produced in one state and that state may levy the export duty on such goods. (4) To some goods which are considered as necessities of the people of a state, that state may levy heavy export duty, or even prohibit its exportation.

Coming to China whether we should levy any duty on export has been much discussed. But in deciding the question, the following principles are well to be kept in mind:

(a) The native goods when exported from one port to another within China should be entriely free.

(b) All the Chinese goods when exported to foreign countries, receive competitions, should be entirely free.

(c) As to some goods when exported receive no competition may be slightly taxed.

(d) As to the raw materials which are needed by the Chinese home industries, when exported should be highly taxed.

(e) To some Chinese goods which could only be found in China, when exported, may be heavily taxed.

The writer of this article had interviews with several members of the National Tariff Commission, but he was told that in formulating the tariff policy, the government would not neglect the "revenue aspect" of the problem. Under present bad financial condition, our Government is justified to levy the export duties, but the above principles ought to be the guidance.

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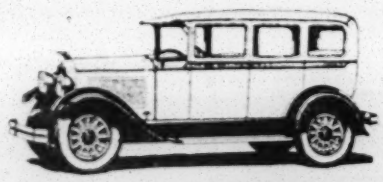

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III—Excise Tax

Properly speaking, no state in the world is willing to let foreign merchants open any factory on its own soil and further supply them with various advantages. China is the only exception to this general rule. By the treaty of 1895, Japanese were permitted to open factories in China, and such goods need only pay an ordinary five per cent import duty. This is immediately followed by other states. To be sure, there are many advantages accused to them! As to capital, technical skill, governmental support, they already have advantages over the Chinese. Further, Chinese supply them with cheap labor and abundant supply of raw material. The treaty ports are all located in convenient centers of communication and it gives them every ease in transportation. The large territory and dense population of this country furnish them a good market of their products. Finally, the present out-of-date treaties give them many other advantages. Under such conditions, the economic pressure of foreign business in China has very harmful effects on the healthy industrial development of this country.

Then, as a matter of remedy, the treaty of 1902 with Britain, provided that excise tax of 10% should be levied on goods manufactured in China. This was followed by Japan and America in their subsequent treaties with China. But when it is reminded that the excise tax of 10% is levied not only on foreign factory goods but also Chinese factory goods, the remedy proves not a remedy.

Under the present circumstances when we still can not find a factory in China owned by Chinese which employs more than 10,000 laborers, nationalists should encourage the establishment of factories owned by Chinese only. The excise tax should be levied on all goods manufactured in China by foreign merchants, but not on goods manufactured by Chinese owned factories. The rate of excise tax on goods manufactured in China by foreign owned factories should be to such a degree as to make the price of such goods equal to the price of the same goods to be imported into China. Should Nationalists desire to levy the excise tax on Chinese owned factories, on grounds that the revenue aspect of the problem is not to be neglected, we suggest that the rate must be much lower than that on foreign owned factory goods.

The Customs Administration*

Let us now conclude this paper by discussing briefly the custom administration. At present, we have three organizations which all have powers over or connection with the custom administration. The first one is the "superintendent yamen," second is the "Custom Administration Bureau" in Nanking, and third is the "Inland Tax Bureau." To each custom house, there is always a superintendent yamen, the original purpose was to "supervise" the administration of customs, though such function had long been lost. The Custom Administration Bureau is a newly established one. It has three divisions; 1st, to revise tariff schedule, known as national tariff commission: 2nd, to Consolidate the domestic and foreign debts and to abolish likin: 3rd, to take charge of the customs administration. As to the Inland tax Bureau, it is really only a Surtax Revenue Office, as at present it only collects 2½% surtax, though according to the Chinese terminology, it is an Inland tax Bureau.

As to the first one, as we have already suggested in our previous article, it should be abolished at once. As to the third, we suggest that it is more wise to impose on the Bureau the collection of such taxes, like production tax, consumption tax, etc. exonerating it from anything to do with the customs. As to the second one, as its name indicates, should take charge of the customs. Our suggestion is further supported by the suggestion of the Chinese staffs of the Shanghai customs who in their first article of their proposal submitted to the 5th plenary congress of Koumintang say:

"The general office of the customs be reorganized. The scope of the present Custom Administration Bureau be extended, and its powers be enlarged. The post of inspector general be abolished. All the business which was conducted by the inspector general should be handled by the customs administration bureau. The Customs Administration bureau will have one head and one vice head. The head should be an official and should come and go with politics. He must be a Chinese. But the vice head should not be an official but should be an employee of the customs. The foreign staff who has served in the customs for a considerable length of time, and has shown his merits, might be appointed as the vice head. But Mr. Edwardes, being an enemy of the Nationalist Government, should never be employed, so that the restoration of the tariff autonomy would not be muddled by him."

We agree with them in all but we propose that the foreign overhead control be done away with. The suggestion that should the head be Chinese, the Vice-head may be a foreigner, or vice versa, is a good compromise, but it is not consistent with our securing back our sovereign rights. All the foreign staffs should be entirely eliminated, and only those who have done great merits to Chinese or whose technical service is absolutely needed would remain. We are reminded that these foreign staffs are not helping the Chinese, but are actually controlling the customs. We believe the foreign overhead control of pure Chinese governmental organs should not be permitted under the nationalist regime.

Lastly, as to the custodianship of the custom revenue, we strongly maintained that it should be deposited in the Chinese bank, not in any of the foreign banks.

Shanghai Sept. 6, 1928.

*Readers are requested to refer to an article—"Nationalist and Custom Administration"—written by the same writer for detail arguments. That article appears in Mar. 3rd. 1928 issue of the China Weekly Review.

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Vested Rights in China

BY CHEN KWAN-SOON

WHEN the International Commission on Extraterritoriality in China, in pursuance of its mission ordained by the Washington Conference, started in 1926 to "inquire into the present practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China and the judicial system and the judicial methods of judicial administration of China" a point of dispute arose between the Chinese commissioner Dr. Wang Chung-wei, and the foreign delegates of the Commission. The latter, either to take advantage of, or perhaps under the same general misconception that extraterritoriality to consular jurisdiction in China is what six is to half a dozen, intended to narrow their scope of investigation to jurisdiction alone. But Dr. Wang submitted in reference thereto a memorandum, the gist of which is that the extraterritorial jurisdiction in China does not signify the consular jurisdiction alone, but it ought to include, besides that, all those jurisdictional exercises, which by principles of international law belong to Chinese sovereignty, but have since slipped away therefrom.

Dr. Wang's opinion is right. For consular jurisdiction, though having many forms, does not comprehend such extraterritorial legal rights as the foreigners enjoy in the leased areas, in the Legation Quarter, and in the specified regions around foreign-controlled railways.

The question of extraterrioriality in China is no doubt very stale and not calculated to arouse any fresh interest. Yet the foregoing case shows how hackneyed topics may deserve further discussion. Enough must everyone have heard or have talked about the unequal treaties, the special privileges, and such like; but what are they? what is their effect in total? It is now time, for us, we think, to get a bird's-eye view of them, and, so to speak, to take stock of them. The following lines are tentatively written with this aim in view.

Significance of Vested Rights

All the exotic, unprecedented systems and practices which have reduced China to the status of a sub-colony we may denominate as "Vested Rights" or "Vested Interests." These vested rights spring in part from precedents established by unwarranted encroachments, but mostly from the forced unequal treaties with their stipulations of extraterritoriality and the unilateral most-favored nation treatment which is abused politically as well as commercially. To some of these the nation at large has been so accustomed that it even does not recognize them, or regards them as matters of course. Yet, we grieve to say some by-standers look clearer into the state of losses. About two years ago, Prof. Charles Hodges of the New York University published an article enumerating in full the aliens' vested rights in China, attached with a list classifying them all. This list, excluding the ordinary international privileges aliens enjoy in any modern country, is probably fairly complete, and, with some supplements and modifications, as follows:—

VESTED RIGHTS IN CHINA

1 Territorial Rights
- A Territories Ceded ... ... (1 wholly ceded; 2 leased lands)
- B Territorial Rights Ceded ... (1 spheres of influence; 2 jurisdiction in railway areas; 3 municipal controlled Concessions; 4 the Legation Quarter)

2 Foreign Controlled Means of Communication ... ... (1 railways; 2 post offices; 3 telegraph companies & wireless stations; 4 navigation)

3 Administrative Rights
- A Consular Jurisdiction
- B Alien Gov't Employees in ... (1 the Maritimes Customs; 2 the Postal Service; 3 the Salt Gabelle; 4 railways; 5 engineers in water conservancy boards)
- C Foreign advisers to ... (1 the Chief Executive; 2 the ministries; 3 the tuchuns)

4 Trading & Financial Rights
- A Special Trading Privileges ... (1 private enterprises; 2 public enterprises)
- B Loans ... ... (1 political (or indemnity) loans; 2 industrial loans; 3 administrative loans)
- C Banking Privileges ... (1 administration; 2 deposit of China's gov't revenues; 3 note issue)

5 Rights of National Defence ... ... (1 strategic bases; 2 means of communication; 3 foreign troops; 4 wanton expeditions; 5 cruising by warships; 6 military protocols)

Of these five categories of vested rights which all infringe the sovereignty and stunt the development of China, if we are to decide their relative effect, the last two relating to business and national defence, are more fatal. Now let us try to discuss them one by one.

I. Territorial Rights

Towards the end of the last century the Powers began to play in concert, besides others, the note of "respecting and supporting China's territorial integrity." The air over Cathay became thenceforward more and more swollen with the cadences of these concords. But, despite this, despite Lord Salisbury's sonorous declarations which were parroted by other 'diplomats that "the Powers' interest in China is commercial," their very harmony, being necessitated by their conflicts, served to expose their universal eagerness for future territorial aggrandizement. Still less did it efface their past blemishes.

Territories Ceded

(1) The first assault on China's territorial integrity was England's annexation of Hongkong in 1842. What advantages England has derived from this island as a key to the Far Eastern trade and as the door to the Chinese seas is known to everyone. (2) Next, in 1858 and 1860, the smart diplomacy of Putatin and Ignatif snatched for Russia from the degenerated Manchus 400,000 square miles of lands on the east of the Usuri and the north of the Amur. In 1863 she again succeeded, by hook or by crook, in absorbing vast lands then forming the north-western frontiers of Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia. About twenty years after this, dawned the era of China's loss of dependencies. (3) In 1879, Japan then a paltry state, by a sheer maneuver of diplomacy established her dominion over the Liuchieu Islands, which had been under the joint suzerainty of her and China. The eyes of the European states became hot, and as they had been carrying on empire-building work along the borders of China, they now began to put the final touches. Between the years 1881 and 1895, there vanished from the map of China the western parts of Ili, Annam, Northern Burma, Sikkim, Formosa, the Pascadores, and Korea. Meanwhile, England had obtained the cession of Kowloon (1860), and Portugal the permanent lease of Macao (1877). This stripping of the cordon of surrounding dependencies exposed China Proper to the onslaught of dashing jingoism. (4) The whole world became convinced that China was following in the wake of Africa, and that they should lose no opportunity in taking whatever they could. A sensational scramble for leases and concessions arose in the three years between 1897 and 1899. In 1897 Germany seized Kiaochowwan and extorted a 99 years' lease of it. To "maintain the balance of power" and make good for the damages each suffered from the grafts of the others Russia and England and France immediately followed suit, having each profited from previous demarcations. Japan proved herself equal to the occasion, for in 1905, by her victory over Russia, the Mikado inherited all the Czar's prerogatives in South Manchuria, including the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen.

How much regard was paid for the "face" of China! For these socalled leases are for all practical purposes, except the limitation of term, but alienations in disguise. They involve the complete transfer of jurisdiction, and resemble cessions in usufruct, as the tenor of official interpretations indicates.

Territorial Rights Ceded

(1) In the heat of their contest, the Powers began to earmark for themselves special regions, within which they each exacted privileges of priority and assurances of non-alienation of any land by China.

Thus was ushered in the policy of "the spheres of influence." To gorge up their respective spheres, the Powers took to the digestion of "conquest by railway and bank" and to nip the budding conflicts, they agreed, with or without China's consent, to respect each other's forbidden fruit. The importance of this form of encroachment, though much antiquated, has influenced, and still influences, the shaping of international policy towards Manchuria, the interested sphere of the Japanese Empire.

(2) That within one independent sovereign state there should be some railway owned by another, is certainly a strange phenomenon. But that such a railway together with its adjacent areas should be wholly controlled by another as an enclave, is a phenomenon stranger still. Yet in China, both are common enough. In the North, Japan, with her own soldiery, and police is the sole master of the South Manchuria Railway and its branches; Russia controls in part the Chinese Eastern Railway. In the South, the French possess and manage the Yunnan-Annam Railway. The areas around these railways are often under the jurisdiction of the intruders, only varying in degree, and consummated of course

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in the case of the S. M. Railway—illustrating the meaning of an *imperium in imperio*.

Settlements and Concessions

(3) The third kind of ceded territorial rights is found in the assignment of settlements and concessions, between which there was originally some distinction. Before 1896, there were in the treaty ports only *settlements* for foreign residence, but never such *concessions* as are now understood. In none of the thirty or so treaties made between 1842 and 1895 did China, in trying to facilitate trade, invest the foreigners with any semblance of control of the settlements; there the Chinese Authority had always remained supreme. True it is that the Yangking Creek Land Regulations of 1845 and 1856, by empowering the consuls to control the Municipal Council composed of the representative foreign residents incorporated under the same regulations, converted them into the rulers of the so-called International Settlement of Shanghai. But these regulations, being approved on the Chinese side by a mere local official (the Taotai) and therefore invalid, the municipal government in that port might be considered as an aberration. But in 1896, Japan as a result of the Sino-Japanese War of the previous year made a protocol with China, pressing the latter to provide for Japanese residence special "concessions" within which the Japanese consuls were to reign supreme. This unparalleled status the consuls of the other nations soon assumed by virtue of the most-favored nation clause. Thus the Chinese-controlled settlements became concessions, governed, under the supreme control of the consuls, by the foreign municipal councils, whose diehard members in their racial pride, had until quite recently never dreamed of as entitled to Chinese representation. The following list is compiled by a New York commission on foreign relations.

Ports Having Concessions	Gt. Britain	before 1927	Japan	France	Italy	U.S.A.
	Amoy		"			
	Canton			"		
	Hankow		"	"		
	Kiukiang					
	Tientsin					
	Chinkiang		"	"	"	
	Newchwang					
	Shanghai		"	"		"
			Soochow			
			Hangchow			
Leases	1 Weihaiwei		Kwantung District (area 1300 sq. m.)	Kwan-chowwan (area 200 sq. m.)		
	2 Extended Kowloon					

(4) The Legation Quarter in Peiping forms a unique kind. It is neither a settlement nor a concession; but it has been controlled by the Diplomatic Corps since the Boxer Uprising of 1901.

II.—Foreign-controlled Means of Communication

Railways

The first Power to use the railway as a weapon in exploiting her "sphere" was Russia. (1) In 1896, by way of charging for her service in the tripartite Liaotung intervention secured the right to extend the Trans-Siberian Railway right through North Manchuria to Vladivostok, thus obviating the circuitous route along the Amur. In the following year she was allowed further to extend it from Harbin down to Port Arthur. These weapons have failed of their original object; and (3) the section between Changchun and Port Arthur has as a result of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), passed, to Japan, who, has, to do her justice, wielded it with world-famed formidable deftness. (3) Germany obtained in 1897 the right to build the present Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway. Thereafter the other Powers, the United States being always excepted, exacted similar building privileges, most of which however have been virtually invalidated by the vicissitudes of Chinese politics.

To sum up, there are at present 2,300 miles of foreign-controlled railways in China, with suspended building privileges of 30,000 miles more.

Foreign-controlled Railways in China

Complete Control	South Manchuria Railway	435	miles
	S. M. Branch	84.8	
	Kirin–Changchun	79	
	Shihpinchia-Chenchiatun	50	
	Antung–Mukden	170	
Partial Control	Chinese Eastern Railway	1067	miles
	Canton-Kowloon	110	
	Yunnan-Annam	315	
		2310	

Post Offices

Before the War, the foreign post offices in China numbered over 100, of which Germany owned 17, Russia 28, England 16, France 18 and Japan 28, excluding those in Manchuria. The German and Russian ones were closed during the war; the rest after the Washington Conference (1921—2). But Japan still runs her own postal service in Manchuria.

Wireless Stations etc.

As to the wireless stations in China, the Washington Conference also made some provisions, generally limiting the use of those established under treaties, leaving the rest purchasable by the Chinese Government. But it is not so much the telegraph companies and Legation wireless stations as the foreign news agencies that often broadcast convenient misinformation about China. It may also be noted that the erection of wireless stations sometimes involves China in international conflicts.

Navigation of Inland Waters

Since the opening of the five ports in 1842, foreign vessels have been allowed to ply between them, all situated on the coast. But in 1860, they acquired the further right to trade on the Yangtze, and in 1898 in China's inland waters. To these navigation rights the Chinese have always been opposed, and reasonably, though there are some persons who consider the objection ill founded. It is quite common, for the vessels of one nation to touch the seaports of another, but cabotage by them is permitted only in a very few countries, and with restrictions, *not the navigation of the foreign country's inland waters. In, fact, the navigation of a country's inland waters by foreign vessels, unless these waters form parts of international highways, is a thing found only in China. Note the effect these privileges have had on Chinese shipping: Of the 3,000 steamers and 300,000 tonnage of annual shipping, running coastwise and inland, over half belong to foreign interests. We need not wonder much at this for, while foreign efficiency undoubtedly contributes much to the bui ding up of this business, its success is largely to be attributed to the advantageous position of the foreigners.

III.—Administrative Rights

Consular Jurisdiction

Consular jurisdiction is a very important item of the vested rights. It has therefore received the greatest attention from the public. (1) That it removes foreigners in purely foreign cases from Chinese authority, that it enables foreign consuls not only (2) to exercise much control in Sino-foreign mixed cases by sending assessors, but also (3) to supervise the trial of cases purely Chinese (4) that they exercise these powers not only in the treaty ports, but in some cases also in the interior, (5) that it endows a sort of moving extraterritoriality (as Mr. Wang Ching-wei terms it) to foreigners travelling in the interior, (6) that it disables the Chinese authorities from directly touching any Chinese culprit in any foreign house or on any foreign vessel, (7) that it incapaciates even the semi-internationalized Maritime Customs from directly fining foreign offenders—are facts too well known to need reviewing. What we want to point out here is simply this:

The judicial administration of China of today is not the same as it was fifteen or twenty years ago, still less seventy or eighty years ago. To every candid mind it is clear that during the republican epoch, she has on the whole treated the aliens in the best way possible. This is no cant. The treatment of the Germans and the Russians after their loss of privileged status, and that of the Belgians after the tearing up of the antiquated Sino-Belgium Treaty bear proof to this. The causes of dissatisfaction evinced by the above-mentioned International Commission would in no way be sure to affect the aliens, though they are bound to receive the same treatment as the Chinese citizens and undergo some inconveniences, as they would in any other foreign country. Hence, the Powers, unless they can show that Chinese jurisdiction can work positive detriment to their nationals, have no justifiable ground to continue festering China by clinging to an antiquated system.

Alien Government Employees

In designating the employment of foreigners as a class of vested rights, we do not mean to reflect on the principle itself. No, not at all! We list it only to display the necessity of applying it with discretion. (1) In this class of vested rights, the most weighty is evidently the foreign control of the Maritime Customs. We will touch upon the question on two points. The first point is as Dr. Wellington Koo complained in the Washington Conference the lack of Chinese administration in the Service. The high officers in the Service, from the Inspectors General to the commissioners and the deputy commissioners have been all aliens. It is only a few days ago, at the end of April 1928 seventy-four years after

*In Japan, foreign vessels may trade between Yokohama and Nagasaki, but cannot carry Japanese passengers on board.

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the formation of the Maritime Customs that three Chinese have been appointed deputy commissioners, and one acting deputy commissioner. In addition to these is a handful of assistants, the rest of the Chinese indoor staff being mere clerks. The second point is the question of the deposit of the Customs revenues. These, before 1912, were placed in the Governmental native banks. But during the turmoils of that year, on the request of the Diplomatic Corps, the Manchu Government allowed them to be deposited in three foreign banks as a temporary measure, not expecting that the system would be perpetuated. The closure of the German-Chinese Bank (1917) and the Russo-Asiatic Bank (1926) transferred their deposit rights to the last of the trio, the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, thus making it the king of the banks in China. But the effect is more than this. These Customs revenues, together with the other kinds of governmental revenues deposited in the foreign banks not only strengthen their own position, but, by rendering cheap money disposable to the foreign entrepreneurs, enable the latter to compete advantageously with the Chinese, the owners of the capital. A further point kindred to the foregoing deserves mentioning, and that is the loss of tariff autonomy. It is no sentimental exaggeration to say that China's conventional tariff is virtually a weapon for protecting foreign industry against her own. It is the chief cause of all her distress, her economic paralization and political turbulence. The longer this bondage remains, the direr will be her distress, and the slower will be the development of her foreign trade.

(2) A few remarks will suffice for the remaining kinds of foreign control. The exotic control in the Postal Service, the Salt Gabelle, and the foreign-invested railways is in a much slighter degree. The introduction of foreign engineers into the four river conservancy boards (at Tientsin Newchang, Chefoo, and Shanghai) is sometimes a matter of international contest.

Foreign Advisers

This is altogether not a privilege, special or important, though some military advisers have played important parts in China's civil strife. We may dismiss the topic by further remarking that the example of such military advisers as General Sutton (military adviser to a former Mukden warlord) who came here with no evident heavy purse, but has returned a miniature nabob and is now astonishing the Seattle folks with his seemingly endless realty purchases, throws much light on China's financial situation, showing how something might be milked even from a ram!

IV.—Trade and Financial Rights

Trading Privileges

According to an estimate in 1926, the total amount of foreign investments in China (Hongkong excluded) is between $4,000,000,000 and $5,000,000,000, of which the Japanese have the largest quota, the British come second and the Americans third owning about $300,000,000 (over half of the latter sum $160,000,000, is spent on missionary, medical, and educational work.) Most of the foreign investments are made in real estates, shipping, telephone and telegraph business, loans, and factories. The number of the business establishments in the 1924 Customs census is divided as follows:—

The	Japanese ones	4278	
„	Russian „	934	
„	British „	726	
„	American „	600	(U.S. State Department investigation)

Of course, the mere right to trade smacks nothing of special privileges, for, on the contrary, every country welcomes foreign capital as conducive to its economic development. But foreign enterprise in this country carries with it a set of prerogatives which cripples native competition.

(a) First of all, through the influence of consular jurisdiction, (1) Chinese capital has been inevitably attracted to the Concessions, (2) private foreign enterprises may cause diplomatic implications, and (3), since they are backed up by their governments, the foreigners, if dealing with the Chinese Government, can impose on it heavy terms, like the requisition of security and priority privileges in some monopolized regions. (4) This form of monopoly may be sold to other foreigners and form a source of international troubles. Moreover, in the case of railways, the native building materials, however serviceable and cheap they might be, are sure to be displaced by foreign ones, and to fall into desuetude.

(b) Secondly, China's disability to regulate foreign enterprise with her native industry "proscribes" the latter and ensures the success of the former.

(c) Then lastly, the abuse of the most-favored nation clause almost prevents the Chinese Government from encouraging her home industry by duty reduction or bonus granting, because the Powers can suppress them by counter-demanding or protest against them for their nationals. The reader will perhaps recollect of many such cases.

Foreign Loans

The question under this item is one of great importance, for it is this ultimate object of economic exploitation which has led to the perpetration of political and territorial aggressions. China's foreign loans, according to their nature can be divided into political loans (for the payment of indemnities), industrial loans, and administrative loans. Loans of the first kind were rampant between 1894 and 1898, those of the second chiefly between 1898 and 1918, and those of the third between 1913 and 1918.

The mere contracting of foreign loans, as the foreigners right to trade, again implies nothing unfair in itself; on the contrary, they are also necessary for the adjustment and development of an impoverished China. Why we also consider it a kind of vested rights is simply because of its odious features. In the advancing of loans between 1895 and 1912, the Powers witnessed cut-throat competitions. To avoid them, they resorted to pooling through international combination and cooperation, and secured the monopoly in the advancing of loans to China. The first combinition thus formed was the Old Consortium, which comprised bankers of England, France, the United States, and Germany, and (entering later) of Russia and Japan; this monopoly some British and Belgium banks outside the coterie opposed, but in vain. This is the first feature. Then from the negotiation of the first loan, the Powers, after the withdrawal of the American bankers evinced and, actually realized, the desire to supervise in part China's finance. This is the second feature. The third feature is the demanding of conditional concessions. The early withdrawal of the American bankers on presidential order left the remaining Powers without a moral leader, who championed for equal opportunity, and they could not but fall at once to a new struggle for special concessions and privileges, in railway building, in mining and even in delimitations.

From 1914 onward, with the Powers gone to the West, and completely grappled up in the death struggle, the Chinese Government, then in hopeless poverty, had to resort for its subsistence to the Japanese, who availed themselves of the occasion with credit, to wit, they wrested whatever they could. Then were made on usurious terms a series of administrative loans, highly inflated, many of which meant little more than some exchange of notes, to swell some private pocket, and to prolong civil dissensions. The cessation of the War, however, soon held this bullying in check. The New Consortium was formed. In 1920, the ministers of Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan, in a joint note informed the Chinese Government of their willingness to renew their financial service, but the chaos of all these years have rendered the Consortium practically defunct. The present nominal sum of China's foreign loans, with or without security, is about $1,400,000,000.

Banking Privileges

The privileges foreign banks enjoy in China are not enjoyed elsewhere. (1) First, the Chinese Government cannot exercise regulation over the foreign banks. So disaster may befall her unexpectedly. For example, the failures of the French-Chinese Bank of Industry and the Russo-Asiatic Bank (or the Russo-Chinese Bank before 1912) caused tremendous losses to both the Government and the people, who were either the shareholders or the creditors of these banks. What is still worse is that the losses ensue not only directly from the insolvent banks, but also indirectly from the surreptitiousness with which they transferred their assets in the East to gratify their creditors in the West.

(2) Apart from this immunity from Chinese control, some foreign banks enjoy another privilege in the deposit of China's government revenues. We have seen how three foreign banks during the Revolution acquired the deposit right of the Customs revenues. In 1913, these three, together with a Japanese bank and a French bank, obtained another right in the deposit of the Salt revenues as the security for the Reorganization Loan. We have shown how such a deposit system has stunted the competitive Chinese industry. We must further notice, as Dr. Ma Yeng-tso has revealed, that the prosperity of these banks is achieved largely through their extraterritorial position, which attract from tuchuns and mandarins vast deposits and which sometimes enable them, silently or unconsciously, to swallow them up. This, however, only the insiders know with exactness.

(3) Running parallel with this right of deposit is that of note issue. The foreign bank-notes issued in China at present amount to $100,000,000. Many of these banks issue no notes at home.

V.—National Defence

Kinds of Foreign Troops

Foreign troops in China, according to the difference in their command, may be divided into three categories:—

(1) The first category includes the first Legation guard in Peiping, numbering over 1,000, and the ministerial-controlled navy soldiers scattered among the treaty ports, numbering about 4,000.

(2) The second category is the Powers standing army in China. Japan, by the Portsmouth Treaty, accordingly has stationed the greatest number of troops in Manchuria. Her troops along the S. M. Railway constitute one division and one brigade, but may be increased to five or six times that number.

(3) Akin to the foreign troops are the Hindoo and Annamite policemen, and the foreign volunteer corps, of which that of Shanghai (1,000) is the most prominent.

The right to station troops is based either on:

(1) treaties, as in the case of Legation guards and troops in Tientsin, by the International Protocol of 1901, or on

(2) precedents, as in the case of the cruising of the Yangtze by the foreign warships.

Stationing & Expeditions Necessary?

But such a practice, even though plausibly authorized is insulting to China, and wasteful to the Powers. Yet, as if this were not enough, foreign troops are now and then sent to China's hinterlands, warranted by neither unequal treaties nor ominous precedents. In May 1927, their number reached 36,000, of which 26,000 centered around the single city of Shanghai. The Powers, in sending such wanton expeditions, never fail to make a point of the asperities of a civil war. Certainly, any revolution like the settling down of troubled waters must needs engender sprinklings and froth and dregs; but whether China's present warfare will endanger the foreigners' lives and properties at all, or whether the *responsible Governments* cannot ensure their safety if so endangered, is highly open to question. As a matter of fact, such expeditions, sent as they are on vague suppositions, are invidious, the more so, because some of them have evidently interfered with the civil struggle. We may safely say that they are beneficial to no party and injurious to all.

To say that the Northern and Southern Government both desiring to gain the respect and the favor of the Powers, have not done their best in protecting the latter's peaceful nationals would undoubtedly be peevish, and yet the Tanaka Government seems never satisfied, but darts at every opportunity to send her bellicose fighters to Shantung or elsewhere, drivelling the same catchword about lives and properties and vested interests. Why, to this Cabinet every Chinese bubble looms like a storm? How can we attribute its motives to any other thing than its ebullition of military spirit, its contempt of China, and its secret desire to maintain some tottering puppet? Let her vent her insolent pride on the present China to the fullest extent, for the future China will get everything even with her! Moreover, while it is an infallible law that to every action there will be a proportional reaction, in matters of sentiment and feeling in love and hatred, the response is always stronger than the calling.

Military Intervention

In recent years, some diehard newspapers and "old China hands" have gone a step further. They have carried on a campaign for the international military intervention of China. In fact, to them intervention seems the only remedy for the struggling China. Never does some accident arise but they fall at once to their favourite note in concert. It is even rumored that after the Nanking incident, an international campaign was formented and that only President Coolidge's for-sighted declaration frustrated it.

Cruising, etc

Equally invidious is the using of the leased territories as strategic bases, and the demonstrative cruising of China's inland waters by foreign fleets. The control of China's means of communication and the shackles of forced military agreements again mangles the national defence of China.

The above is a rough sketch of vested foreign rights in China. It is chiefly these rights which have throttled the general development. Therefore let them always be borne in mind by Young China!

Peiping, August 30, 1928.

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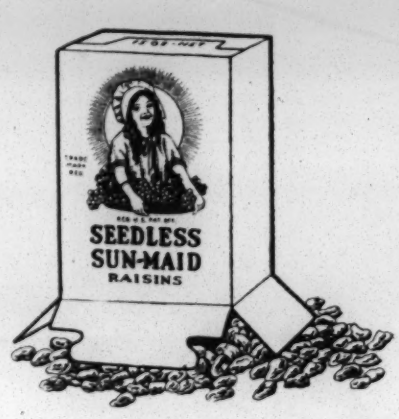

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SOME VIEWS OF BEAUTIFUL TSINGTAO

The picture at the Left Shows the Tsingtao Harbor and Wharf Administration Office. In the Centre the Tsingtao Custom House is Shown. The Tsingtao No. 2 Wharf is Shown in the Picture to the Right.

The Commercial Port of Tsingtao.

A commercial port of ranking importance in North China. Tsingtao is situated at the mouth of Kiaochao Bay, in the Province of Shantung. The historic association of its political changes, during the past quarter of a century has drawn the eyes of the world toward the spot to watch and note with comparative interest, the development of the place under the Germans who in 1898, as a retaliation for German missionaries who were murdered, captured the port and declared sovereignty over it; the Japanese who, in 1914, in the world war captured the place from the Germans, and, the final reversion to the Chinese, on December 10th, 1922, who as a result of the Washington Conference, were able to convince the powers of their just rights to the place. The historic events have in no small way led to many discovering the wonderful commercial possibilities of the port, and the interested visitors have learned of the delightful, healthful and invigorating climate, the beauty of the hills and surrounding country.

First, the efforts of the Germans who, in the small scope of 15 years, built from a small fishing village the nucleus of a beautiful city; the Japanese who, not to be outdone continued with intense and never-ceasing energy to improve and expand; and now the Chinese, who are making very earnest efforts, though greatly handicapped, for want of funds, to continue to maintain Tsingtao as it should be done for her destiny as the second greatest port in China.

Commercial development as shown by the Customs returns of the Chinese Maritime Customs has been always upward.

Improved Wharf Facilities

A 30-ton floating crane has recently been constructed in the workshops of the Tsingtao Wharf Department. The crane is 65 feet long and weighs 55 tons, and the holding pole is 70 feet high. It has a hoisting capacity of 50 tons.

Tsingtao is well served by various steamship lines which connect the port with other Oriental ports where transhipment is effected to all parts of the world. Shanghai, 335 miles distant can be reached in 27 hours; Hong Kong, 1,165 miles distant, in 90 hours; Kobe, 790 miles distant, in 90 hours; Dairen, 256 miles, in 20 hours. Through the Shantung Railway, there is direct communication with Tsinan, capital of the province of Shantung, the railroad line extending 256 miles. The Tientsin-Pukow Railway connects here, over which Tientsin, 476 miles distant and Nanking (Pukow), 667 miles distant, can be reached. By connection with the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, Shanghai, a distance of 860 miles, is in rail communication with Tsingtao. Kiaochao, 50 miles distant, is also connected with the port by rail. The roads in the vicinity for the most part are macadamized and those in Tsingtao have an asphalt surface.

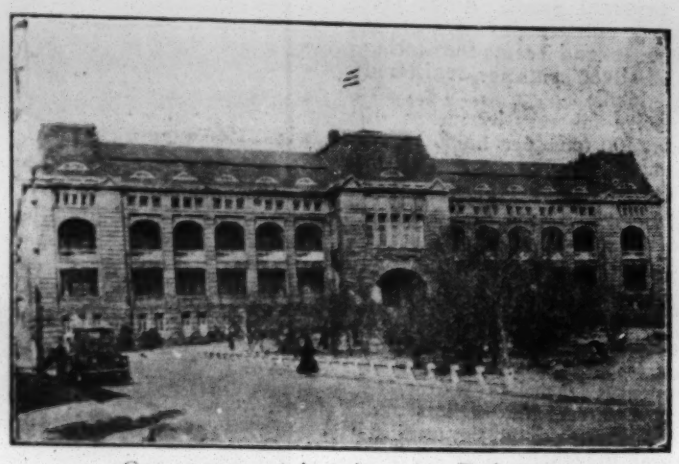
Position:—Latitude 36 degrees 4 minutes north; longitude 120 degrees 20 minutes east.

Harbor:—The entrance, which is situated to the southwest, is about a mile and three-quarters wide. The currents in the mouth of Kiaochao Bay may not be as much as 4 knots. The breakwater, 4,600 meters in length in the northwest, together with another in the south, 1,100 meters in length, embrace about 2 sq. kilometers of well protected water with the entrance 280 meters in width. Rails are laid on these breakwaters connecting them with the Shantung Line. The depth of the harbor at lowest tide is 30 feet; at ordinary low tide, 34 ft.; at highest tide, 47 ft.; at ordinary high tide, 43 ft. Area of the harbor, 19 miles long and about 15 miles wide. Anchorage ground averages 30 ft. deep at usual low tide and consists of mud and sand. The harbor is deep enough for anchorage of steamers of 8 meters in draft at the lowest tide. There are three harbors along the water front, including the Great Harbor and free zone, the dock harbor and on the south a small harbor. The largest vessels can moor alongside the piers. Spring rise 12½ ft., Neaps 9 ft. There are 17 swinging buoys inside and outside of the port, and 5 fixed buoys. From October to February north or northwest winds prevail; from April to August, mostly south or southeast winds; from March to September, the winds are variable. Special anchorage is provided for vessels carrying dangerous cargoes, near the anchor-ground for inspections outside the port.

The moorage for ships loaded with dangerous goods at the pier is located on the eastern side of the port.

Wharf No. 3, 186 meters in length, is used mostly for loading and unloading of inflammable cargo and petroleum, and the end of the breakwater, which is called Wharf No. 4 is now only for loading and unloading of salt and coal.

Stevedoring:—Ordinary facilities for shipping goods is charged at 21 silver cents per ton (one ton is 2240 lbs. or 1,680 kin for weight and 40 cubic feet for measurement). The above rate will be increased for work from sunset to 12 p. m. by 80 percent and 12 p. m. to sunrise by 150 percent. Ordinarily during the daytime one day (10 hours working) from 5,000 to



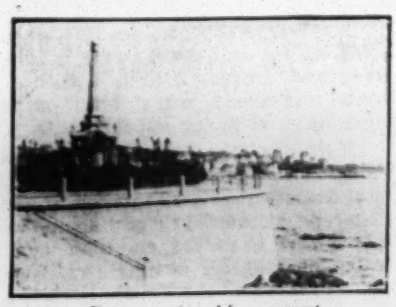
Government Administration Building

VISIT TSINGTAO

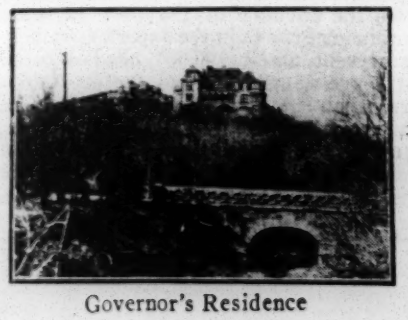
"Garden City of China!"

INVARIABLY Tsingtao wins enthusiastic admiration from its visitors—Chinese and foreign alike. The beauty of its tranquil bay, famous for its excellent bathing beach; the cleanliness of its streets and public places; the charm of its inviting background of green-mantled hills interlaced with well-paved motor roads—all these give to Tsingtao a color and uniqueness found in no other city on the coast of eastern Asia.

You will be agreeably amazed at the delightful climate, the happy friendliness of the people, the many scenic attractions and the modern efficient Tsingtao administration which insures complete safety under living conditions peaceful and salubrious at all times.



Restoration Monument



Governor's Residence

Excellent railway and steamship services make Tsingtao easily available to all important cities and ports of China. Hotels (both foreign and Chinese) are modern, and rates are reasonable. Further information gladly will be furnished upon application to

THE ADMINISTRATION of KIAOCHOW COMMERCIAL PORT

TSINGTAO CHINA

10,000 tons of mixed cargo can be handled. Wharfage rates vary from 20 silver cents to $2.00.

Charges:—Handling charges for steamers; 5% of the freight is charged. Free storage for 5 days is allowed on imported goods and 7 days for exported goods. Above that time, an extra charge of 5 cents per ton per day is charged for storing goods inside the warehouses and 3 cents for storing in the open air space. Mooring, 2 silver cents per registered ton for first 12 hours, 80% to be added.

Coal:—Coal is loaded by native laborers by means of baskets, usually at the rate of about 100 tons per hour. Kind of coal available includes the famous Szechuan and Poshan coal.

Ballast:—Sand wharfage is 50 cents per ton and loading and unloading expense is charged 18 cents per ton. Ballast is not to be dumped in the harbor limits.

Water:—Obtained from faucets with hose line connection on pier.

Climate:—The rainy season extends from May to September, the dry season from October to April. The average in Summer is 70 to 75 degrees F temperature, and in winter, 40 to 50 degrees F. The difference between the highest and lowest temperature is 27.2 degrees. In the winter the weather gets rather cold due to continental influence. A dense fog prevails frequently at all times of the year.

As a port Tsingtao has one of the most adequate anchorages in the world. Nature endowed her with sufficient well protected area to accomodate all of the ships which might at any time ever come to the place. The well developed facilities for handling cargo at the wharves and piers is about as fine as any to be found in the east, though not as extensive as might be desired.

Industries:—One of the principal industries is cotton spining, there being seven mills in operation, six of which are Japanese owned, and one Chinese. Long staple cotton is imported from America and India and mixed with the short staple Chinese cotton and spun into yarn for the markets of the world.

Important Industries

An electric plant of sufficient capacity to supply a city of 120,000 and have a surplus for power use is owned and operated by private capital.

Cigarette Manufacture:—One of the largest cigarette factories in China is located in Tsingtao. Tobacco in large quantities is grown in the interior some 100 miles in area and many million pounds are exported each year.

Brewery:—A large brewery built originally by the Germans is operating; it is now in the hands of the Japanese and the product is of fine quality and sold throughout China.

Silk Filature:—Shantung is the home of the pongee silk trade and much raw silk is spun and baled for export from Tsingtao, besides the pongee which is being exported yearly in great quantities.

Export of Beef:—Tsingtao is known for the fine quality of beef exported and from the opening of the port 25 years ago there has been a continuous growth in the export, especially to Japan which takes at present about 100,000 head of cattle yearly; in the winter cattle are slaughtered and the beef shipped on decks of steamers, when hold space is not available. In the summer live cattle are exported to be slaughtered in Japan.

One of the most modern slaughter houses in the east was built by the Germans and enlarged by the Japanese. The capacity of the establishment is about 700 cattle per day.

Tsingtao Wharf Office

Entrance to No. 2 Wharf at Tsingtao

Modern system of inspection is practised and the quality of beef is, due to the cleanliness, considered as fine as can be procured in the east.

Hogs, sheep, veal, though not exported, are slaughtered for the local requirements of the city. There are two cold storage plants in the city available for freezing and chilling the output from the slaughterhouse.

Imports—The principal imports of Tsingtao are, piece goods, flour, leather, gunny bags, marine products, sugar, cigarettes, petroleum, matches, old iron, cotton fabrics, silk fabrics, cement, coal, lumber, Chinese paper, medicine, heavy chemicals, machinery, motor cars, rice, kaoliang seed, bamboo etc. etc.

Exports:—Tobacco, peanuts, peanut oil, black dates, cow hides, tallow, coal, coke, straw braids, bean cakes, salt, eggs, fresh and frozen, cotton, cocoons, silk, carpets, intestines, fruits, soft woods, wheat bran, mineral products and many other items of minor importance.

Tsinanfu, the capital of the province, 256 miles from Tsingtao is reached by direct railway; it is located in one of the most densely populated sections of China and the commerce of Shantung is centered there. Tsingtao is the nearest and most direct outlet to the sea, and the enormous imports coming in by water filter through along the railway to Tsinanfu and thousands of miles up the Yellow River.

Steamship Service:—Not only coast lines, but those from Osaka, Jinsen, Dairen, Shanghai, HongKong and Taku (Tientsin) call regularly at Tsingtao. Ocean liners, also, make frequent calls here.

Pilotage:—Compulsory for ships of more than 800 tons gross. Free. There are two public pilots. The office may at its discretion exempt a vessel larger than 800 tons from using a pilot, and reserves the right to compel vessels of less than 800 tons to take on a pilot. Vessels are not admitted to the harbor after sunset, with the exception of regular liners which sometimes are given permission to enter. Charges are as follows: $25.00 for steamers under 1,000 tons, and $5.00 for every additional 1000 tons, when entering the port; and the half fee when leaving the port.

Accommodation:—There are four piers from No. 1 to No. 4, with a total length of 10,532 feet. Wharf No. 1 is 115 meters in width and 770 meters in length with warehouses A, B, C and D. Wharf No. 2, 170 meters away from wharf No. 1, is 102 meters in width and 1,110 meters in length with three warehouses F, G, and H. These wharves have a capacity of

mooring 12 vessels of 6,000 in tonnage. Total area of these seven warehouses is 42,000 sq. ft. and have a capacity of storing 50,000 tons of goods.

Wharf No. 3.—170 meters in length, is used particularly for loading and unloading of salt and petroleum. The end of the breakwater, which is called wharf No. 4 can accommodate mooring 5 vessels of 6,000 in tonnage.

The quay is constructed of concrete, and its upper wall is perpendicular, the lower portion having a slant and provided with logs to protect the sides of ships. The wall is covered with a roof, but has, at present, no special equipment for handling freight. There is a 150-ton electric and a 22-ton portable crane. Dangerous cargoes are loaded and unloaded in the stream by means of lighters.

Wharf Administrations

The Harbor and Wharf Administration Bureau generally functions as follows:

A—Wharf business.

(1) In charge of the Maritime Customs Free Zone and Greater Harbor Wharves together with their properties.

(2) Matters re mooring and clearing of ships.

(3) Loading, unloading, storing, accepting and delivering of goods for import and export.

(4) In charge of storing grounds for goods and floating piers in the Small Harbor.

(5) Managing warehouses and matters regarding cargo deposit.

B—Harbor Business.

(1) Supervising harbors and navigation marks.

(2) Supervising matters re arrival and departure of ships.

(3) Matters re quarantine, dredging, the providing of buoys and other affairs relating to harbors.

Engineering Business

(1) Dredging of harbor.

(2) Construction and repair of wharves.

(3) Repair of ships and warehouses.

The latter has a sub-office at the Small Harbor, together with other constructions such as a workshop for repairing ships and machines, a factory for making cement bricks, two signal stations at the Great Harbor, and light-houses, fog signals and watch houses at Tcha-lien-tao, Tai-kung-tao, Yu-nei-shan, Tsingtao and other places in the bay.

The Organization of the Harbor and Wharf Administration Bureau consists of the following:

Department of General Affairs.
Department of Wharf Affairs.
Department of Harbor Affairs.
Department of Engineering Affairs.

These departments are divided into sub-departments or divisions according to the kinds of business. Below is a resume of the organization and names of the Officers:

Director:—T. Kung
Associate Director:—T. P. Chow (concurrently as Harbor Master)
Department of General Affairs—S. H. Chen.
Department of Wharf Affairs—W. Y. Tao.
Department of Harbor Affairs—T. P. Chow.
Department of Engineering Affairs—T. L. Chin.
Branch Office at Small Harbor,—C. H. Siao.

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Public Health Under Nationalist Reconstruction

BY LEO K. T. YEN

While we insist that happy subsistence rather than the development of science and art of modern warfare is a true index of civilization, we cannot deny that an unhealthy population, ravaged by preventable epidemics and diseases, is incompatible with a properly organized modern community; nor can we refute the statement sometimes made that the Public Health standard of a nation is an accurate yardstick of its stage of advancement. In China, therefore, nothing justifies a spectator's condemnation of her political corruptions, more than the complete negligence of her Public Health duties which she pretended to discharge in favor of her vast multitudes of people. The gradual deterioration of Health as a governmental function under the defunct Peking Administration amounts, in substance, to a national crime committed against the unfortunate men and women of China who are still destitute of scientific protection against the evils of unnatural mortality and preventable ailments. Under the Peking regime, the Public Health problems were merely considered as ordinary medical services made loosely attached to various governmental bodies in time of urgent need. No attention has ever been paid to the fact that in the face of the universal increasing socialization of modern medicine, the scope of Public Health has so extended that its problems are closely connected with the future of racial qualities of all peoples. Irresponsibleness together with ignorance on the part of the Peking authorities, results in precipitating a deplorable situation in which, so far as her Public Health administration is concerned, China is neither undergoing a process of self-evolution nor devising to adopt any established system of her forerunners. In consequence of such corrupt central administration, the Chinese people are entirely devoid of the Health privileges enjoyed by all civilized men today. With the dark past forgotten and future well planned for, China needs at least ten more years to adjust its Health to the standard of the modern nations, provided, of course, that reformation takes place at once. It is, therefore, the sacred duty of the Nanking Government to see to it that health reorganization in pursuit of the country's well-being starts without further delay.

Scope of Modern Health

The scope of Public Health has been erroneously conceived by many laymen as being concerned chiefly with street-cleaning, ventilation and removal of garbage. In the light of modern superstructure of Municipal Government, these functions are made to belong to the realm of Public Works and almost totally divorced from Public Health. Under the Peking rule, it was largely the wrong conception of Public Health that offered handicap to the successful development of Health issues in China. It is therefore deemed indispensible that the New Administration before it acquires the misleading impression of the functions of Public Health should have a comprehensive appreciation of the scope of modern Health Administration. Efficient Public Health has been defined as the promotion of Health through organized community effort. It is therefore responsible for the control of community infections and organization of medical and nursing services for early diagnosis and preventive treatment of diseases. Simultaneously, efficient Public Health exerts itself mainly in the direction of developing efficient social machinery to ensure every individual in the community a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of Health through sanitation of the environment, and introducing universal education in principles of personal hygiene and co-operation with governmental social welfare agencies in preventing conditions which create poverty. In addition, Public Health aims also at reducing a number of social diseases which tend to contaminate the future races. Thus, it can easily be seen that sanitary organization is an imperative necessity, both from the humanitarian and utilitarian points of view.

Reasons for Failure of Health in China

The old Wei Sheng Ssu system was adopted as recently as 1914 after the Fashion of Japan. It was organized at random without scientific principles at its basis. Upon investigation into the history of that health institution, it is found to be an exact duplicate of the Japanese Central Sanitary Bureau of that Period. The Peking authorities organized the Wei Sheng Ssu in China without realizing the fact that the Japanese Central Sanitary Bureau came into existence as a result of twenty-five years' of practical experience. The Japanese Central Sanitary Bureau was made to meet the exact needs of Japan, circumstanced in those days to adopt a comparatively primitive system; whereas Wei Sheng Ssu was merely organized in the absence of better substitutes founded on more rational grounds. The situation in China was analogous to investing an infant with an adult's gown. That speaks for the unproportional expansion of health activities in this country. It is therefore important that at the outset the new Administration should be made to realize that China must not proceed along the previous lines any more. The future Health development in China should not be handicapped at this strategical period in which commonsense must be used for the benefit of the country.

In addition to the untimely adoption of the Japanese health system, Peking did not appear to have paid sufficient attention to the importance of placing responsible posts in the hands of absolutely trained and experienced men. It is ridiculous to note that the old administration should entrust a herculean task in mediocre men, who did nothing substantial except contenting themselves with remaining at their desks charting imaginary programs. As time went on, the situation grew worse. A number of politicians who were ousted for political reasons from various political fields were employed in the Wei Sheng Ssu as a matter of courtesy. To contrast the whole farce with the seriousness of the English government in which even the most junior posts must, in addition to general medical qualifications, possess a Public Health degree which includes both theoretical and practical instructions, it would appear absurd that a much larger country like China should conduct her health administration in such a blind manner. There was some excuse in 1914 for the appointment of unsuitable officials to the Wei Sheng Ssu, as in those days China had not developed educationally to the point of possessing enough qualified candidates. Progress since then has changed this situation and there would be no excuse in 1928 of repeating the faults of 1914.

At the same time, ignorant personnel does not only have an unfavorable bearing upon administration, but also upon the security of funds necessary for maintenance of the Health organ. Public Health, which to some extent depends upon contributions from different bodies and sometimes even private sources, could not simply develope under the Peking Administration, in-as-much as its executive authorities, irresponsible as they were, could not possibly have the confidence from different contacts. It is true that the previous Wei Sheng Ssu had little funds and practically none during the last period of its existence. This condition was not so much the fault of the poverty of the country as of the administrative personal. Unqualified officials naturally fail to create such confidence which secures them funds. Even if funds were available, incompetent officers could hardly use them economically so as to conserve them for important issues.

The first principle to be established in Health administration is that the exclusive direction must be entrusted to a central authority, assisted by doctors attached to his department. The statute which regulates the public health service must entrust the central figure with all functions connected with the sanitary security of the country. The Central authority should have actual control of all the medical and sanitary or-

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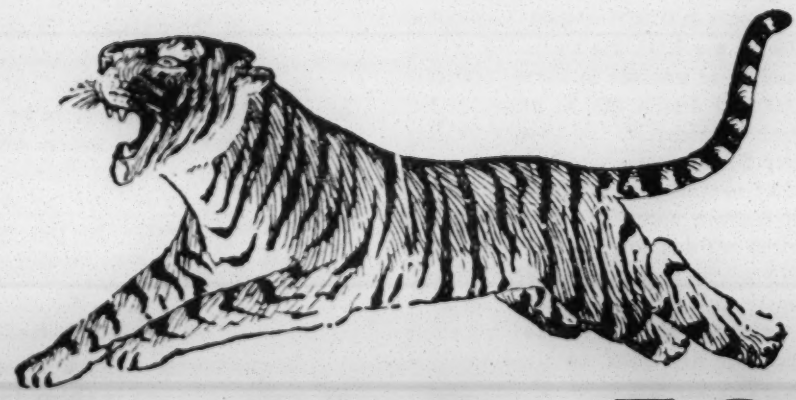

ENG AUN TONG

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ganizations in the country and technical supervision of private associations for medical relief. This unity of command in a single person is the essential feature which not only constitutes the novelty of the European Organizations but is responsible for their efficiency. The Central director of Public Health is the chief of the entire technical and administrative staff employed in his services, is responsible for drawing up budget estimates according to the requirements and has at his disposal all supplies necessary for the proper functioning of the service. Such absolute centralization of control and concentration of functions are totally absent in the Health control of China. The Peking system, in its essence, does not permit of such unified and direct control. Instead, it calls for the cooperation of the different police functions through which Health Services were rendered in different localities. It is only too obvious that a police chief, no matter how able and wholehearted he may be, can not know too much about Health and Hygiene which is totally divorced from his line. Simultaneously, the Peking system placed the most important Health functions under the direct control of the Ministry of Interior. It is very unlikely that the head of Interior, who could not been a medical expert, would take so much interest in Health Issues that a system satisfactory to the needs of his people might be devised through his efforts. Worst of all is that even the head of Interior, the unlogical man for health administration, is not in any sense an absolute central authority. Various health activities connected with army, navy and Foreign affairs were entirely out of his control. Even some of the local functions organized with mercenary motives behind did not come under his influence. That does not only account for the inefficiency of Health administration in China, but also the unnecessary duplication of items of annual expenditure. Lack of coordination and consequently insensitive responses from below to the final authorities led inevitably to the result of the previous Wei Sheng Ssu going out of existence after fourteen years of establishment without leaving behind a single reconstructive effort.

Thus, in the absence of satisfactory means and control, China allowed her Health to deteriorate. So that China today in spite of her vast territory and vast multitudes of people possesses the least efficient system, as compared with England, Japan and the United States. Dr. Tsefang F. Huang, in his Bureau bulletin, expresses profound regret that China, as she is today, does not even possess an intelligent account of the births and deaths of her people. According to his investigation, the death rate in China is in all probability not less than 30 per 1000, i.e, not less than 30 deaths occur annually among every 1000 people in China; whereas in the leading countries of the West the death rate is below 15 per 1000, many of the cities having death rates of 12 or less per 1000. The death rate in China is therefore double that of the west. Counting on the basis of 15 excess deaths per 1000, the number of people who die "unnecessarily" each year amounts to about 6,000,000. The majority of these 6,000,000 deaths can be prevented by relatively simple administrative measures. Of these 6,000,000 excess deaths, approximately 20 per cent occur in infants under 12 months of age, the infant mortality being probably 200, as against 100 or less in the Western countries. From 25 to 40 per cent of the excess deaths are due to gastro-intestinal diseases which are preventable by the control of water, food and beverages, anti-fly measures, and personal hygiene. And 15 per cent are chargeable to smallpox and the rest to tuberculosis and other diseases which are more dependent upon the economic standard of the country. The investigations of the Public Health Station, Peking, indicate that within the demonstration Area about 39.4 per cent of all the deaths take place without any medical attention whatsoever, 44.3 per cent are treated by old-style doctors, and only 16.3 per cent receive modern medical care. As indicated above, the neglect of public health administration in China is causing six million "unnecessary" deaths and probably sixty million cases of "excess" illness annually. Dr. Huang voiced the hope that half of these would be done away with within a few years by instituting simple public health measures. With regard to funds appropriate for Health Administration in China, Dr. Huang resents the fact that only less than one million dollars is spent annually by the central and local governments in China on public Health work, whereas Japan, a much smaller country, has an annual health budget of about $100,000,000 and employs about 2,000 health officers. In England the health work of the local government alone represents an annual expenditure of about $500,000,000. With the exception of India, no other large country in the world is so neglectful of its public health duties as China which is appropriately known as the "Sick Giant of the East"

Stimulated Attitude of Nanking

It is the incompetence of a few Peking Health officers rather than the wholesale corruption of all the Chinese Medical profession that are largely responsible for the failure in the past. Upon the successful completion of the northern expedition and hence the fundamental break-down of the Peking Health system, the leading medical authorities have not been slow in warning Nanking against falling into the ditch from which Peking had not been able to get out. Plans for reconstruction on the basis of efficiency have been carefully drafted, and proposals even down to the minutest details were made for the consideration of the new Government leaders—all because of a fear that the Nationalist government taking over the Peking administration might with a layman's judgment be satisfied with the previous Health organs. On the other hand, the New Government has not been slow in response to the needs of its people. The phenomenal development of municipal governments in China following in the wake of the northern advance of the Nationalist Armies brought with it a number of reformations. So that the present health functions now in active operation, though by no means satisfactory and hence desirable, are much more efficient than those of the past.

Suggestions for further reformations were made along two main lines. First, in the opinion of the enthusiastic medical men, no Nationalist movement can be considered in a favorable light unless it includes a far-sighted Public Health programme, and no Health policy can be more rational than the creation of a Ministry of Health, carefully designed to look after the Health of the country. In so doing, concentration of efforts and hence unity of control will naturally emerge. Efficiency of the highest authorities leads spontaneously to easy adaptibility to the large administrative areas. Second, since a Ministry of Health, though ideal as it is for China today, involves an unexpected item in the Nationalist budget, and since the new conception is entirely unrecognizable in terms of the old Wei Sheng Ssu, immediate creation of an independent Ministry would appear unadvisable. The responsible medical group feels that Health improvements must undergo a steady and gradual process of evolution, consistent with the social order and economical conditions of the country. To obtain satisfactory results, the people of China must first understand the importance of the measures imposed upon them and the value of the treatment offered. Effort must therefore be made to this end by starting to educate the general public without further delay. Propaganda work involving the distribution of pamphlets concerning the menace of disease and the means of preventing it should be done immediately. In this way, when the real harvest comes, China will have possessed the logical fruits of the growing trees of Knowledge.

Logical Immediate Plans

In consequence of careful consideration of the economical and social limitations in China, the Health leaders concentrate their efforts on a few objectives which are fundamental to the successful future of Public Health. The very first step to be taken, as suggested by the chief of the department of Epidemiology, Peking, is to centralize all the public Health functions which are at present in the hands of the various governmental divisions and subdivisions in a new National Public Health Service, designed especially to suit the needs of China, in order that duplication and conflict of efforts such as exist in the previous system may be avoided,

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and greater efficiency of work assured. The programme which the National Public Health service may undertake during the first five years should be confined, first of all, to the development of technical training for high-grade Public Health officers and workers for national and local health services. As the medical leaders see it, China is not altogether destitute of men and women suitable for health work. Efforts should be made to enlist the best of these in the National Public Health Service. It is also suggested that the Nationalist government should lose no time in assembling all the available public Hygienists of good repute, both foreign and Chinese, as advisers to the central organ while it is undergoing a complete redress. Promising candidates of proper qualifications should be selected and sent abroad to receive academic and practical public health training. In order to train for the future a medical profession well-equipped to prevent as well as to treat disease, a National Medical College, in which theories and practice of medicine will be taught as much from the preventive as the curative angle, must be allowed to develop at once. Governmental aid for the stimulation of preventive medicine should also be given to other existing medical institutions of good standing. Of all the proposals made for the consideration of the new government, the most fundamental one is the future cooperation of the health authorities with the educational leaders. The government should by all means enforce a rule compelling all the elementary schools to teach personal hygiene and public health. So that the underlying fundamentals may be rooted in the youngster's mind. It must be remembered that, after all, the fundamental solution of Public Health problem does not lie in the hands of the government but in the consciousness of the individual.

Nanking must also provide a first class central Public Health demonstration in all the leading cities. In this way, a public health standard may be set for the subordinate districts to follow. To stimulate intelligent administration in local governments, such an universal standard is most important. Grants-in-aid may be given to the local functions for its fulfillment. Assistance to local governments may also be given in personnel, laboratory facilities, and administrative suggestions.

For necessary reference, a machinery for Nation-wide epidemiological investigations and vital statistics should be provided by the new government. Up-to-date regulations, governing medical and midwife practice, pharmaceutics, quarantine, etc., ought to be drawn up at the outset. In this connection, creation of Bureaus for food and drug analysis is truly in order. At the same time, it is suggested to carry out creditable research in various laboratories which should be established at once by the new government.

City Health Demonstration

As has been indicated, the demonstration of efficient Public Health administration in the leading cities should form a most important part in the initial national programme. City health demonstration depends largely upon the efficiency of the local municipal government. As suggested in the National Epidemic Prevention Bureau Bulletin No. 3, the formation of a city Board of Health and installation in the administrative posts of only such men and women as are well qualified by academic training, field experience, and actual demonstration of ability and competence, should receive immediate consideration of the governmental authorities. In so doing, the local governments are held responsible for the control of water, foods, beverages and drugs. At the same time, the central organ may through the local health officers put its health policies into execution. Proper disposal of refuse and sewage, prevention of fly breeding, control of soil pollution, and suppression of offensive trades can also be carried out more efficiently. And, with regard to vital statistics, the city officers who control a comparatively smaller area can naturally discharge their duties much more easily. Accurate census of population by age, sex and occupation, reporting of deaths, births, marriages and communicable diseases, efficient system of registration, classification and verification, and publication of reports, should therefore be placed all in the hands of the local officers who are directly responsible to the final central authority.

In such leading health cities, efficient laboratory service and communicable disease hospitals are suggested to be established. Laboratory may be made use of by the demonstration in such services as free chemical, serological and bacteriological examinations; provision and distribution of serums and vaccines; and the efficient collection of diagnostic specimens. Communicable disease hospitals are to be so equipped as to handle the communicable cases in an effective manner.

Well-provided with intensive Medical service in a limited area, city health workers will also find it easier to handle the problems of industrial hygiene. At least, physical examination, dispensary and clinic services, and nursing care can be administered more effectively to the needs of the local residents. Supervision of sanitation and record-keeping may be done directly. Simultaneously, careful registration and control of private practitioners, nurses, midwife and pharmacists may be conducted more readily by the city Health organs.

Conclusion

To stress too much on the importance of health development in China is entirely superfluous, in-as-much as it is so self-evident that a country suffering ill-health can not possibly be expected to make good. Is it not contradictory to the law of rationality that our governmental authorities, our welfare organizations and all our compatriots should devise measures, and draft elaborate rules—all with a hope that some day China may catch up her forerunners in power, wealth and happiness—while forgetting altogether that a nation of ill-health like a man with a sick stomach can not enjoy too much the future feast of their present preparation? In a country like China where the Public Health field is still a virgin soil, what is there to make us hesitate to start this reconstruction period and make our health programme a "world demonstration" for the coming century?

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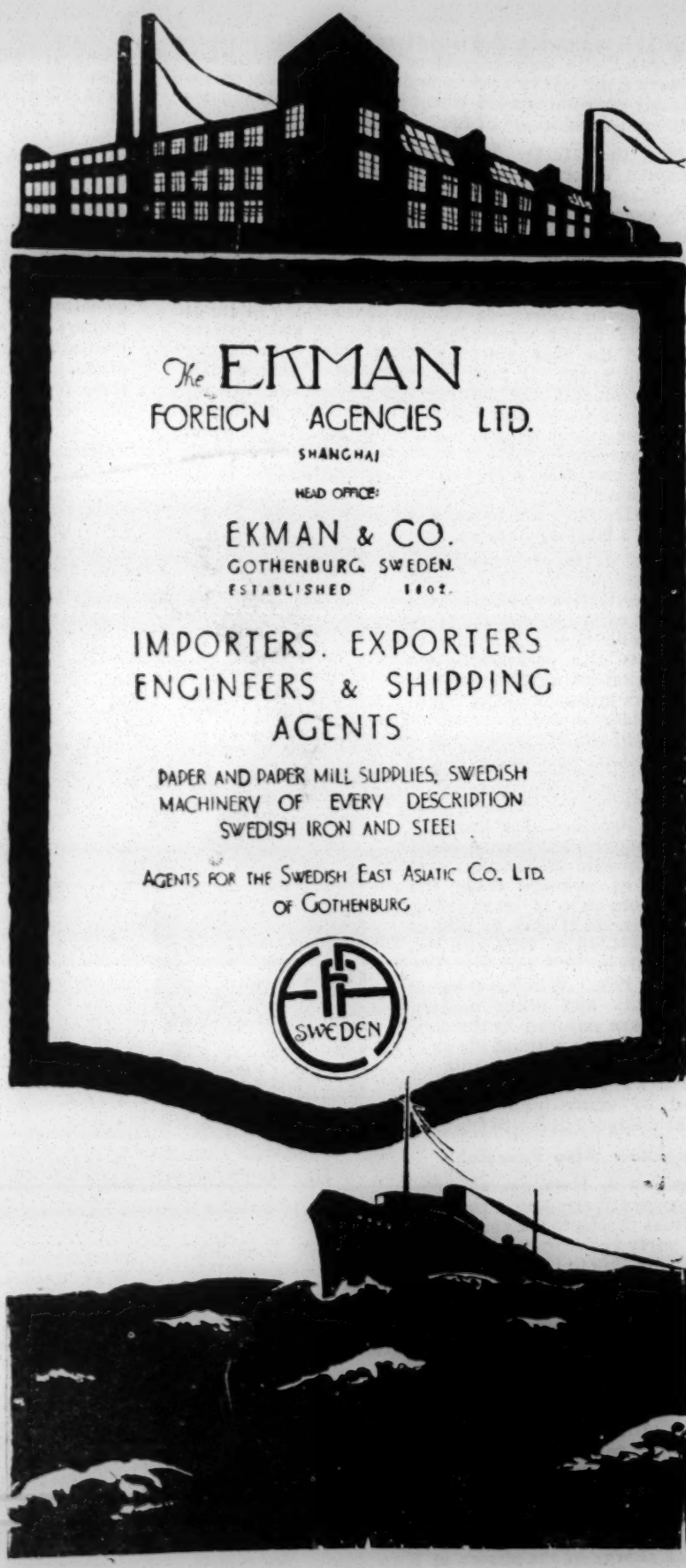

South China Progresses Despite Difficulties

BY HIN WONG

DESPITE militarism and labor tyranny not all parts of South China suffered misery and maladministration during the last two years, and in some sections of the country their economic improvement has defied the imagination of the most ambitious of the optimists.

In 1923, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, well-meaning it may be, attempted to regain control of the Customs Administration in Canton so as to enable his mercenary troops under Liu Chen-huan of Kwangsi and Yang Hsi-min of Yunnan to get rich quicker from the proceeds of the revenue than by means of condemning private property as public lands and sold as such, and when he was met by a naval demonstration of the so-called imperialistic nations—including the United States and seven others—in Canton Harbor the winter of that year, he firmly courted and won the make-believe friendship of the then power which claimed to be treating China as her equal. It may be remembered that certain foreign governments are holding the Customs Service for security against loans and indemnity. Russian advice and support for the ruling party in Canton the last several years following have brought about much suffering to the people including the massacres and destructions of October 15, 1924, and those of December12, 1927, but these have proved to be a blessing in disguise.

A review of the economic progress made and constructive endeavor successful in territory outside the once hot-bed of Bolshevism, the City of Canton, will show that wherever the militarists, the politicians, and the labor agitators were absent the last few years prosperity have reigned, and in places where government by professional officials did not really exist, people have been peaceful and happy.

In Mengtsz and Yunnanfu over in Yunnan Province, for instance, where unscrupulous persons could not rob the public wholesale under the pretext of politics, trade has advanced from year to year, rising from Hk. Tls. 23,313,759 in 1923 to Hk. Tls. 25,484,788 in 1924, and Hk. Tls. 30,878,903 in 1925 and Hk. Tls. 29,760,848 in 1926. Wireless telegraphy, electricity and other modern convenience are enjoyed by the civilian population here without the payment of surtaxes for the support of internecine wars which have sapped the blood of many innocent non-combatant villagers in South China.

Mr. Hin Wong,
Prominent Cantonese Journalist, Who Has Been Appointed one of the Directors of the Kwangsi Exhibition

Lungchow Also Peaceful

Lungchow in Kwangsi also enjoyed comparatively peace the last several years thanks to the absence of labor or party agitators, and trade grew annually from Hk. Tls. 281,138 in 1924 to Hk. Tls. 1,198,407 in 1926. Although this is not much, but soon with the completion of the Lungchow-Nanning public highway, some economic revolution may be expected. Effort is being made to connect this little city of favorable location with Tonkin by better and more roads and more motor cars.

Canton has many plans on paper just now, for development along economic lines, and had the Cantonese themselves been less indifferent over public affairs and their leaders not so selfish and disorganized, something would have been achieved by this time.

Since the Canton leaders, or those trying to call themselves so, have failed to accomplish anything in the way of constructive service, the leaders from other provinces are now taking charge of the affairs in Kwangtung, like certain foreign group in Manchuria who have made much out of the territory for themselves without hurting the Manchurians, who have fared better under actual foreign rule than nominally Chinese jurisdiction, regardless to one's opinion from any point one likes to view it.

Kwangtung Province Needs Funds

Since the autumn of 1925, the Cantonese themselves have tried to build a modern road of some eight miles from Canton to Whampoa, but so far it is still of no commercial value and unsuitable for the passage of vehicles or motor-cars without great damage to the machine, and yet some have gone so far as to talk of opening the port of Whampoa to compete with Hongkong through the improvement of the harbour there. They have drawn up, as stated, a plan and published a report of its possibility and bright future, and it appears to have ended just here. Entrance to Canton Harbour requires extensive dredging just now, but the Board of Conservancy Works in Kwangtung have thus far failed to find a government channel through which funds for the necessary work may be obtained. In the spring of 1928, Canton was divided into four great circuits over each of which had been set up a commissioner for rehabilitation. This official is given both military and civil power as a ruler. None of the four commissioners appointed is a civilian, however, and all are military men who may be able to suppress the bandits within their respective jurisdictions but have to prove that they are also statesmen by their acts and measures of the next few months, if they have the chance to hold on that long. Practically all commissioners have held conferences with their subordinates and made resolutions for economic developments, and a list of them may be information to some.

The Province of Kwangtung is to have a trunk line of public highway and from the capital, Canton, every district seat of government may be reached, and supplementing the means of travel, more than a score of radio stations will be erected to assist rapid transmission of intelligence. A commercial fleet for mail and passenger service, Canton-Swatow, Canton-Pakhoi-Hoihow, Canton-Shiukwan, Canton-Hongkong, and others is also on the programme.

Extension of the present short line, the Kwangtung section of the Canton Railroad, one of 140 miles long, to the border of Hunan, a distance of about 70 miles, is again being seriously contemplated.

Until China becomes republican the next generation and when people will themselves rule, some say, the two projects may be carried out, but not within the life of persons above the age of forty, unless conditions in Canton do change a little. Some, however, have faith in the present administration in Canton.

One Official in Office for Three Years

In places where politicians were not so many and the number of comfortable hotels to house office-seekers had not been so large, improvements have gone ahead, it is generally admitted. In Toyshan among the Szeyap Districts, public highways of the modern type have sprung up under a magistrate who was able to hold office for more than three years without a change, a very good record in the South; and in the island of Hainan, similar progress in road construction has also been noticed. Districts in Hainan have had fewer disturbances than those near Canton, the capital. When money is not required from the provincial treasury, roads built to enable local resources to be developed have come into evidence, and this can be confirmed by the mileage of highways in Kwangsi, a subject to be referred to more fully in subsequent paragraphs.

Canton in 1927 had an economic retrogression which will take some time to recover. Early in the year, labor tyranny under advice of interested partisans had kept the shops from re-opening by disputing the right of an employer to discharge an employee on the second day of the Chinese New Year, and in August, 1927, the "Reds" in power in Canton exacted a loan of $10,000,000 from the native bankers and business firms nominally to provide a security for the Central Bank of China notes which the "Red" officials later refused to even accept for redemption but only would take them back for payment of 20 per cent. of the taxes due to any public

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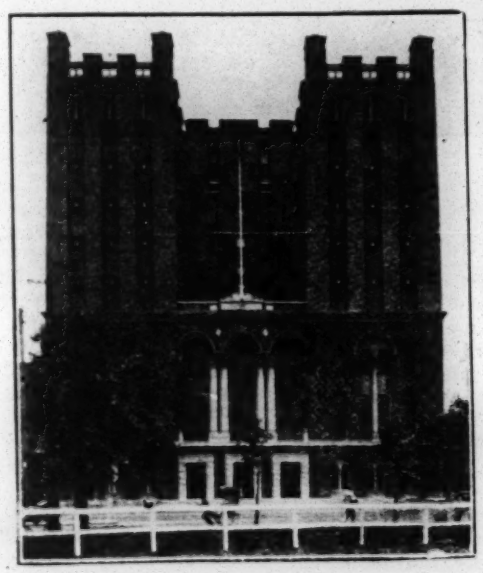

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Modern Farms in Kwangsi

office. In 1926, the merchants had already taken up more than $6,000,000 in war loans. To further set business at rest, the "Reds" on December 12, 1927, as generally known, destroyed the best part of the City, besides laying several sections of the territory in the neigborhood to ruin. As a result, 1927 was a bad business year for Canton as a port, the Customs revenue having fallen, and more than 30 large importing and exporting firms, at least 40 rice wholesale companies, and 80 native banks, and many others going out of business altogether. The silk export, forming chief item of trade, was also bad in 1927.

The Fortitude of the Cantonese

One thing good and encouraging among the Cantonese is that they have a great deal of fortitude, and notwithstanding the adversity, they have kept on, and are to follow the people of Kwangsi in having an exposition to display their resources in 1930. The Political Council in Canton have passed a resolution to appropriate $2,000,000 for an agricultural exhibition to be held some time in 1930, besides granting the lands surrounding the White Cloud Mountain and those at Shekpai for experiment farms of the Sun Yat-sen University.

Kwangsi will have an exposition at Liuchow, October 10, 1929.

Canton City has now nearly 50 miles of well-built modern streets, all paid for by local assessments of the citizens without a cent of support from the Government, and now some 875 motor cars and trucks take advantage of the improvement.

For the first time since the ruling partisans in Canton have commandeered the three railroads leading out from Canton City, effort is being made to replace some of the beds lying rotten on the lifetrap lines, especially the Kwangtung Section of the Canton-Hankow Railroad.

The business districts in Canton City recently destroyed by the "Reds" are being gradually rebuilt according to ordinary regulations of the Municipal Department of Public Works, and this will insure that the coming Canton will look better, and to some it was thought that the "Reds" had done too little, as several sections should have been destroyed also. The insurance companies are not paying any indemnity for destructions wrought by "Reds"; and therefore, active construction work is still somewhat slow.

The Kwangtung Tramway Company, Ltd., long delayed in fulfilling the franchise to lay tracks for electric cars in Canton, have at last begun to do something, and the eye-sore and disagreeable bus-lines will soon been removed from certain routes of traffic.

Early 1928 saw Waichow City connected with the Canton-Kowloon Railroad Line by motor-bus service from Cheungmuktau to that City, and Shekki is now also reached from Macao, a Portuguese colony, by motor-bus.

People in Canton also hear that Swatow is also being recovered from their "Red" set-back, but it is still suffering from the presence of troops like many other parts of Kwangtung.

Swatow has suffered more than Kongmoon, where the "Red" menace was checked to a great extent by local volunteer service, and as a whole, Kongmoon has fared much better, although its trade suffered, and recently two Chinese owned steamers were taken from the Hongkong-Canton service and put on the Kongmoon run.

Swatow, Kongmoon, and other ports like Canton, of course, had to be impeded in progress by exorbitant taxation and unreasonable interference with trade, but after all, as long as the militarists and the politicians would only "squeeze" and do nothing else, the merchant class does not care and will simply add extra cost to overhead expenses, the payment of "black money" to officials being an item.

Kwangsi's Constructive Program

The Province of Kwangsi appears to have a very definite programme of constructive work for the fiscal year, July 1, 1928, to June 30, 1929. Early last May at Nanning, the Board of Construction held a meeting of several days, and among those in attendance were General Wu Ting-yang, Commissioner of Construction of the Province of Kwangsi; Mr. Ling Hung-feng, Director of Public Works at Wuchow; Mr. Tang Tsic-yee, Director of the Institute for the Development of Industries; Mr. C. H. Pan, Chief of the Division of Communications of the Bureau of Construction; Mr. P. Y. Chen, Chief of the Division of Industries of the Bureau of Construction; and Mr. Wu Chao-hsih, Chief of the Division of General Affairs.

The Board based their deliberations, reached their findings, and arranged the 1928-1929 programme on the material, or visible accomplishments of 1927-1928, by following as much as possible the uncompleted programme of the previous year, with full knowledge of the present state of peace and financial ability of the Province, and in accordance with the immediate needs of the majority of the people.

Before the year of 1927, it was well known that the means of communications of Kwangsi were extremely poor, especially on land, and it often required several weeks to travel from one part of the province to the other; and on account of this and despite the great natural wealth the Province possesses, poverty has been the lot of most of the people. In a year, however, the constructive measures have brought more than 1,250 of the 5,000 miles of projected public highways into existence so as to assist economic and social progress. With the aid of better means of communication, the desire to develop the natural resources of the province may be gradually fulfilled, and in the ensuing year's constructive programme in Kwangsi, it is including several recommendations for industrial develop-

Modern Road Construction in Kwangsi

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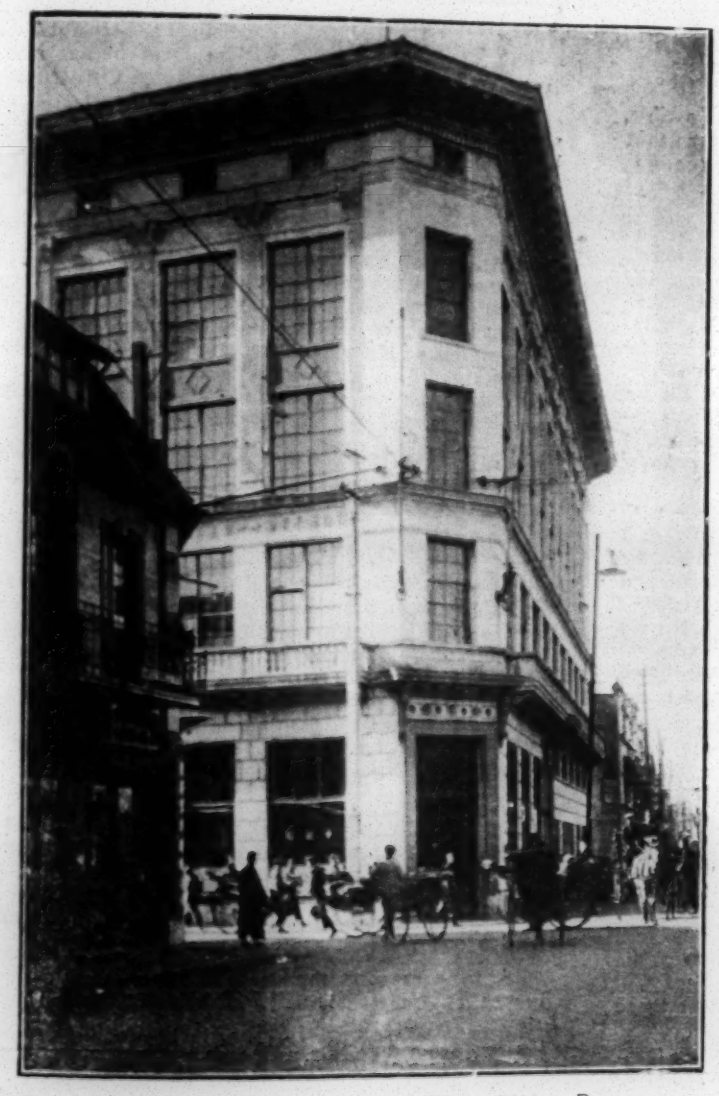

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ments. The Government of Kwangsi will, as far as possible, devote its attention to measures of common interest so that all the direct profit will go to the people in the long run.

The Nanning—Yamchow Railroad

The Government of Kwangsi has already approached the Authorities of Kwantung with the proposition of building Nanning-Yamchow Railroad, Southern Kwangtung, the open port of which is Pakhoi. So far nothing has been done, except the appointing by both governments of representatives to confer on preliminary matters. This line, it may be recalled, has been talked of even in the days of Sun Yat-sen, who believed that a system of railroads will open the six important southern provinces to important trade. This Nanning-Yamchow line will afford Kwangsi a port to the sea in Pakhoi. In the days of Lu Yu-ting, the officials in Kwangsi proposed to annex Yamchow and Limchow.

While local communities in Kwangsi will co-operate with the Provincial Government in completing the local lines, it has been decided by the Board to get in touch with the neighboring Provinces of Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan, and Kwantung to link up with the inter-provincial highway scheme. Therefore, the constructive programme for road building in Kwangsi for 1928-1929 will be first to complete the local lines and then the inter-provincial system, provided others in the four provinces concerned will support the helpful scheme.

For 1927-1928, attention in Kwangsi was paid simply to opening or widening of the roads, but this ensuing year will see an emphasis on the maintenance of the roads now in operation. So far more than $7,000,000 have been spent on road building in Kwangsi and this represents so much investment of the people aside from labor given in lieu of taxes, and there is reason why the Government will pay more attention to upkeeping them in good order.

Long-distance telephones have kept pace with modern roads in development, and according to the decision of the Board of Construction, the control of the several lines will be invested in the future in a general superintendent to be appointed by the Commissioner of Construction of Kwangsi Province. Practically all the larger towns of the Province have been connected by telephone.

Improvement and extension of public highways requiring less outlay of capital and capable of being easily under-taken by the communities, members of which often contributing labor, instead of funds, road building under government supervision will still figure in the several activities of the Province, but the programme will only call for the early completion of the already projected lines. The aim of the Kwangsi Authorities in this respect is to connect the neighboring provinces by public roads. Along the building of roads will go the wiring of long distance telephone lines and the extension of the present wireless and telegraph systems.

Agricultural and mining possibilities in Kwangsi are well accepted as main insurance against further poverty, and with the problems of communications beginning to be solved, talk of trade and industrial developments may not altogether be out of place in the new programme, according to opinion of the Board of Construction of Kwangsi. As a fundamental act in the development of industries, the Board have thoroughly considered the problem of skilful workers and expert direction, and the Government will devote much attention to the training of workers as well as the actual development in its educational programme. In the meantime, the Government will directly take charge of a number of industrial enterprises and subject some trades to rigid inspection on the principle of efficiency.

Improvements in Many Directions

Realizing that, when a government goes into enterprises which require a large expenditure of money, accounting should require simple but comprehensive systems, the Board, before it adjourned, also passed resolutions and fixed forms for the unification of government accounts, and this will at least be put into force in the Bureau of Construction.

The Bureau of Construction of Kwangsi has now at work several special commissions investigating different problems both social and economic in Kwangsi for further information of the Board which will meet from time to time as occasions may require.

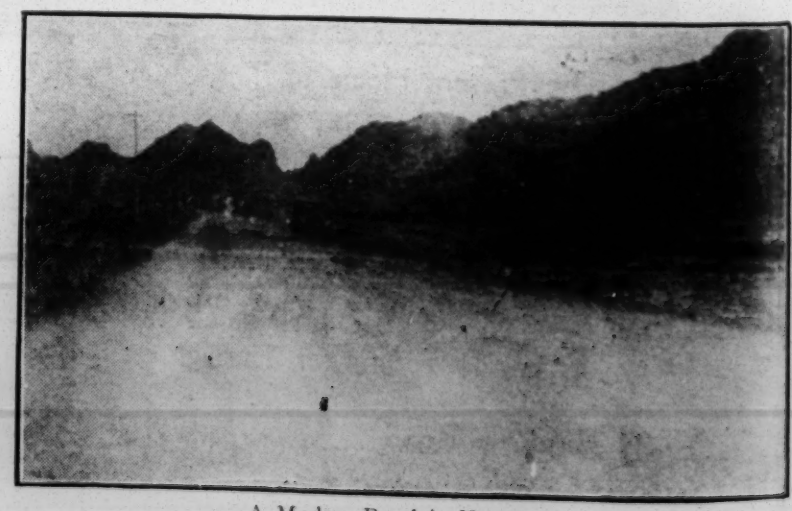
Kwangsi Province has now three powerful radio service stations, one at Nanning, one at Liuchow, and another at Wuchow. They are all soon to be under one general supervision, subject to both the military and the civil authorities of the Province. For the benefit of local communities, the Board of Construction of Kwangsi have suggested to the Government the erection of a number of shortwaved offices, and this will afford business men another chance in this rapidly changing region.

For the last few years in Kwangsi, the land wires were practically monopolized by the military people who sent messages free of charge, but henceforth, they will have to pay for the service rendered and thus relieving the time for messages purely commercial.

The upper West River and system in Kwangsi still form the main route of trade, but the variation of water levels from three to sometimes sixty feet has often brought disaster and delay to shipping, and in the 1928-1929 programme for construction in Kwangsi, a survey of the system with intention to improve will be made, and conservancy work in this respect will form another demand for expert service. Upon the improvement of the water traffic and the addition of more modern roads, there will be changes for the natural wealth to be utilized.

Another obstacle to trade in Kwangsi in the past was the lack of suitable landing places and godowns, and the Shipping Office under the Bureau of Construction in Kwangsi have been ordered to effect within this fiscal year the proper improvements, including the building of wharves and offering facilities to load or discharge cargo.

At the same time, the Division of Communications of the Bureau of Construction have been instructed to promote



A Modern Road in Kwangsi

express service for the transportation of goods from one section of the Province to another, taking advantage of the newly built highways.

The Chinese Postal Authorities in Kwangsi have been requested to effect at once a change of method for the transportation of mails, suggesting the use of motor cars to replace the present courier system, which was good when walking on narrow paths, was the best means of travel for the time.

Nanning and Liuchow

In addition to Wuchow, the cities of Nanning and Liuchow will soon have a municipal form of government with functions to discharge the duties of public works and land registration, and it is believed that funds may be raised from local assessments for all improvements required. Other cities where offices for the preparation of municipal governments may be opened at once include Lungchow, Watlum, Pinglok, Kweiping, Poseh, Hingyun, Kweihsien, and others.

To improve the condition of the farmers, more agricultural and forest experiment stations and land development offices are to be established in Kwangsi. The agricultural experiment stations recently neglected at Kweilin are to be reopened and one near Wuchow, is to be established. In Tien-nan and Chen-nan, offices will be opened to encourage settlements. (In some places, lands are being offered to new settlers at 20 cents *per mow*, on condition that same shall be cultivated within a reasonable time.)

The Kwangsi Institute for the Development of Industries at Liuchow and the Agricultural Experiment Station at Nanning have been designated as training schools for farm and industrial workers who will be more able to carry on the new enterprises in Kwangsi.

During the meantime, experts in agriculture, industries, and other activities are to be sent to the districts to make systematic studies of the several problems in Kwangsi, and they will meet often under the auspices of the industrial and agricultural experiment station authorities to discuss over their findings and reports to be submitted to the Government for publication from time to time.

Kwangsi agricultural products leading in Wood (Tung) Oil, Rice, Cotton, Sugar, and Silk, a special study for improvement of all these is to be made, and the Government is soon to open an office for the inspection of wood oil, an industry coming to meet much outside demands.

The careful selection of seeds of all kinds and improvement of farm implements have also formed a part of government activities in Kwangsi now looking to be economically independent, and a recent meeting of the Board of Construction of Kwangsi has recommended that these should form an important activity of the industrial and agricultural experiment stations of the Province.

Animal Husbandry

In connection with the Kwangsi institute for the Development of Industries at Liuchow, there is now a department for animal husbandry, and live stock improvement also formed a subject of discussion by government authorities in Nanning last May. Model stockyards and stables are to be introduced to the people who are mostly engaged in farming.

Kwangsi will also spend a large sum for propaganda purposes, but the money will go towards telling the populace the importance of forestation and the danger of cutting down trees without replanting.

Suitable rewards and recognition will be made by the Government for persons having achieved merits in the promotion of forestation, and local officials have been instructed to report all cases of good work to the Authorities at Nanning.

Kwangsi Province has much raw materials suitable for manufacturing purposes, but so far they have been either unrecognized or hidden, and the proper departments for industrial and agricultural developments in the Government will list them and give whatever advertising they may be worth.

The survey of mines in Kwangsi commenced early last year will be continued and due publicity on all possibilities for development will be made.

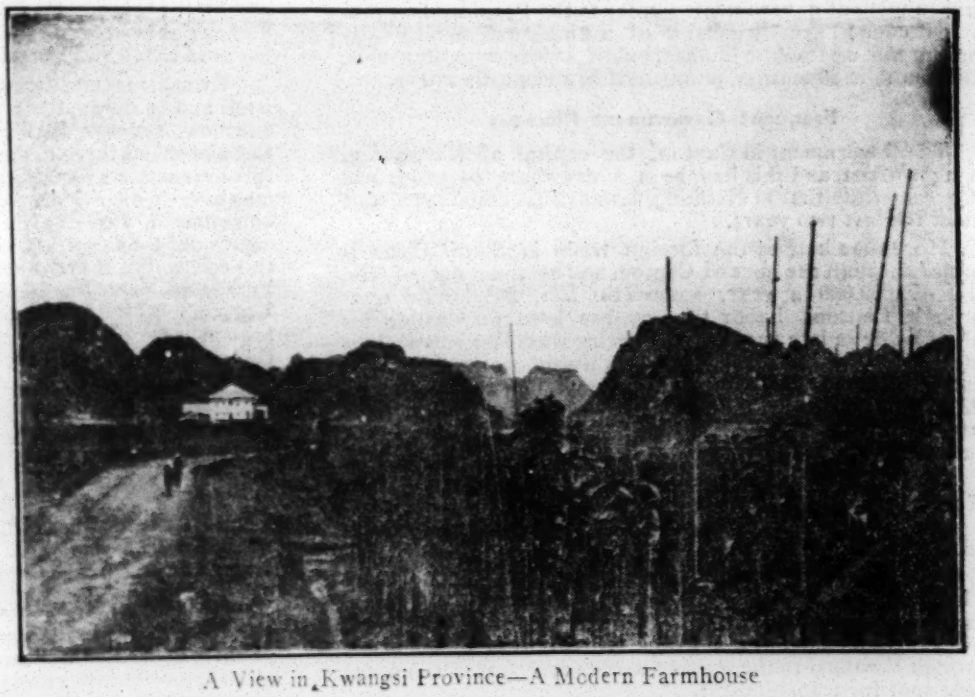
All mineral products of Kwangsi are to be refined and sold by government agencies, and operators and miners working on government property are being requested to sell their ores to the Government at current market rates. The Government now has an office in Hongkong for the sale of minerals produced in Kwangsi.

The Government of Kwangsi has now offices in the larger cities within its jurisdiction for the exhibition of minerals and the encouragement to mining.

For the first time in Kwangsi the Government will have an economic information office to gather trade information and distribute reports to persons interested in the trade of the Province, and the Bureau of Construction have been authorized to organize such an office.

In addition to the office to gather trade and other economic data, the Province will soon inaugurate a practice to register all trading firms and corporations. This, they hope, will also afford protection to merchants of good standing and keep a look out on irresponsible traders.

As an aid to trade, there will be an office in Kwangsi to regulate the standard of measures and provide a uniform scale and rule system for the Province, instead of local option as to different measurements used.



A View in Kwangsi Province—A Modern Farmhouse

Kwangsi Economic Policy

Some of the items in the economic policy of Kwangsi recently announced include the making of no domestic or foreign loans, except for direct productive services, such as the opening of railroads and the development of natural resources, the auditing of public expenses and keeping of accounts according to a recognized system; and that all government departments will have an annual budget to guide their expenditure.

Canton has too many subordinate officials altogether, and they are usually incompetent and unworthy; and the collection of public taxes by persons who have farmed out a tax for collection and those holding trade monopolies—all are in office for getting as much as they can out of their investments and from the people--have become a sort of licensed persecutors against involuntary tax or trade delinquents, and their expected profit out of misdoings or negligence of other fellows has been responsible for the reign of terror in the more prosperous cities and towns of Kwangtung, and this class of unproductive parasites of powerful militarists and politicians in South China have done more to kill trade and industries than any group of individuals, except the "Reds" bandits, pirates, former troops, and past labor leaders who operate under the name of "Reds" rather than committing crimes in their true color.

Boycott Not Very Effective

The anti-Japanese boycott following the Tsinan affair has not been very effective in South China, the merchants remaining quiet. If the South China merchants had to undertake an anti-Japanese boycott before recovering from the loss involved in the anti-British one which ended less than two years ago without gaining any point from the British, who will help them to foot the other side of the account, the merchants are asking among themselves.

In theory, the Political Council in Canton have jurisdiction over the Provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi as well as Kwangtung, but actually its power confines to Canton and districts for the time being. General Li Tsai-hsin has been both chairman of the Political council as well as the Provincial Administrative Council. Members of the Council are supposed to be appointed by the General Political Council in Nanking, but they are now more or less nominees of General Li, who is by far one of the most sincere and conscientious military and civil officials Canton has seen for some time.

The executive work in the Provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi is being done by the Provincial Administrative Councils, some members of which do not have charge of government bureau or departments.

The executives in the Administrative Council include a secretary-general who may or may not be a member of the Council, a commissioner of finance, a commissioner of education. In Kwangtung, there is also a commissioner for foreign affairs who occupies a very important position in the Government, but he is not necessarily a member of the Administrative Council. In Canton and other large cities, they have municipal governments similar to the Provincial. A municipal council usually consists of a number of directors, including those of public finance, public safety or police, public utility, public education, public health, and public works.

Frequent Government Changes

The Government in Canton, the capital of Kwangtung, changes often, and this has been a drawback to peace and progress, while that in Nanning, Kwansi, has remained almost intact the last two years.

More than half of the foreign trade in South China is carried through the port of Canton, and at times out of Hk. Tls. 450,000,000 a year, some Hk. Tls. 262,000,000 went through Canton. Labor tyranny has been responsible for fall of trade in late years. Internecine wars last but a short time in the city, while labor strikes would continue to interfere with local transactions and international trade. During 1926 and part of the time in 1927, every day saw one or more new strikes started. At the same time, boycott against this or that would further kill trade.

With local governments in many circuits of Kwangtung offering constructive programme for industrial developments in 1928, it is hoped that Canton will revive as a leading China trade port.

Pakhoi, in Southern Kwangtung, may be capable of being a larger trade port than it is, and should the Nanning-Yamchow Railroad proposed become a fact, goods expected to pass from Yunnan, Kweichow, Hunan, and other places through Kwangsi to the outside world may find Pakhoi the right spot for transhipment.

Scores of young Cantonese, including some 40 trained in the universities of America and Europe, have found it more profitable to themselves and to their fellow countrymen by joining the constructive service now in progress in Kwangsi. The officials in Kwangsi are more businesslike and once they trust a person, they will give him full power to carry out a project usually planned and discussed in advance.

Some persons claiming to be leaders while in Canton are now doing their fellow provincials some good by remaining away as tourists in America and Europe. When they were in Canton the last several years, they had not only failed to accomplish anything but have also been responsible for the invitation to South China the radicals and Bolshevists who were partly responsible for having incited the simple, honest, but ignorant farmers and workers to devastate their own soil and destroy their only sources of livelihood.

The people of Kwangtung, to have friendly competition with their now progressive neighbor for becoming a model and leading province in South China, should first regard one another as brothers and stop calling the unemployed against their own will *Tufei*, or brigands, or branding opponents to their views as "Red" or "Counter-revolutionaries", give credit to whom credit is due, let those capable of doing something a chance to remain in office long enough to at least get a start. The people of Kwangtung, when able to come together, should be able to utilize the $100,000,000 the militarists squander yearly for constructive purposes. Because of mutual jealousy and self-dividing themselves into factions and cliques when in politics, capital and labor in economic life, and villagers and bandits in society, others would take advantage of this weakness for selfish gain, and today the most important position in Canton for constructive endeavor is being occupied by one who is least fitted. Of course, a less incompetent person put into this office may perhaps suggest a programme which would involve public expenditure for some useful purpose and thus lessen somebody's opportunity for pocketing the money.

The experts now directing constructive work in Kwangsi were for the most part members in the more important departments of government in Canton, and they agree that it is easier to carry out good work in their new field than at a place which should lead in everything in South China.

A Long Motor Ride

While every good Chinese is hoping for an early reunification of China and rivalry should be reduced to the minimum, a friendly competition for trade expansion and constructive endeavor is not out of order, and to one who has been able to go from Nanning, the capital, to Luchow, a growing city of Kwangsi, in a motor-car, for a distance of 200 miles upwards in a once regarded as a backward province, he cannot help thinking why he had to pay more than 60 cents simply for a railroad ride of 4.10 miles from Canton to Siupin, when one could easily walk home when there were good roads.

The Government of Kwangsi, through the Bureau of Construction has now a trade office in Hongkong for the distribution of their mining products, principally tin. The Province, however, has gold, copper, manganese, bismuth, antimony, tangsten, lead, iron, mercury, coal, and asbestos capable of being extensively developed, and to do this, the authorities have begun the consideration of railroad building as an aid to transportation.

Kwangsi requires the aid of foreign capital, and to show itself and be shown, there will be an exposition to be held at Liuchow, October 10, 1929, when opportunity will be given to Chinese and foreign capitalists to meet one another and talk over matters. Kwangtung, as mentioned elsewhere, will also have an exposition to show its agricultural possibility sometime in 1930 the Political Council in Canton having sanctioned the expenditure of $2,000,000 for the purpose. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the Political Council have also passed a resolution to grant the Sun Yat-sen University $1,000,000 for additional buildings at Shekpai, the present site of an agricultural experiment station of the College of Agriculture of the University.

With all these signs of a desire to promote the economic life of the country, it may be safely stated that South China will some day resign its rightful position in the Republic and that the good example shown by Kwangsi will inspire Kwangtung to re-exert itself, and when the leaders of the two resourceful provinces will labor togther as members of one family for the service of the Republic and the World. China should surely become what all expect and hope her to be, a happy and prosperous member of the family of great nations.

The Kwangsi Exposition

The Province of Kwangsi of the Republic of China, to promote domestic trade and industry, extend their products abroad, and to offer their territory as a world market for foreign goods and investments, will hold an exposition at Liuchow, beginning October 10, 1929.

While this exposition is primarily for industrial expansion, it is also intended for popular education, national co-operation, and better international friendship, understanding, and commerce.

Kwangsi has vast resources ready for development, and so far this part of China has been very little known even among the Chinese themselves and, of course, but lightly regarded by traders outside. The exposition, it is hoped, will not only offer an opportunity to gather all known articles of economic and educational value from all parts of the Province for mutual study, comparison, and improvement, but also enable other provincials and foreign traders looking to further or begin their Chinese trade to bring their goods or service to the attention of the Chinese at large and those residing in South China in particular.

Problems of communication which once impeded economic and social progress in Kwangsi are being gradually solved, and conservancy work on the rivers which still form the main lines of traffic, construction of public highways, preliminary steps towards railroad construction, and the extension of the telegraph, telephone, and radio services, all have been started, and in the road improvement programme, greatest progress has been made, and it is hoped that, before the formal opening of the exposition, the City of Liuchow will be reached from all important towns and ports of the Province through the several thousand miles of provincial highway.

Sun Yat-sen University, Canton, June 30 1928.

時事新報

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Religion and the Students of China Today.

BY Y. T. WU

WHAT is the attitude of the average Chinese student toward religion at present? Has religion any real place in the life of students and student movements? What will religion mean to the students in the light of recent national developments? And what are the Christian students doing in this period of national reconstruction? These and similar questions will be of interest to those who have watched the life and thought of Chinese students during the past ten or fifteen years, and an attempt will be made to answer them, necessarily in a very summary way, in the following brief article.

Unique Place of Students Since the Revolution

No one will question the very prominent part played by students in, and particularly since, the Revolution of 1911. Nothing short of the spirit of fervent youth and adventure suffices for the daring undertaking of the overthrow of an old regime—a regime which covers not only the political, but also the manifold aspects of economic, social, and intellectual life of a very old nation. Through contact with Western thought, through national humiliations, the Chinese youth at last caught a vision of what is wrong with China, and while the older people of the non-student class were satisfied with ameliatory steps of reform, they want to push their idealism far ahead in an uncompromising quest. They may have succeeded only very poorly when judged by the high standards they set for themselves, but they have surely written a glorious page for the history of China—a page, too, which is stained with their tears and blood and won only with a price. What happened in May 4 1919, in May 30 1925, in March 18 1926, and in numerous other student demonstrations are too well-known to us to need recounting here. The students stand for enlightened public opinion and have stirred up the nation to fight for a united China and for national justice. One wonders whether the northern drive of the Nationalists in 1926 and 1927 could be as speedy and successful as it was without the disciplined and trained students who have, in a dash of enthusiasm, thrown away their books to join the colors. Now that the country is united under the Nationalist Government, it would seem that students can again take things more easily; but that this is not the case is seen in their protests against a proposal recently made to stop the youth movements. They still want to retain their position as prophetic leaders in the building of a new China.

Beginnings of the Anti-Christian Movement.

The facts of this movement, again, are so fresh in our mind that we do not need to go into details of what has happened since its outburst in 1922. Among the many attacks on religion—almost exclusively on Christianity—the three main ones are, first, that religion (Christianity) is a tool of Capitalism; second, that it is the forerunner of Imperialism; and third, that religion is superstition. The first two attacks were the outcome of the growth of nationalism which, since the Revolution, has been fighting hard against the economic and political exploitations of the West and of Japan; the third attack was consonant with the spirit of the New Thought Movement which has singled out science and democracy as the two tools for the emancipation of China. History and experience testify that there is a large measure of truth in all the three attacks; but, nevertheless, they were so much given to the display of the sentiment, that the saner element among the intellectuals was rather hesitant in giving their approval to the general trend of the Movement. We may call this the first stage of the attitude of modern Chinese students towards religion, and in this stage we hear the noisy attacks of an enthusiast rather than the calm criticism of a student.

Religion a Side Issue.

Since the downfall of the Communists in the Kuomintang regime in 1927, we enter on the second stage of student attitude towards religion, a stage characterised by coldness and indifference. Two reasons account for this attitude. First, the repeated announcements of religious tolerance by the Nationalist Government toned down somewhat the prejudice against Christianity and Christian institutions. This fact was greatly helped by the elimination from the Government of the Communists with their agitations against religion. Second, many weighty problems present themselves at this time which students and the nation in general have to face and religion has become for them but a side issue. The new Government has not only to find practical means to attain national equality and to effect the destruction of the remnants of the militarists, but it has also entered upon a period of national construction on a wide scale. The setting up of political instruments, the enacting of new laws, the building up of war-ridden areas, the disbandment of soldiers—these and a hundred and one other things claim the attention of all. It seems as if the average student would say: we have enough things to be concerned about now; religion, whether it be true or false, we have no time to bother with at this time. The dominant note at this period is materialism and militarism: materialism in the sense that it is the material building up of the nation that is of paramount importance, and militarism in the sense that military preparedness is a necessary tool to fight against foreign imperialism. This latter attitude was very evident in the recent enforcement of military training in the colleges.

Facing the Real Problem.

With this realization of the urgent and practical needs of the building up of the nation comes a new era, according to the writer's opinion, of students' attitude towards religion. The long expected event—a united China—has practically come upon us with the fall of Peiping. The glamour and thrill of it quickly wore off and was replaced by a new feeling of dissatisfaction. The words of Dr. Sun Yat-sen seem to be literally true after each new achievement: 'The Revolution is not yet accomplished; we have still to labor on.' To be sure, some, perhaps much, progress is made each time, but every advance made only reveals more deep-seated needs not even thought of hitherto, so that sometimes we are tempted to feel that the achievement is no more than the changing of a label. The problems revealed are problems not for China alone to solve, but for the whole world; and the time it takes to solve them will not be a decade or two but may be generations. Nevertheless they are urgent problems for China because she is now at the cross-roads, and the immediate tasks need the guidance of a proper ideal. Broadly speaking these problems, for the students, fall into two main groups, namely, the socio-political and the personal.

First, the socio-political problem. For the past two or three decades, consciously or unconsciously, the students have been asking: What is the ideal social order for China? Before the Revolution, the Republican form of government with all that is implied answers the question. The New Thought Movement since about 1919, however, introduces from the West a host of political and socialistic theories and when people saw China still in travail, they begin to wonder if after all the Revolution had solved China's problems. After the stabilization of Soviet Russia, the Communistic theory flowed in freely into the mind of the youth hungry for a practical ideal. After all, the economic problem, the problem of the people's living, is fundamental: everywhere we see social injustice and the wealth of the few at the expense of the stunted life of the mass. Communism offers a solution full of revolutionary spirit which highly appeals to the youth. Many a lovely student have sacrificed their lives for it. Now Communism had its day in China and many young men whose imagination was once fired by it are now disillusioned. But the persistent question remains: What is the ideal social order for China? Let us see how Dr. Sun's San Min Chü I meets the test? We may safely say that these principles, in theory at least, have now become like a common creed to all except the 'anti-Revolutionist'. But when we come to the Kuomintang, which is supposed to be the organ to carry them out, it is a different matter. This party, like all parties, has continually to fight against corruption among its own members. Much in connection with its administration of the Government has been criticised both by its own members and by outsiders. Then again, the San Min Chü I is only a general theory for solving China's problems, waiting to be worked out in detailed practical schemes. The most important of the three principles, the Principle of the People's Living, is unfinished in its presentation by Dr. Sun. We have but a very vague idea of how it is to be worked out. For these reasons, people will naturally ask, In what concrete ways does the San Min Chu I solve China's problem? And is the Kuomintang able to do it? In the meantime young men will keep on their quest for an ideal social order, and even such an extreme theory as Anarchism is not without its followers.

Second, the personal problem. We may call this the quest for a new philosophy of life. The New Thought Movement is indeed a great emancipating force; it has broken down many intellectual and moral barriers. Unfortunately rapidly changing conditions in the country add greatly to the difficulty and do not permit much constructive work to be done. Old customs and the old moral code were partly discarded and

partly revised, and all kinds of new theories of life and conduct come in. Take the question of sex relations. The range of opinions on this matter may extend from parental control of marriage to free love and promiscuous sex relations. Then again there is the conflict of ideals and the social environment which forbids the living out of the ideals. Many a young man have been driven to despair and disgust with life, and even to suicide. They were once sure of how they should live and what they should believe and now they are at the cross roads. There will be a new sense of insufficiency and humility and a keen desire to seek to know the truth.

The Message from Religion.

This quest for an ideal social order, this yearning for truth, is religion itself. Religion does not seek to bring men into a different compartment of life labelled as 'religious': rather its mission is to direct this very same quest, and fulfill this very same yearning. In the middle ages and until only recently, religion leaned strongly towards unworldliness; now people go the other extreme and think that outside of tangible material needs there is nothing in man that correspond to the conception of the 'spiritual'. Happily the immensity of the problems, the sad experiences of failures always bring with them this awful truth—that man does live by bread, and yet not by bread alone. Men do very often die for want of bread; and yet there are only too many sad instances of men dying while there is bread aplenty. Men will only very slowly realise that in this world besides material wants there is a set of principles the observance of which alone makes the supply of these wants possible. Men will only very slowly realize that there is an unseen Power with its germ in the human heart that lifts man up from his petty selfishness to the holy altar of love and service to his fellowmen. There is nothing mysterious about this; nor need it even be 'supernatural'. Man finds it in his everyday experience, and his experience is confirmed by the accumulated experience of generations of men before him. This experience at its furthest end touches the heart of the universe which religious men give the distinctive name of 'the divine'.

Now what has all this to do with the persistent problems of youth. It will mean at least the following things. First it will help them to turn their eye from confusing voices of rival claims to the fundamental human needs and there to discover the supreme worth of human personality and the principle of life which will keep that worth sacred. Second, it will help them to be conscious of the reality of that Power which makes for righteousness and to develop a faith in it which will serve as a regenerating force amid the struggles and perplexities of life. This by itself, however, is no panacea to all human ills. It only supplies the right attitude, the right motive, an orientation, and a perspective whereby the right remedies may be worked out. It calls for experiments and it requires faith and adventure. It need not exclude nor oppose all those worthy theories and schemes for social betterment already in existence. It rather seeks to fulfill them. It is a leaven that leavens all life, for it is co-extensive with life. It will mean calmness, conviction, and power to all those who have grasped its essence and caught its spirit.

The youth of China are seeking a way out not only for themselves, but also for the nation. They have just begun to taste the joys of emancipation, but they are still lost in the chaos of the kaleidoscopic problems in the present situation. Religion will help them first in the clarification of thought and in the seeing of visions, and then through the living out of its faith in new adventurous life experiments, in the working out of their own salvation and the salvation of China. It was religious spirit of this kind that was the soul of Dr. Sun, the great founder of the Republic, and it will be the same spirit that will enable people to complete and perfect the great task he had just begun.

Awakening of the Christian Students.

Meanwhile the Christian students are undergoing what may be called a spiritual regeneration. During the past ten years they have emerged from a dormant and passive life to the same earnest quest such as their non-Christian brothers are pursuing. First, they are seeking a vitalising and a clarification of their religious faith. They have tried to put aside traditional religious beliefs to do their own thinking, with their own culture in the background. Second, they are seeking still more earnestly to apply their faith to the challenging problems of China. What would religion mean if it is not completely absorbed into life? they would ask. These things are yet in the process of making, but they promise a great future. Through small fellowship groups, the Christian students are working out their own problems in a quiet way. A Student Christian Movement is already in its inceptive stage. We may note that the awakening of the Christian students is, in part at least, caused by the New Thought Movement and the Anti-Christian Movement. It remains to be seen how far the Student Christian Movement will be able to influence and guide the general student movements in turn. The tremendous task before us requires all the wholesome new forces to work together. And when students begin to realise that religion has its vital truths which supplement and harmonise with truths discovered in other realms of life, they will welcome religion with open arms as one of the great nation-building forces of new China.

A Typical Chinese Students' Demonstration Held at Swatow for the Purpose of Protesting Against the Japanese Activities in Shantung Province in Connection with the Tsinan Incident

The Shanghai Provisional Court. Its Past, Present and Future

BY HOH CHIEH-SHIANG

THE present status of the Shanghai Provisional Court is highly unsatisfactory in many respects and is far from forming an integral part of the Chinese judical system. While it can not be said that it is essentially a foreign court, as its predecessor, the Mixed Court, virtually was, certainly it can neither be called a purely Chinese judicial institution in view of numerous encumbrances of foreign control and domination that are attendant to its functioning. The exact status of the Court can be best described as a compromise between the alien usurpers, the Shanghai Consular Body, and the sovereign Chinese Authorities. Such a status is untenable and unwarranted in these days of intense Nationalism. The Court must purge itself of its alien influence and place itself under effective control of the Chinese Government.

A close examination of the provisions of the Provisional Agreement will readily reveal the fact that the rendition of the former Mixed Court to China is only conditional and far from being complete and as these provisions are rigidly enforced, the Court is still subject in no small measure, to foreign influence and domination.

The Provisional Agreement which came into force on January I, 1927 has fifteen more months to run and it seems highly interesting to predict what might happen to the Court after its expiration. Sensing the tendencies of the times, one would not hesitate to point out the possibility that the Agreement would be unconditionally cancelled and the Court be taken over by the Chinese in its entirety or it will be so revised as to clear the Court of the last vestiges of foreign influence. Compromise, as its present status undoubtedly is, gets one nowhere, but is also contrary to the spirit of the times and the spirit of Revolution through which China is now passing. Vigorous measures are needed to bring the Court under effective and plenary control of the Chinese, and, Revolutionary China will be ashamed, if she should be daunted to take the necessary steps to achieve the object and safeguard her judicial integrity.

Dr. Ho Shih-chen, President of the Provisional Court.

The Provisional Court has been under the Chinese administration for over a year and a half. The world outside as well as the foreigners in China may be interested to know how the Court has functioned during the past twenty months under the Chinese and how the former International Mixed Court worked under foreign control and direction. In order to appreciate the differences, it seems appropriate to give a brief historical review of the Mixed Court from its establishment to its rendition to China and also a general description of the present working of the Provisional Court.

History of the Mixed Court.

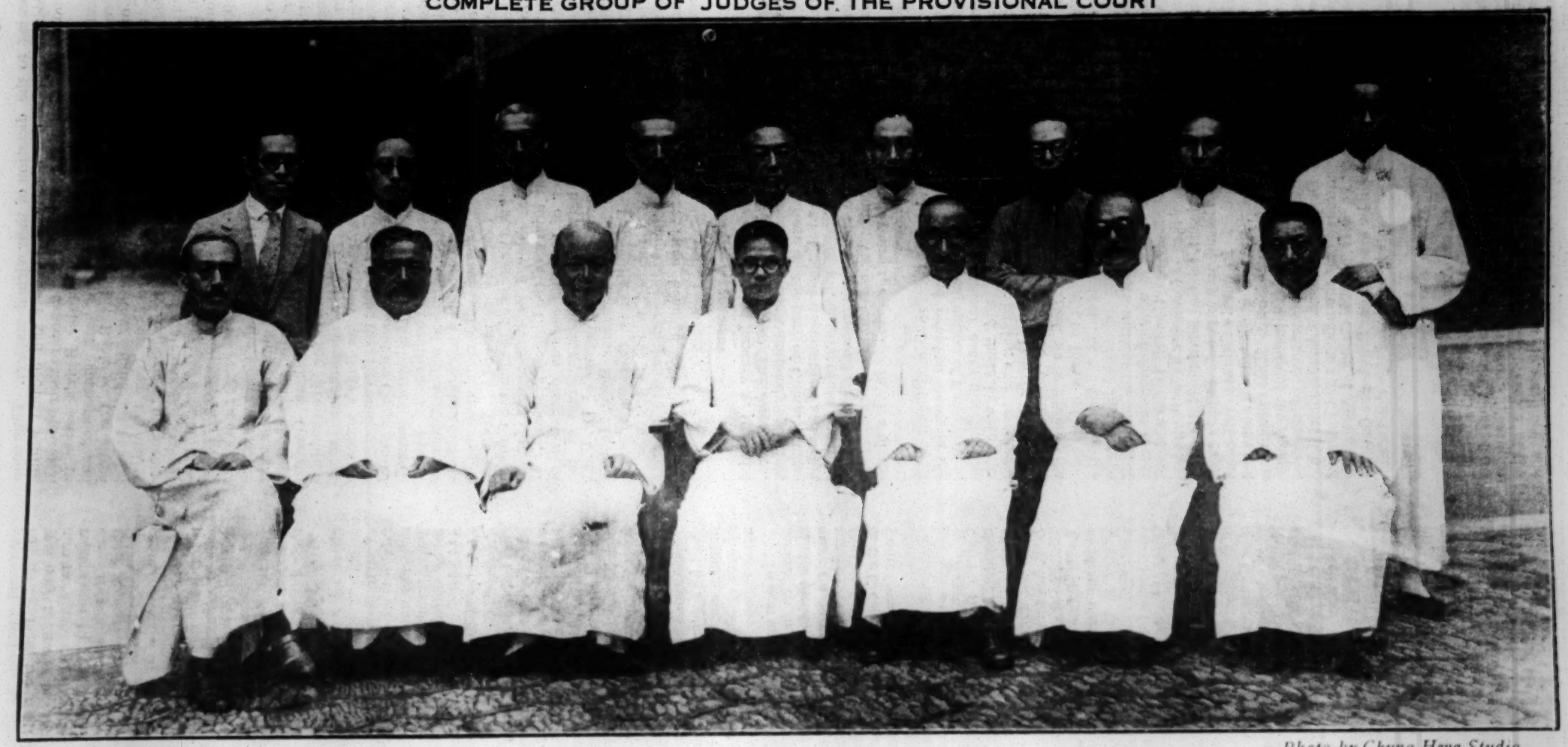
The Mixed Court or the Mixed Tribunal as it was originally called, was established on May 1, 1864 at the British Consulate. Prior to its establishment, all the offenders violating the regulations of the Settlement, Chinese as well as the foreigners of the Non-Treaty countries, were brought before the Consuls British and American of the Settlement for *Examination* and upon guilt being established, were committed to the Chinese City Magistrate of Shanghai for trial and punishment. Dissatisfied with such a system and aspiring to usurp the Chinese judicial authority over its residents in the Settlement, contrary to Treaty Provisions the Consuls of the various countries under the British ringleadership agitated for the establishment of an independent judicial machinery in the Settlement itself. As the Treaties clearly provided for the trial and punishment of Chinese offenders in the Settlement by the Chinese Authorities according to Chinese Law, they could not at that time very well attempt to create a foreign jurisdiction by themselves over the Chinese residents in the Settlement. Somehow, one Harry Parkes, the then British Consul at Shanghai, got particularly worried over the matter and worked out an idea. He proposed to establish a Chinese Court in the Settlement with foreign assessors sitting in cases affecting foreign interests and his proposal was endorsed by the Consular Body. This man Parkes' project was later formally communicated to Peking and seemed to be acceptable to the defunct Imperial Ching Government. As a result of these steps, the then Taotai of the Hu-Hai District appointed an inferior official as Magistrate of the Mixed Court which was officially opened at the British Consulate in 1864 with a British Vice-Consul sitting as an assessor. At its inception, the constitution of the Court was very vague and undefined and it was entirely to be left to the initiative of the men who constituted its Bench. But in 1869, a set of rules was drawn up for the regulation of the Court. The Court was to have jurisdiction of mixed cases and also purely Chinese civil and commercial suits. When any foreign interests were involved or the peace and order of the Settlement was affected, a foreign assessor sat with the Chinese Magistrate to watch the proceedings and his concurrence was necessary for the validity of judgments given by Chinese judges. But when both of the litigant parties were Chinese citizens, the Chinese Magistrate should sit alone and adjudicate the cases independently — the foreign Consul shall not interfere.

Ever since the establishment of the Court, strenuous efforts and impassioned attempts had been made by the Consular Body and the foreign assessors to gain and usurp greater authority into their own hands and the latter exercised their right of concurrence for the validity of judgments in the most rigorous manner. It not infrequently happened that disagreements between the Chinese Magistrate and the foreign assessors caused a deadlock to the proceedings of the Court. The assessors were no more judges than the Chinese Magistrates and being merely consular agents they knew little or nothing about their own legal system, not to say the Chinese Law. They quarreled with Chinese Magistrates over trivial incidents and over matters of prestige or "face" and claims of superiority to Chinese rather than dispute on points of law. As the time went on, the Assessors became more and more aggressive and their impatience to usurp the control of the Court coupled with their adoption of the various methods aiming at the encroachment of the Chinese sovereignty finally led the then Governor of Soochow, Chen Te-chuan, in a memorial to the Ching Emperor as late as 1910 to recommend the abolition of the Mixed Court and the establishment of a Branch Court of the Provincial Supreme Court at Shanghai in its place.

The Days of the Revolution

But, thanks to the progress of the times, the critical situation of the Court was saved to the great satisfaction of the For-

COMPLETE GROUP OF JUDGES OF THE PROVISIONAL COURT



—*Photo by Chung Hwa Studio.*

An excellent photograph showing a complete group of Judges of the Shanghai Provisional Court, some of whom have been newly appointed following resignations of several judges who were formerly appointed by Dr. Loo Hing-yuan. Dr. Ho Shih-chen, President of the Court, is seen seated in the centre of the front row. The names of other judges are, reading left to right, front row: Judges Chow Sien-cho, Chung Hung-sun, Show Yue, Dr. Ho Shih-chen (President), Ho Yi-koh, Wong Chien-tsu, Ying Shih; back row: Judges Kao Chun-hsiang, Yue Chen-hsiu, Cheng Wen-chia, Li Ching-foo, Kuh Shih-shuen, Ju Chen-sheh, Hsu Kung-tien, Hsung Fei, and Huang Liang.

eign Consular Body and foreigners in Shanghai. In 1911, the Revolution broke out. Shanghai, like various other important centers, fell into the hands of the Revolutionaries and the Mixed Court was closed for the time being, as is incidental to all such great political upheavals all over the world. Two of the Magistrates fled and the court ceased functioning. The Consular Body, seizing this unexpected occasion at once issued a proclamation, taking over the control of the Court and "conferred with Messrs. Kwang Chung, Wang Chia-hai and Nieh Tsung-yi in their offices as Chinese Magistrates of the said Court to act under the *Guidance* of and in concert with the Assessors of the Consuls." Meanwhile, the Police of the Shanghai Municipal Council, under instructions from the Consular Body, entered the prisons and the House of Detention and took over control of all the Court premises. The financial administration of the Court was also taken over by the Municipal Council on behalf of the Consular Body and a Financial Office was created with a special officer of the Council's staff to take charge of the deposits of the Court for its maintenance. As a result of these swift and vigorous measures, the Court passed into effective control of the Consular Body and thus became an integral part of the extraterritorial jurisdiction of the Treaty Powers. The Chinese Magistrates were shorn of all real power except an empty name and had as they been made paid servants of the Foreign Consuls, no longer daring to oppose the assessors, but patiently lis-

tening to the dictation of their virtual masters. They soon lost their pretended dignity of the past and became willing tools of the Consular Body in order to secure their positions.

The tangible results of the Consular Body's action in usurping the control of the Court are best summarised and presented by Mr. A. M. Kotenev in his Book on the Mixed Court. They include the following four significant points: Complete independence of the Mixed Court from the native judicial system and thus, from the City Authorities of Shanghai; the presence of foreign assessors watching proceedings in purely Chinese civil suits; recognition of the possibility of foreign interests being involved in purely Chinese matters and appointment of a Registrar.

During the years from 1911 to 1927, the Court was under so firm a grip of the foreigners that it had almost lost identity as a Chinese institution and during these years, many abortive attempts were made by both the former Peking Government and the local Chinese community for its rendition to the Chinese authorities. Legally speaking, a formal rendition was unnecessary, as the Consular Body's action in assuming control over the Court during the Revolution was presumed a merely temporary measure and the Court should have been handed back to the Chinese Authorities immediately after the reinstatement of normal conditions in Shanghai. If the Chinese Authorities only had sufficient courage to assert their rights they could very well have taken matters into their own hands and adopted appropriate measures to recover the control of the Court by themselves. However they chose the "safe way" and negotiated the matter through diplomatic channels which delayed its retrocession for so many years to the great injury of the Chinese residents. It was only in the Summer of 1926 that serious discussion of the matter was made between the representatives of the Kiangsu Provincial Government in the person of Dr. V. K. Ting and Mr. Hsu Yuan and the Consular Body. It was only after many strained negotiations that the Present Provisional Agreement was reached which is encumbered with so many conditions incompatible with judicial integrity and preventing the Court from being a purely Chinese institution.

The Rendition Agreement

The Agreement became operative on January 1, 1927 and is to be effective for three years until 1930. The Agreement, though far from being a success, is, conscientiously speaking, by no means an absolute failure on the part of China. It has its merits and demerits and I shall discuss them and weigh them in a fair balance. First of all, in spite of its numerous conditional provisions, the court was rescued from foreign hands and is now placed under virtual Chinese control. This is, in itself no mean achievement, especially in view of the failures of the past negotiations.

The Agreement provides that the Provisional Court shall have jurisdiction over all civil and criminal cases in the International Settlement with the exception of those involving Consular Jurisdiction. In Criminal cases affecting the peace and order of the Settlement and those in which the accused is in the employ of a foreigner having extraterritorial rights, the Senior Consul may appoint a Deputy to sit with the Judge to watch the proceedings. The power of the Deputy has now been greatly curtailed, as he has only the right to record objections, but no right to insist on his concurrence for the validity of the judgments rendered by the Chinese judge. Neither is the Deputy permitted any more to cross-examine witnesses or prisoners without the consent of the trial Judge. In civil cases, in which foreign interest is involved or the Shanghai Municipal Council is the plaintiff and in criminal cases in which a foreigner having extraterritorial rights is the complainant, the Consul of the Nationality concerned or the Senior Consul may appoint a Deputy to sit jointly with the Chinese judge. In purely Chinese civil cases involving no foreign interest, the Chinese judge sits alone and adjudicates the cases himself independently. These provisions must also be counted as among the achievements of the Agreement which tends to diminish the importance of the presence of the Foreign Deputy in Court. Another noticeable thing must also be mentioned that the officials and judges of the Provisional Court as well as the Court of Appeal are now appointed and salaried by the Kiangsu Provincial Government, instead of being accepted and paid by the foreign Consular Body.

Glaring Defects in Agreement

However, the defects of the Agreement are also glaring and must not be overlooked. It is precisely these defects which we complain of and which handicap the Court from becoming a purely Chinese judicial institution. The most serious of these is undoubtedly the continual presence of the foreign Deputies and their right to watch proceedings and record objections. Legally speaking, the presence of these consular officials in a Chinese tribunal has no treaty basis and expressed sanction, as there is no specific treaty stipulation conferring them the right to appear in Chinese Courts. It was only tolerated by the sovereign Chinese under special circumstances upon special arrangements. In view of its repugnance to the dignity of China and the obsoleteless of these arrangements, such toleration should be withdrawn and their appearance be prohibited. The second defect must be ascribed to the role being played by the Municipal Police in its control over the court.

The Agreement confers vast powers on the Police and places under its control all the prisons attached to the Court with the exception of the House of Detention for civil cases and the Women's Prison. All summonses, warrants, and orders issued by the Court are also to be executed by the Judicial Police which are detailed from the Municipal Police Force and directly responsible to the Court in execution of their duties as such.

The Police also have control of the Court premises and above all constitute its sole medium through which the whole machinery of the Court is set in motion. This provision of participation of police in the functioning of the Court is fatal in many ways and will provide abundant material for criticism and discussion in a later section. Thirdly, is the appointment of the Foreign Chief Clerk of the Court who is to be entrusted with the financial affairs and the general administration of the Court. He is recommended by the Consular Body and appointment is forced upon the Kiangsu Provincial Government. While he is subject to the supervision and orders of the Court, the latter can not establish any effective control over him and can not remove him without the consent of the Consular Body. He wields great powers and has the full support of the Consular Body, the Municipal Council and Municipal Police. It is abnormal that a foreigner should control the financial resources of a Chinese institution and he should be displaced by a Chinese. Lastly, judging from the provisions of the Agreement, apparenlty Chinese law does not reign supreme in its application in the Court, as the Agreement stipulates that while all Chinese law, both substantive and adjective applicable in other Chinese Courts shall be applicable equally in the Provisional Court, but "due account must be taken of the terms of the Agreement and of such established rules of procedure of the Mixed Court as agreed upon!

To sum up, the defects of the agreement are so glaring and serious as to overshadow its achievements and practically render the document almost valueless, and the document is merely a compromise. Presence of and watching of proceedings by the Deputies, control of the Municipal Police over the Court, the post of a Foreign Chief Clerk and interference of the Consular Body go far to condition the status of the Court from being a constituent of the Chinese judicial system.

Changes in Personnel

Since the control of the Court was taken over, the Chinese Administrations of the Court have undergone several changes. Mr. Hsu Wei-tseng was appointed the first President early in 1927 by the Kiangsu Provincial Government then under the domination of the Northern Militarist Sun Chuan-fang, but shortly after the capture of Shanghai by the Nationalists, he was displaced and succeeded by Mr. Loo Hsin-yuan. Loo's regime which lasted over fourteen months is full of incidents which can sufficiently demonstrate how foreign interference in the administration of the Court can harass the Chinese Government and how a denationalised Chinese Judge armed with foreign support can insult the national dignity of China. Loo's administration of the Provisional Court had been a source of dissatisfaction to the Nanking Authorities for some time and his dismissal was ordered more than twice. With the Consular Body standing behind him and assuring him of its support, Loo waged an undignified war with the Nationalist Government and held his position to the last minute when his supporters gave way to the sovereign authorities in Nanking. Following Loo's removal, Dr. Ho Shih-chen assumed the office as the President of the Court to which he has been appointed by the Kiangsu Provincial Government to succeed him.

Dr. Ho is a native of Anhwei and hailed from an ancient family well known for scholastic attainments. He is a Bachelor of Law from the Comparative Law School of China and a Doctor of Jurisprudence from the University of Michigan. He is the founder and President of the Chih Tze University and once Commissioner of Education for Anhwei. Dr. Ho has also practiced law in Shanghai for many years and won for himself a reputation as one of the best learned attorneys-at-law in China. Politically, he has always identified himself with the Kuomintang and remained an ardent supporter of the cause of the Nationalists. With his profound learning of law and his successful career in the past, Dr. Ho is eminently qualified for such an important post as has been assigned to him.

Dr. Ho has been in office for several months and vigorous measures for the reform of the Court are under contemplation. Unlike his unworthy predecessor, the incumbent President of the Provisional Court is not amenable to foreign influence, but is a faithful upholder of Chinese sovereign-rights. Interviewed by the writer at his office the other day, Dr. Ho discussed the status and organisation of the court and also made known his policies of administration. While Dr. Ho was very reserved he is nevertheless quite outspoken in his conversations.

"First of all, "Dr. Ho said," we must have a right understanding of the legal status of the Provisional Court and beyond all possibilities of misunderstanding, the Court is a Chinese institution. This is well evidenced by the word 'rendition,' when the Court was handed back to the Chinese Authorities.

"What is your policy of Administration of the Court?" Dr. Ho was interrogated. "For mutual welfare and common weal of the community," Dr. Ho stated, "I advocate the policy of co-operation between the Chinese judges and foreign Assessors, but I am absolutely uncompromising in the upholding and vindication of our sovereign rights. I must point out to you that I will never neglect Chinese interests merely for securing such co-operation. As the Court involves both Chinese and foreign interests, the Chinese Judges and foreign deputies should co-operate harmoniously with each other so as to facilitate the administration of justice in the Settlement. It is wrong for foreign Deputies to presume that Chinese judges are neglecting foreign interests and they must remove their preconceived prejudice against this Court and the Chinese Judges.

"In this Court only one language is recognised," continued Dr. Ho, "and that language is Chinese. In the Mixed Court days, many languages were spoken before the Chinese Magistrates and foreign Assessors and the Court languages was not uniform. In order to rectify such an irregularity, it must be strictly enforced that the Chinese language be used in all proceedings in the Court. Foreign lawyers appearing in this Court must use the same and the foreign Deputies are presumed to be familiar with it, or have their pleadings properly translated into Chinese, which is the official language."

How the Court Functions

The present organisation of the Provisional Court is largely regulated by the Provisional Agreement and was briefly described by Dr. Ho. The Court is headed by its President immediately under whom is the Court of Appeal which consists of a Civil and a Criminal Division. The President of the Provisional Court is also President of the Court of Appeal under which comes the Provisional Court. The Provisional Court likewise consists of two Divisions: Civil and Criminal, the former having four courts, while the latter, five courts. Under the Civil Division, there is the Court of Execution which executes judgments in civil cases.

"On the administrative side," Dr. Ho further states, "I have only to mention the foreign Civil and Criminal Offices which are under the direct control of the Chief Clerk. These two Offices are largely constituted by foreigners, while a negligible number of Chinese is also represented on the staff. They seem to carry on in a rather loose manner and are more or less detached from the Court. It is my hope that they should cooperate heartily and faithfully with the Court and become an integral part of it both in name and in spirit.

"To solve the problem of congestion," President Ho said "I have under contemplation the scheme of construction of several new buildings. Six more Court rooms will be added to the present premises and a House of Detention for Criminal Cases will also be built."

As regards the financial appropriations of the Courts, the Kiangsu Provincial Government has deposited a sum of $60,000 as running expenses for its maintenance and meanwhile the incomes of the Court derived from fines are also appropriated towards defraying its expenditure.

The Provisional Court, which ranks foremost among the modern courts in China has a most admirable personnel. The men constituting its Bench are all modern trained and experienced lawyers and include many prominent jurists such as Dr. John C. H. Wu, who enjoys an international reputation in the field of jurisprudence. In spite of the fault-finding attitude of the foreign Deputies, the integrity of these judges has never been questioned and will not likely be called to question.

The Great Handicap.

However, in spite of the conciliatory, but uncompromising policy of President Ho and the efficient Chinese administration, the Court is now laboring under many handicaps the greatest of which is that the foreign Deputies are incapable of appreciating the merits of the modern Chinese judges. Most of these deputies are the so called "old China Hands" of the Treaty Ports and ourios of the Mixed Court days.

They are men of self-conceit, fond of showing their dignified contempt on things Chinese and are accustomed to regard the Chinese officials as incompetent and inefficient. They are so conservative and reactionary that one not infrequently hears these "Old China Hands" remarking the "Mixed Court", when they mean to refer to the Provisional Court. These incidents, though trivial and ridiculous, prove conclusively that how far are the foreigners in the Treaty Ports behind the times, while Chinese Nationalism travels at remarkably rapid strides.

Such an attitude of contempt and the inability to appreciate Chinese Judges on the part of these Deputies are attributable to many causes, but may be best explained for two reasons. First, China adopted the Continental System of Law, while the Anglo-American Judges are greatly influenced by their own legal system. They regard the Chinese law at imperfect and it not infrequently happens in the Court thas the Anglo-American Deputies and European Deputies contend among themselves, each thinking their own system of law is more perfect and better than the other. Secondly, the foreign Deputies do not take the trouble to study the Chinese law and Chinese procedure—hence their ignorance.

Furthermore, not only is the Court under a great handicap, but it has also a serious problem to face upon the satisfactory solution of which depends the smooth and efficient administration of the Court. The problem, I refer to, is the participation of the Municipal Police in the functioning of the Court. The ample powers conferred upon the Police by the Provisional Agreement are fatal to the Court and I shall point out their fatality. The Court is now to a great extent at the mercy of the Police and its whole machinery may cease functioning at any moment, whenever the police withdraw co-operation and assistance. Even when they do condescend to co-operate with the Court, their co-operation is never sincere and is subject to the dictates of the Consular Body and the Municipal Council.

The Police in Action

These general considerations however would not be convincing, unless we substantiate them by specific instances. According to the provisions of the Provisional Agreement, the Municipal Police shall assist the Court in its administration and the judicial Police detailed from the Municipal Police shall be directly responsible to the Court in execution of its duties, as such. The Rendition Agreement further provides that when the Municipal Police arrest any person, he shall within twenty-four hours, be committed to the Court for trial and punishment. These provisions seem to be specific enough, insofar as the regulation of Police powers is concerned. But the Police take these slightly and observe them only when they choose to. The Police frequently defy the orders of the Court, while it is their duty to obey and execute with fidelity. Even in purely judicial matters, they listen more readily to the dictates of the Municipal Council, the Consular Body or even the foreign Deputies rather than the Court. At times, they exercise their own discretion and arrest and release persons on their own initiative without even a reference to the Court. Cases of disregard and defiance of the authority of the Court multiply in the archives of the Court, but only few instances need be cited for our present purpose.

As a direct instance of the free discretion of the Police, we have on the record of the Court a case of the Municipal Police arresting one Ling Ming-shan and twelve others one day last year releasing them the next morning without even the knowledge of the Court.

A recent case may be also cited which is highly demonstrative how the efficient administration of the Shanghai Area by the Chinese Authorities is handicapped and the work of the Court, interfered with as a result of the interference of the Deputies and the refusal of the Police to obey the orders of the Court. On the International Youth day, some twenty Chinese Communists were arrested by the Municipal Police on Nanking Road and were placed under custody. They were charged with treason to the Chinese Government and brought before the court for trial and punishment. Judging from the charge preferred by the Police, it is apparent that the nefarious activities of these communists not only involved the peace and order of the Settlement, but that of the entire country. Their disturbance on that day was merely a phase of their general plot to overthrow the Chinese Government. As the charge stands, it is perfectly right for the trial judge, Mr. Chau, upon proper application from the local Chinese authorities, to deny jurisdiction over the case and order the arrested gang to the Garrison Commander of Shanghai and Woosung for trial and punishment. But the foreign Deputy

(*Continued on page 193*)

Manchuria, a New Homeland of the Chinese

BY C. WALTER YOUNG

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WHILE several international conferences were considering ways and means of stimulating emigration from people-saturated places of Europe and Asia to those regions where man's advance on nature has but begun, a million Chinese in twelve months, quite unmotivated by those weighty deliberations, moved out of Shantung into Manchuria. The ultimate economic and political implications of their migration, aside from their personal desire for protection of life and some better assurance of livelihood, meant to them simply nothing. By force of compelling circumstance, a combination of famine, overpopulation, extortion and terrorism, these Chinese have migrated to Manchuria in such numbers as to make of the movement a phenomenon unprecedented in the whole period of modern history. What results the migration is likely to have it is therefore important to consider.

Manchuria, termed by the Chinese *Manchou* or *Tung San Sheng*, the Three Eastern Provinces, comprising Fengtien, Kirin and Heilungkiang which lie beyond the Pass, meaning outside the Great Wall at Shanhaikuan, during the past five years has received about 3,000,000 immigrants, principally from Shantung and to a lesser extent from Chihli and other provinces. By 1923 the annual influx had mounted to 300,000; in 1926 it was twice that; and then came the deluge. The only creditable efforts to preserve figures and facts of this migration movement have been made by investigators of the two principal Manchurian railways, the South Manchuria Railway and the Chinese Eastern Railway. The results of their constant attention to the subject, published only in Japanese and Russian incidentally, show that no less than a million Chinese came from across the Gulf of Chihli in 1927. But it is apparent from the present congestion of these immigrant refugees at Dairen, for example, that perhaps 2,000,000 of these usually destitute exiles from their ancestral homes will have come to Manchuria before the present year comes to an end.

500,000 Arrivals in a Year

Throughout the months of the past year in throngs averaging well over 1,000 daily, but often 5,000 or more, they have come ashore at Dairen from steamship and junk to a total of nearly 500,000. I have often observed a thousand or more of them, men, women and children, decrepit grandmothers with infant grandchildren in their arms, bent old grandfathers with their necessarily small share of the family chattels packed on their backs, all of them filing down the gangplank of a single steamer lately arrived from Tsingtao, or perhaps from Chefoo, Lungkou or Tientsin. Medical inspection over, tagged, herded, and urged, but never inhumanly, they are directed by the Japanese wharf police to the Chinese quarter of Dairen. There for a night or more in inns, where lodging may have been procured for them by the Shantung Guild, their fellow provincials in happier circumstances, they await some opportunity to be carried north into the Promised Land. Failing this, and it is in the majority of cases, they walk, some to Changchun over 400 miles distant, others even to Harbin. Among them are the women and children, now a fifth of the annual total, a fact which points very definitely to permanent settlement in Manchuria.

This movement of Chinese to Manchuria with the intention of permanent settlement is of peculiar interest for in the main, the *emigres* are of the farmer class of Shantung. The attachment of the Chinese farmer to the ancestral soil is profound, for to worship his manes there is the most sacred obligation of his life, to be buried there his fondest hope. To break that tie is to court disaster. Moreover, the traditional and communal ties of his native district, the group sanctions which both bind and bolster him, are to him paramount. If to undertake "grievous toil in the wilds" is to dissociate himself from them it is to be un-Chinese, than which for a Chinese there is no greater crime. The fact of 1,000,000 of them leaving for Manchuria in a year, of whom perhaps half will not return at least for many seasons, many of them never, some of them in wooden boxes by the ancient cart route through the Pass at Shanhaikuan, suggests at once that there must be very urgent reasons for the migration. Urgent reasons there are, indeed, for besides the struggle for existence, which in Shantung is severe enough in normal times, there is the present famine.

The awful famine which is now waging bitter war with human life in Shantung is the severest the province has suffered in recent years. It recalls the ravages of the terrible Shansi famine of 1877-78, parallels the cheapening of human, especially young female, life in 1898-99, and produces the same results as the famine of Shantung in 1911, an exodus to Manchuria. But the present famine is far worse than that of 1911, though the details would carry less credence were they not contained in a recent official report of the China International Famine Relief Commission. One-half of the districts of Shantung are suffering in consequence of crop failures; in many districts the crops were never harvested, and during the past Spring those fields were abandoned. The inevitable suffering has followed. Those with the necessary means are leaving, in one district over half the population already, for Manchuria. Add to this the insecurity for life and property produced by bandits and soldiers of the same ilk in long-suffering Shantung, the confiscation of property, the bleeding of the peasantry through arbitrary taxation and extortion, the evils of a hyper-inflated military currency, and the total is the explanation of the swelling of the tide of immigration to Manchuria from 500,000 in 1925 to 1,000,000 in 1927. But underlying the whole is that factor which for many years has been the cause of a seasonal migration of male laborers to Manchuria, the basal overpopulation of Shantung. Shantung is one of the most densely populated provinces of China—not all China is overpopulated—and is eight times more densely populated than Manchuria as a whole, and perhaps twenty times more than Heilungkiang, to which so many of the immigrant refugees are now going.

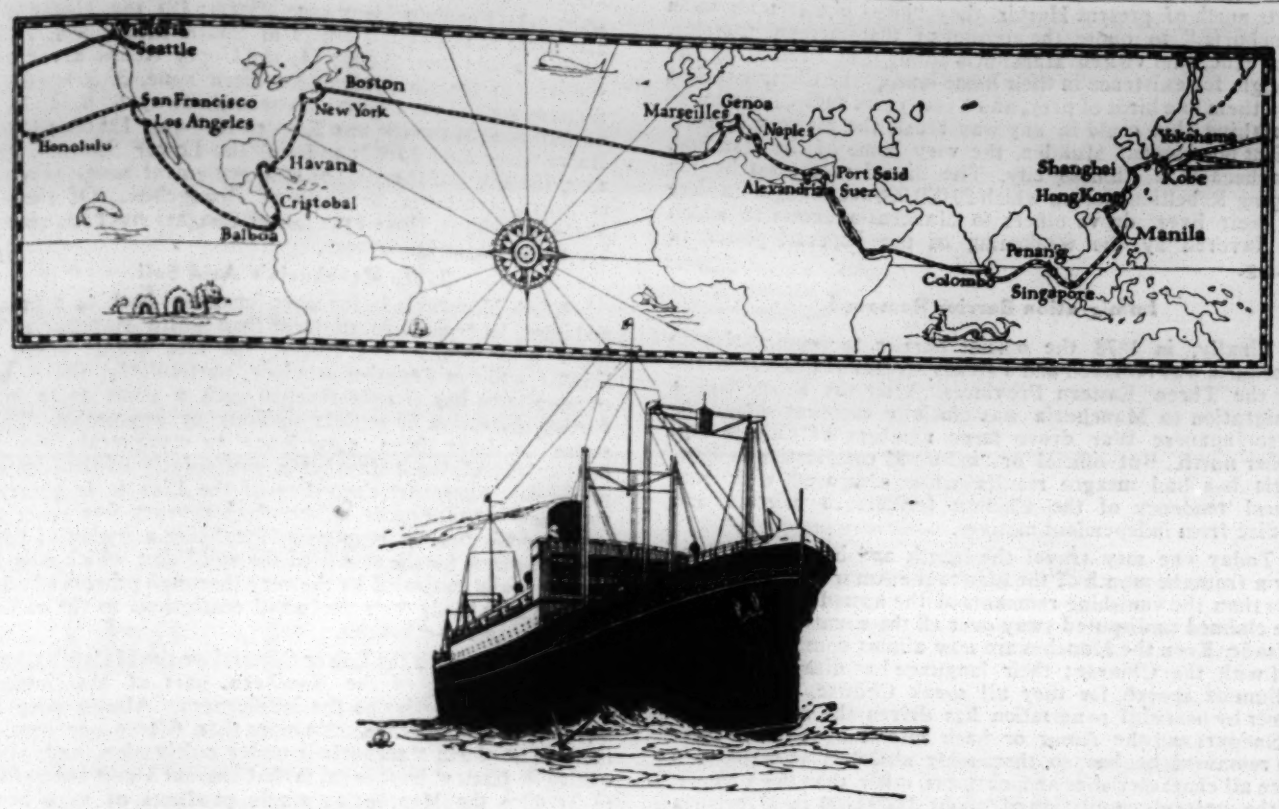
Until the last three years the migration of Chinese to Manchuria from Shantung had been rather in the form of a seasonal labor movement than one of intending colonists. But always a smaller percentage remained, some of them to settle in frontier areas, some to conquer new lands with plough and mattock. Certainly the most striking phase of the movement before 1925 was its "Spring come, Autumn go" character. In the great majority of cases the men left behind them their families. Manchurian agriculture which, particularly in the Northern regions, is characterized by larger land holdings than in Shantung, required extra seasonal laborers. Likewise with such enterprises as coal mining and railway construction for which laborers were actually recruited in Shantung. Their work having ended with the late Autumn they returned to their homes in Shantung, but no less from the potent influence of the desire to spend the meaningful festive season of the Chinese New Year in their ancestral homes. Hence during December and January the return movement was usually almost as great as the egress to Manchuria in March, April and May. This was the principal characteristic of the movement from shortly after the Russo-Japanese war until quite recently.

Early Chinese Colonies in Manchuria

It should not be supposed that these seasonal migrants labored in a country not already settled by their own race. Chinese colonization of Manchuria is not a new phenomenon; it antedates the Christian era. The first significant period of widespread Chinese settlement in Manchuria, however, corresponds almost exactly with the Colonial period in American history. The unsettled conditions in Northern China prevailing during the wars which resulted in the subjugation of China by the Manchus and the setting up of the Ching dynasty in 1644, then as now, drove hundreds of Chinese from Shantung beyond the Palisade. This steady influx, at times encouraged by the Manchu military in these Northern marches for the dual purpose of obtaining taxable subjects and of countering the Russian advance on the Amur, continued until 1776. In that memorable year Chien Lung, one of the most remarkable monarchs in Chinese history, issued an imperial edict which declared that Chinese immigrants "are forever prohibited from entrance" into Kirin province.

But neither official attempts of the Manchus to exclude the Chinese from the homeland of the rulers nor the measures taken to settle those of their own bannermen in Manchuria succeeded in checking what H. G. Wells has aptly called the "enormous powers of permeation and extension" of the "cultivating civilization of China." The story of the Manchu attempts to preserve their motherland for their race is but an ironic record of defeat for the victorious.

During the early part of the reign of Tao Kuang (1821-1851), or contemporary with the westward movement of settlers in the United States, the valleys of the Liao and Sungari rivers were settled in part by Chinese immigrants. Then for a pe iod of thirty years in consequence of the opening of vast



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Dollar Steamship Line
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rtacts north of present Harbin they "burst like torrents upon Manchuria," to quote the account of that intrepid traveler, Abbé Huc, who visited Manchuria about 1845. Pressed by the struggle for existence in their home lands, "the Chinese rushed upon them like birds of prey, and a few years sufficed to remove everything that could in any way recall the memory of their ancient possessors." Mukden, the very home of the Manchus, soon became a Chinese city. The disorders created by the Taiping Rebellion, during which 20,000,000 are thought to have lost their lives, drove others to Manchuria, access to which was favored by the weakening of the imperial power in Peking.

Immigration Barrier Removed

Finally, in 1878 the official barrier to immigration to Manchuria was removed and a steady stream of Chinese moved into the Three Eastern Provinces. After the Boxer Rising immigration to Manchuria was officially encouraged and the Russo-Japanese War drove large numbers of Chinese still farther north. But official or "induced" colonization in Manchuria has had meagre results when compared with that natural tendency of the Chinese farmers to migrate and colonize from independent motives.

Today one may travel the length and breadth of Manchuria from the mouth of the Liao to the Amur without finding more than the vanishing remnants of the nomadic peoples who once claimed undisputed sway over all the country beyond the Palisade. Even the Manchus are now almost completely identified with the Chinese; their language has disappeared as a medium of speech, for they all speak Chinese. The Chinese farmer by peaceful penetration has driven the nomads down the Sungari and the Amur or back into Mongolia, and those who remained he has so thoroughly absorbed as entirely to efface all characteristics and customs other than the Chinese. Of the present population of about 25,000,000 in Manchuria perhaps ninety per cent. are Chinese.

The present immigrants to Manchuria travel by two principal routes, that overland by way of the Chinese Government Railways from Shantung and Chihli to Mukden, and that by sea, either by steamer or junk, to Dairen, Yingkou and Antung. Of the latter over half the total number of immigrants disembark at Dairen whence they proceed north to meet the other stream of colonists at Mukden.

Although there are almost none of the abuses either in the ports of departure or on the voyage which characterized the "coolie trade," especially to Peru and the West Indies in the middle of the nineteenth century, with the abuses of the barracoon, the crimp and their "floating hells" on which over a fourth often died, the whole carrying trade from Shantung to Manchuria is a generally unregulated game of competition between the shipping companies. Overloading is frequent and occasionally disastrous, while the passage rates are variable for the "coolie cargo," as it is termed. Once in Dairen, destitute as the most of them are, there is hope of relief, especially through the Shantung Guild, whose activities in assisting the immigrants furnish one of the most commendable examples of the services of provincial guilds in China today that have come to my attention. The railways offer reduced rates for the men, still lower for the women, and carry the younger children and the aged without charge.

Of the immigrants who have come to Manchuria in the last few years the greater part have followed the route through Changchun, eventually spreading out in one great fan in the territory served by the Chinese Eastern Railway. Of the 630,000 who entered Manchuria during the first six months of 1927, over two-thirds continued into North Manchuria, a region without legal or political limits, but which may here be taken to include that part of Manchuria which lies north of Changchun, the junction of the Chinese Eastern and the South Manchuria railways. During the past few years there has been more railway construction in Manchuria than in all the rest of China, and today the mileage is about half of China's total. Naturally, the new lines have opened hitherto but partially settled regions and the immigrants tend to settle in those specific zones to which the railways are the most convenient means of access.

The inducements which Manchuria offers to the immigrants are principally those of agriculture either in labor, seasonal or permanent, or in lands, for rental or lease. Other enterprises, such as railway construction and maintenance or mining, especially at the Fushun Colliery, continue to require a few. But it is agriculture which now and in future is destined to be the principal attraction for immigrants as well as what determines settlement zones in Manchuria. Wherever a present tendency for the immigrants to become permanent settlers is evident the chief characteristic of the region of settlement is agricultural.

The zones of settlement in Manchuria are nine in number. Their relative importance may be indicated in a manner by giving them descriptive titles and adding the number of Chinese immigrants who entered each during the first six months of 1927: (1) The Yalu River zone, 25,000; (2) the Upper Sungari River zone, 100,000; others in South Manchuria, 75,000; (3) the Taonan zone, 15,000; (4) the Upper Nonni River zone, 35,000; (5) the Changchun Northern zone, 35,000; (6) the Western zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway, 60,000; (7) the Eastern zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway, 125,000; (8) the Hulan River zone, 10,000; and (9) the Lower Sungari River zone, 150,000. Of the total of nine settlement zones seven are in North Manchuria, or north of Changchun. Of those in North Manchuria, that of the Lower Sungari river has recently become of major importance.

South Manchuria's Arid Soil

North Manchuria is far more important both as a present and potential region of settlement than South Manchuria. The latter is generally less fertile, the idle arable areas are smaller, while in Fengtien province, particularly, the density of population has already reached such a point as to make further absorption of settlers unlikely or impossible. There seems to have been a tendency to exaggerate the soil productivity of South Manchuria, particularly of the Liaotung peninsula. Except for the valley of the Liao it is generally very sandy or even rocky, a fact which seventy-five years ago gave the Liaotung a reputation for being a region of "distinguished rank for the aridity of the soil," but which now has been partially concealed by the very thorough process of afforestation with hardy trees conducted contiguous to the railway by the Japanese authorities.

In contrast with the Lower Sungari or the Hulan Valley in Manchuria, much of the Southern part of Manchuria is extremely unattractive to the immigrants. Almost none are settling south of Mukden. No more than fifteen per cent. of the land of North Manchuria is under cultivation, and virgin cultivable lands at least equal to that amount await the settlers to produce the Manchurian staple products of soya beans, wheat, millet and rice.

Permanent settlement is indicated alike by the fact of the opening of these new land areas and their occupation by the immigrants and by the port figures of ingress and egress, which show that at least 500,000 did not return during 1927. Some will, of course, return after two or three years, especially if and when conditions in Shangtung improve. But particularly in Kirin and Heilungkiang in the Lower Sungari valley it is noticeable that tens of thousands are pushing back the frontier, felling the trees, building houses and breaking up the soil on hitherto virgin lands recently offered either free or at very low rentals by the provincial authorities. The greater part of the immigrants, however, do not reclaim wastelands or obtain farms for their own. They hire out their services usually on a "crop contract" basis to the landlords, who usually furnish them with housing, food, tools, seed and a small wage.

Colonists' Conditions in Manchuria

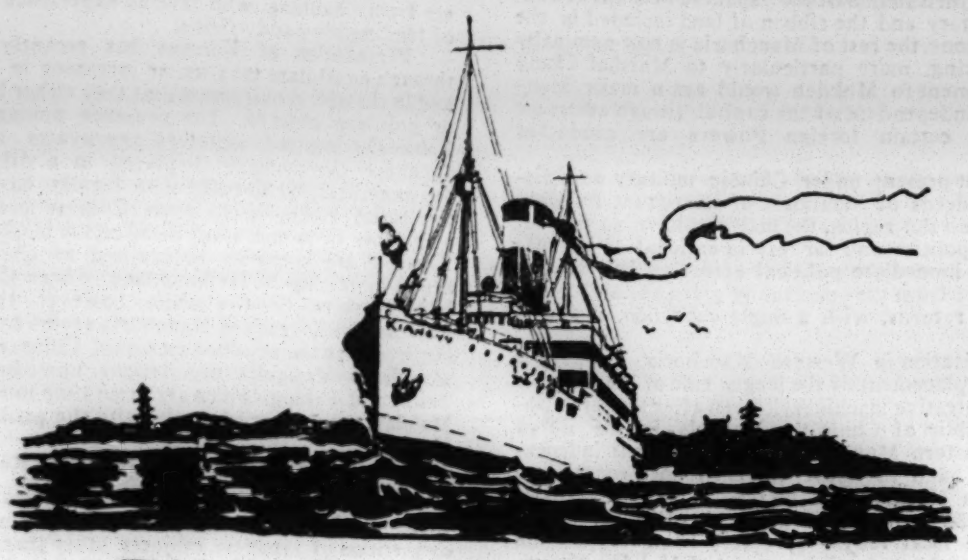
Of the economic effects of this mass migration to Manchuria the most obvious is that upon the colonists themselves. Allowing for the bitterness of their struggles—and in Manchuria, if less than in Shangtung, there are oppressive taxes, bandits, land sharks, and a flat currency, *fengpiao*, which in the Far East has become a synonym for hyperinflation—most of the immigrants find a measure of prosperity and at least a modicum of happiness. Almost all of them are finding in Manchuria what they seek the most, the right to live.

So vast a migration does assist in relieving the congestion of population in Shangtung which famine makes so disastrous. In Manchuria the population has increased 10,000,000 in twenty years. That increase has had a pronounced effect, both on agricultural production and on consumption of imported goods. But the country is still in the stage of agricultural production for self-consumption. Three-fourths of all that is grown is consumed locally.

With the increase in cultivated area, however, estimated to be from five to ten per cent. annually in North Manchuria, there is an increasing surplus of produce, principally beans, millet and rice, and part of it finds a world market, bean oil particularly in Germany, bean cake and rice in Japan, and millet in Chosen (Korea). Likewise this increased colonization reacts very slowly on market demand for imported things for their purchasing power is small and their wants few. The indirect effect is, however, significant. Manufacturing industries such as flour milling, bean oil and sugar milling are already beginning the transformation to the machine age which the railways encourage, and the railways in construction, made the more necessary by constant colonization, have already made of Manchuria the leading market in China for supply materials.

Political Effects of the Migration

Superficially the immigration of Chinese to Manchuria bears a ressemblance to what would occur if the population pressure in Japan were sufficient to force large colonization of Hokkaido. Manchuria is a part of China. Except for the last



The Pioneer Chinese Shipping Company

China Merchants S.N. Co.'s Services

Shanghai-Hankow
S.S. Kiang-Wah
„ Kiang-Yu
„ Kiang-Hsin
„ Kiang-Teen
„ Kiang-An
„ Kiang-Shun
„ Kiang-King
„ Kiang-Tah
„ Luen-Yi

Shanghai-Dairen
S.S. Too-Nan

Shanghai-Wenchow
S.S. Ha-Ean
„ Kwang-Chi

Shanghai-Swatow
S.S. Hsin-Chong

Hankow-Ichang
S.S. Kiang-Ching
„ Kwei-Lee

Shanghai-Foochow-Newchang
S.S. Hsin-Chi
„ Kaho

Shanghai-Hongkong-Canton
S.S. Kwang-Tah
„ Kwang-Lee
„ Hsin-Wah
„ Yu-Shun
„ Hsin-Kong

Shanghai-Ningpo
S.S. Hsin-Kiang-Teen

Shanghai-Tientsin
S.S. Hsin-Ming
„ Hsin-Fong
„ Tai-Shun
„ Tung-Wah

No Definite Destination
„ Kung-Ping

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vestiges of Russian control over the the Chinese Eastern Railway zone and the jurisdiction of the Japanese over the Kwantung Leased Territory and the ribbon of land included in the South Manchuria zone, the rest of Manchuria is now nominally responsible to Peking, more particularly to Marshal Chang Tso-lin. His retirement to Mukden would again make Manchuria practically independent of the capital, though even now negotiations with certain foreign Powers are conducted through Mukden.

Manchuria is at present under Chinese military administration. Of the hundreds of thousands of immigrant refugees who are pouring into the region, the majority have no interest at all in provincial politics and far less in national or international affairs. The immediate political effect of their coming to Manchuria, apart from the opportunity given the authorities for increased tax returns, with a single exception, is almost negligible.

Chinese colonization in Western Manchuria, has served to complete the displacement of the league rule of the Mongols by Chinese administrative machinery. Even after the establishment of the Republic of China the Mongols in the Barga district of Northwestern Manchuria maintained their independence of Peking, and the local Russian timber concessionaires still pay them blackmail to forfend bandit raids. About Taonan, however, Mongol control has been entirely replaced with Chinese; the local *taoyin* (prefect) being responsible directly to the *shengchang* (civil governor) of Mukden, though in fact the region is under military control. But the vast majority of the immigrants proceed to Northeastern Manchuria, where Chinese administration has long been established in fact. It is rather in Mongolia than in Manchuria where Chinese colonization is widening administrative boundaries for China. Ultimately, however, a population in Manchuria predominantly Chinese will redound to the political strength of China.

Persecution of Korean Settlers

The only exception to the generally inconsequential political effect of the movement of such vast numbers of Chinese to Manchuria is that which arises from the conflict with the Korean farmers, some 800,000 of whom are now living in Manchuria. The Koreans have settled principally in Kirin and to a lesser extent in Heilungkiang. So great has been the influx of Chinese recently that there is actually a temporary oversupply of cheap labor, which fact has led in certain cases to oppression of the Koreans, long tolerated as desirable settlers, by the local Chinese authorities or by the Chinese farmers themselves. The competition is lessened, however, by the fact that most of the Koreans are rice farmers who have reclaimed low lands not formerly desired by the Chinese farmers from Shantung, who have no experience in the tedious task of tending the paddy fields.

Persecution of Koreans has recently become severer through exorbitant taxation or increases in land tenancy rents and in the new requirement that they either become naturalized or quit the country. The presence among them of a few Bolshevist-inspired agitators aggravates the problem. The Japanese Government is placed in a dilemma. To protect the unnaturalized Koreans who legally have modified extra-territorial rights is to court Chinese hostility; to refuse protection is to encourage disaffection in Chosen. Many of the Koreans are becoming naturalized as Chinese, while others are re-migrating to Heilungkiang where Chinese persecution is less severe. On the whole, however, the conflict of the Chinese and Koreans in Manchuria seems to be rather officially inspired than the result of increased Chinese colonization. The Manchuria-Mongolia negotiations now in process between Tokio and Peking, which are from time to time transferred to Mukden, are concerned partly with the problem of Koreans in Manchuria.

Effect on Chinese-Japanese Relations

The direct effect of this Chinese migration upon Chinese-Japanese relations is slight. There is no question involved of competition of Japanese subjects other than the Koreans, with the Chinese farmers. In Manchuria there are very few Japanese farmers, and those who are there do not need to compete unaided with the Chinese. Japanese subjects in Manchuria, other than Koreans, number perhaps less than 250,000, of whom nine-tenths live under Japanese jurisdiction either in the leased territory or the railway zone. That their petty peddlers fail to compete with the Chinese is of no concern.

The Japanese in Manchuria are capitalists and promoters, not farmers. Their largest enterprise is the South Manchuria Railway and its subsidiary industries, and the interests of the railway are served by the annual migration of the Chinese from Shantung. Since shortly after the Russo-Japanese war Chinese have been permitted to pass through the Kwantung Leased Territory without passports, the only restrictions upon the immigration at Dairen being such as are imposed to enforce the regulations governing overloading of steamers and medical examination. From 1911 until very recently the Japanese actually encouraged Chinese immigration through recruitment offices in Shantung and Chihli, now quite unnecessary, and the Japanese-owned South Manchuria Railway continues to offer reduced rates to the immigrants.

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Centrosojus, G.m.b. H., Berlin,
Trading Company, "Centrosojus" Ltd., Riga.

Effective Advertising in China

BY C. P. LING, B. A., M. A.,

Manager, China Commercial Advertising Agency, Shanghai

ADVERTISING in China has shown remarkable progress during the past few years. To-day, more Chinese people believe and take interest in advertising because it pays them to advertise. To the manufacturers, advertising means larger volume of sales; and for the consumers it paves the way to reach necessaries, comfort and conveniences of life. In China, as in other countries, advertising has proved its effectiveness both in its application and influence.

The progress of effective advertising in this country is evidenced by the growth of advertising revenue for the publishers and the liberality with which the advertisers increase their appropriations. The increasing demand for advertising media, the improvement of advertising methods and the spread like wild fire of advertising agencies further substantiate the foregoing evidence of the progress of effective advertising in China. The *Shun Pao* and *Sin Wan Pao* of Shanghai which lead all other papers in China in circulation receive tens of thousands of dollars a month from their dvertising. Similarly, many other papers, both foreign and Chinese, have come to depend on their advertising as a source of regular income. A well-known American manufacturing concern of toilet articles has increased yearly its advertising appropriation in north China alone from M$5,000 in 1927 to M$10,000 in 1928. The appropriation for next year, as I was told by its representatives here, will be M$20,000. This increase is justified by the growing volume of its sales in China. The study of any well-planned advertising campaign in China to-day will show the use of variety of media and the application of scientific methods in creating demands. Advertising experts, though few in number, are in the field. Many advertising agencies have recently come into existence. Shanghai alone has about 40 or 50 advertising agencies, though most of them are lacking in knowledge and service.

Room for Improvement

Although advertising has shown sure signs of progress, there is plenty of room for improvement toward greater effectiveness. First of all, the advertisiug agents should improve their services. If an agent specializes in newspaper or outdoor advertising, he should be thoroughly equipped as far as that particular service is concerned. If other agents confine their activities to the preparation of booklets, catalogs, folders and other forms of direct mail advertising, they should have on their staff experienced writers and artists. The trouble with a number of agencies is that they are merely nominal ones. A certain publicity company in Shanghai has enjoyed a fine reputation and only a reputation, because it has always been a feeder for certain magazines. Another advertising company has very attractive letterheads, but the writer has never been able to locate its office because there is none. How can such agencies handle an advertising campaign effectively?

These agencies, however, do get some business either through friendship or by offering rebates to the advertisers. This is not a sound business principle because friends may not always remain friends while business is always business. I have come across several firms in Shanghai which have been getting rebates from 15% to 17% from some advertising brokers who place orders with the papers for them. Taking for granted that these brokers also get from the publishers 20%—the usual agency discount allowed—how can they afford to let the advertisers have a greater portion of the commission earned? This is certainly not effective advertising, but a very bad business practice. Any fair competition among the agencies should be on the basis of service not on the basis of rebating.

So, among the present needs in promoting more effective advertising in China is the need of competent advertising agencies properly equipped and capable of performing efficiently their duties. To encourage the growth of agencies and their work, we need whole-hearted co-operation from both the advertisers and publishers. The advertisers should exercise great care in the selection of an advertising agency and see that it is capable of rendering adequate service. They should not be too keen about rebates. Any offer of this kind from an unknown agent should be scrutinised with care, so that the money invested by the advertiser would not be thrown into the water.

Foreign advertisers in China who are rather liberal in advertising allowance because they sell plenty to the Chinese should find out if their advertising is properly handled so as to insure its effectiveness. Usually they leave the entire matter in the hands of some agents at home who in turn appoint their associates in China. Several local agencies have established such connections with a number of advertising agencies abroad whereby they split the commission earned. But the trouble is that the agents abroad do not know anything about the market here. For instance, a New York agency has recently sent over to one of the local agents a set of blocks for immediate release in the Chinese papers in connection with an automobile campaign. The local agent, after examining the blocks and finding that the text and penmanship in Chinese thereon are very poor, cabled to his associate agent abroad informing that such "ads" should not be released. This is serious because it means holding up of the campaign, not to say of the waste involved. It is obvious that this sort of advertising prepared by those men in New York or Chicago who have never seen China and do not understand the psychology and background of the Chinese people, cannot be very effective. Certain copy suggestions which may be worked out successfully in the States can hardly be used here. Certain illustrations which attract the eyes of Americans may not appeal to the Chinese at all. The market here needs something that has local coloring and conforms to the Chinese taste. Sketches of this nature can best be prepared by some agencies in China.

Agencies and Discounts

The publisher's co-operation is also important in promoting effective advertising. They should not treat everybody as an agent. The privilege of getting agency discount should be strictly confined to those recognized agencies. In this way, the advertisers will feel that they get, without additional expenses, the service of an agency which would give them their counsel in constructing their plan and in preparing copy and art work, as well as the clerical labor involved. The local representative of a certain foreign manufacturer of automobile tyres has been getting a greater discount from one of the leading Chinese papers than any agency can get. The excuse—"they have sold us goods cheap, so we have given them better discounts"—given by the manager of this paper is a very poor one. If this were true, some of the funeral directors should be able to get a good discount from this manager some day.

The co-operation of the publishers will come mainly through their advertising departments. The men in charge of such departments should be careful in following the schedule of insertions as purposely arranged, prompt in submitting proofs and vouchers, and uniform in quoting rates. A Chinese paper in Tientsin has been very irregular in quoting rates. I have been told that the advertising manager of this paper is a very peculiar man and he does business according to his feelings. When he is not in a good mood, he will quote higher rates to those people who unfortunately apply for same at that moment. It will not be a fine feeling, but certainly a good lesson for this manager and this paper if most of the advertising orders will be discontinued on account of this whimsical dealing. Again, several outport papers are very slow in answering letters and careless in publishing advertisements under specified dates and copies. It is malpractices like these that retard the progress of proper agency work and the development of effective advertising. It should be remembered that proper agency work is for the good of all parties concerned—the advertisers, the publishers, and the consumers.

When the advertisers and publishers are willing to give their co-operation, agencies of good standing should get together themselves and strengthen their relationship with both publishers and advertisers through the adoption of certain standard of practice. They should do away with the bad practice of rebating which is simply a matter of "cutting each other's throat". This is a suicidal step which will eventually ruin all of the agencies. They should come to the conviction that it is only through unity and co-operation that they can develop more and better agencies in China, which can really serve the advertisers by commanding services of the best copy writers, the highest grade of commercial artists, and keenest investigators in the field.

The discussion of this subject will not be complete without considering the technical side of effective advertising. But it will necessitate a voluminous presentation of data showing

(*Continued on the page 184*)

Building Up of State Capital in China at Present

BY CHEN KUNG-SO

".....the regulation of capital to-day in China will not be enough to solve our livelihood problem. It will also be necessary to build up state capital....."

Among the many prevailing theories in the expounding of Dr. Sun's *Min Sen Chu I* (or, indequately speaking, *Dr. Sun's Socialism for the Chinese*) there are two which seem to be the most outstanding. One of these branches may be styled the school of philosophical interpretation of *Min Sen Chu I*, and the other the economical. While the former elucidates the philosophical foundations of *Min Sen Chu I*, the latter is interested in the building up of a state capital.

Being a believer of the "historical school" I naturally take the latter course, that is the economical interpretation of the *Min Sen Chu I*. It is not my desire, however, to be disapprobatory with those who adhere to the conviction that we should create a philosophical foundation in order to effectuate principles of *Min Sen Chu I*. For, ever since the Industrial Revolution in the West, the imperialists, equipped with the advantages of all its material outcome, have plunged headlong into the agriculturally bankrupt China, disintegrating all the moral and social forces which once tended to cement her national life, In this transitional period, when individual personal outlook and collective social faith have been shattered, it becomes the more imperative that we should establish a new philosophical foundation, a new individual outlook and social order.

Nevertheless, the evolutionary process in the solution should be a moving from the economic change toward the philosophical change, and decidedly not the *vice versa*l Therefore, I feel that the establishing of a philosophica. foundation should be primarily directed with regard to the practical problems of clothing, food, shelter, and means of travel, and not to the spiritual observance of loyalty, filial piety, virtue, and chivalry. In saying this, it is to not be understood however that I condemn moral codes as such, whereas I only hold that without common economical reliance there could be no mutual social faith.

The Unique Three Principles

What has made the Nationalist Revolution of China differ from any of the nationalist revolutions of history has been the uniqueness of Dr. Sun's *Min Sen Chu I*. To the question of just when would we consider the Chinese Nationalist Revolution as being complete, I should say, that it is considered complete with the effectuation of *Min Sen Chu I*. It goes without saying that "proper regulation of capital and equitable uniformity of land rights" are the two principal methods handed down by Dr. Sun for the solution of *Min Sen Chu I;* but it falls upon our lot to see how it is to be fulfilled.

I can never be reconciled ,however, to the simple notion that as long as our customs were free of foreign control, peace and order not disturbed by militarists and bandits, capital and labor could dwell within their respective legitimate claims, the various enterprises would eventually thrive and industries develop without governmental assistance and encouragement.

Taking advantage of his studies in the failure of the Russian revolution in which they made attempts to solve by force the economic problems as well as the political problems, Dr. Sun prescribes for China revolutionary measures only for the seizure of political power (from the anti-revolutionists, such as the militarists, etc.), whereas in dealing with her economical problems he favors rational procedures. That is where "Sun-Yat-Sen-ism" differs from "Leninism."

Furthermore, he also contends that it is by no means necessary for China to have a class struggle in order to demolish class distinction. What it should be is the application of party dictatorship to obliterate class feeling. We should bear in mind, however, that Dr. Sun's pacific methods decidedly do not imply the methods of the indiscriminate trader, nor those of Adam Smith; but the application of political strength through party dictatorship. Promiscuous development of a nation's wealth, the economic theory of the 18th century, is not only contrary to the principles of the *Kuomintang* but also not acceptable to modern economic theories.

We must also clearly reckon the co-relation of Dr. Sun's treatise on *the International Development of China* and his *Min Sen Chu I*. Failing with the "development plan" there is no realization of *Min Sen Chu I*, one being the complement of the other. The elaborateness and thoroughness of the *International Development of China* have made the book foremost in history of all Chinese dissertations. In outlining the plans Dr. Suu has not only made it a means for material reconstruction but has also crystallized a system of scientific socialism *Min Sen Chu I*.

I quote his conclusion paragraphs:

".....As it has been discovered by post-Darwin philosophers that the primary force of human evolution is cooperation and not struggle, as in the animal world, so the fighting nature, a residue of the animal instinct in man, must be eliminated from man, the sooner the better....."

As regards class war, he says;

"Class war is a struggle between capital and labor. This war is at present raging at its full height in all the highly developed industrial countries. Labor feels sure of its final victory, while capitalists are determined to resist to the bitter end. When will it end and what will be the decision no one dares to predict.....

"In the industrial development scheme we propose the use of foreign capital to work for mutual benefit, so that the military struggle among the nations for material gain in China may be averted.....We propose to improve or extend the machinery of production so as to reduce the prices of all commodities and public service.....We also propose to give high wages to labor so as to forestall class war, which is sure to follow the industrial development if measures of prevention are not adopted beforehand..... In a nutshell, it is our idea to utilize capitalism for the purpose of realizing socialism in China, so that these two economic forces of human evolution will work side by side for the betterment of human civilization."

The Need of State Capital

He also said: "The regulation of capital to-day in China will not be enough to solve our livelihood problem. It will also be necessary to build up state capital."

(Lecture Two, *Min Sen Chu I.*)

Therefore, we observe that:—

(1) *Min Sen Chu I* is decidedly not an indiscriminate policy, but the exercise of state control;

(2) *Min Sen Chu I* not only requires "the regulation of capital and the equalization of landownership"; but also implies the existence of a state capital.

(3) *Min Sen Chu I* concerns certainly not a question of personal ethics but a solution of the social-economic problems; and,

(4) *Min Sen Chu I* is for practical and fundamental reconstruction, and not spiritual and superficial.

This article is an attempt to show how to build up state capital *at present*. It is the desire of the writer to discuss in it the most urgent problems relative to national reconstruction; the problems of production and concentration of trade, and those of municipal and rural reconstruction. It should be borne in mind, however, that this is not designed to make amends to Dr. Sun's dissertations, only to supplement them; because I feel that to-day the question of the building up of state capital is of more timely importance than the question of capital or regulation equalization of landownership.

In connection with the national reconstruction program, Dr. Sun has, in his *International Development of China*, given us concrete and detailed plans to follow. This constitutues what Dr. Sun regards as "state capital in the making." Readers may well afford for their information the above mentioned book for more detailed discussions of which there is no warrant of making repetitions here. However, this kind of a program necessitates an abundance of capital funds. Would we choose to raise this within our own country, or should we invite foreign loans? In view of the present conditions, with the people practically exhausted and their confidence in the government not quite established, to raise internal funds would be next to impossible. As to the proposition of inviting foreign loans, European capitalism, having just begun to assert itself again since the effects of the last World War, would evidently entertain no surplus to makea loan to China. The United States, tho enjoying a surplus, would in view of her foreign policies, certainly not

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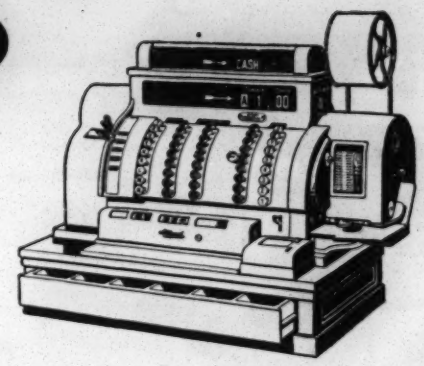

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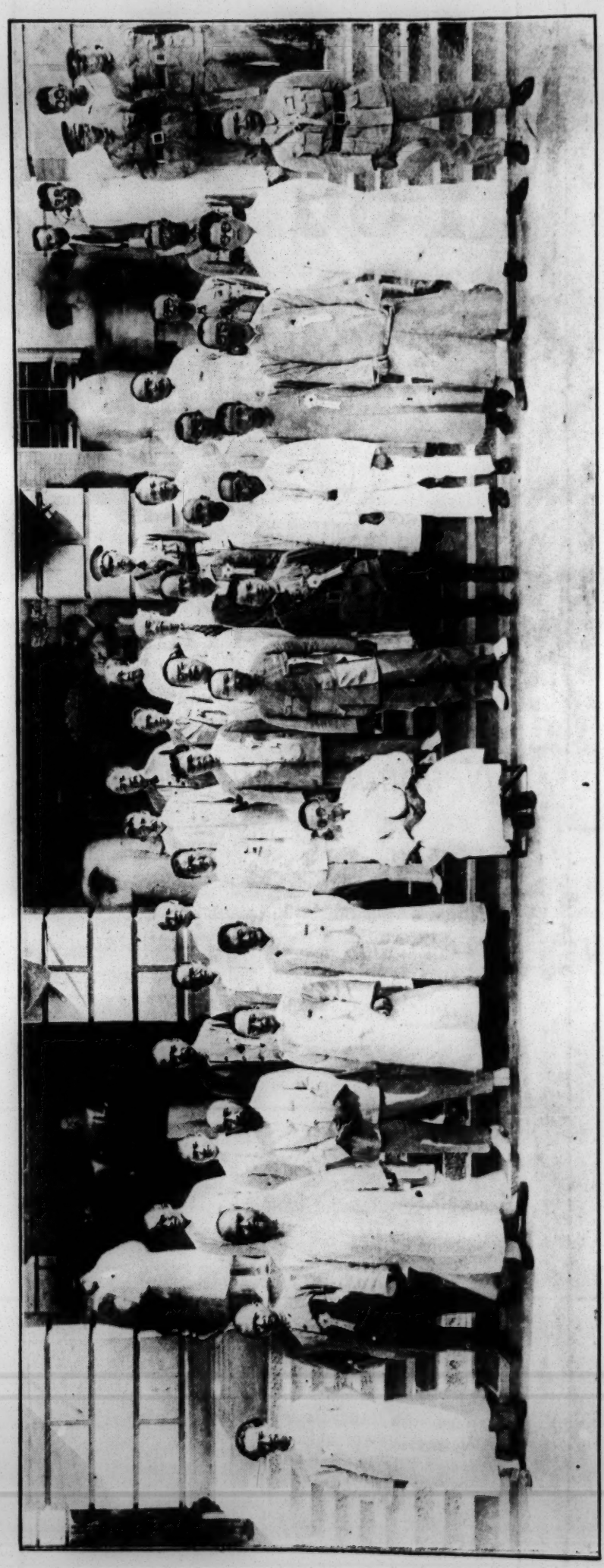

Members of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang who Attended the Fifth Plenary Session of the Party at Nanking during August, 1928

commit herself to individually granting a loan to China. As to the so-called new International Consortium; on account of Japan's claims in Mongolia and Manchuria, and on acount of the discrepancies between the policies of the several nations and those of the Consortium, it would naturally assume for the time being, an attitude of aloofness. Notwithstanding its ability to help, whether the methods to be adopted by this new Consortium would be considered disinterested enough to be acceptable by the people still remains a serious doubt.

"The Poor Man's Policy"

Regarding the question of reconstruction I am personally an adherent of "the poor-man's policy," which implies that when one is not in a position to enjoy reconstruction on the major scale, one could at least indulge in a minor one; and, when an external loan is inaccessible, one might figure out a way through the governmental budget. Sounds paradoxical, but it is hoped that this will be taken in its earnestness.

Based upon my personal observations I wish to present the followingas a minimum requirement for the immediate program of reconstruction:

The most pressing needs to-day seems to be—

(1) the completion of the Canton-Hankow Railway;
(2) the link-up of the cities of Wu-han; and,
(3) the building of a Nanking-Hankow Railway.

It goes without saying that aside from these items there still remains numerous others which need attention. Nevertheless, these three projects are considered of paramount importance; because, in the first place, from all three standpoints—economically, militarily, and politically—these constitute an urgent need, calling for immediate realization.

Secondly, the time required for the undertaking would be no more thantwo years; thus it is a proposition of acquiring large returns with comparatively little effort.

And, thirdly, the projects not necessitating a foreign loan render them independent enterprises.

1. *Economically*—Since the Canton-Hongkong Boycott (1925), the stir for the opening up of Whamgpoa as a port of call for South China had for a time been ringing high. In view of the internal economic conditions, however, without first the completion of the Canton-Hankow Railway, the opening up of Whamgpoa as an antidote against foreign encroachment would amount to no more than sound anti-imperialistic propaganda; but as far as practical value goes it would have none. It was estimated at the time that it would require an investment of approximately fifty million dollars to make Whamgpoa a first-class sea-port; thirty of which would go in for the conservancy and engineering of the Pearl River, the remaining twenty million would fill the requirement for dredging the sandy bottoms at its mouth; failing that, boats exceeding five thousand ton displacement would not be able to enter. Further, we must understand that Whamgpoa once opened will not serve as the port of Kwangtung only, it will be in effect the port for the whole of South China. Therefore, as long as the Canton-Hankow Railway remains incomplete, thus rendering no outlet for the incoming cargo and no source of outgoing products, the Whamgpoa would still be a dead harbor in spite of the fact that we were capable of a downright fifty million investment.

Foreigners Control Communications

The present means of communications between Nanking and Hankow is practically in the hands of foreign steamship companies. Altho the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company represents about one-fourth of the business enterprise, still, generally speaking, navigation on the lower Yangtze lies within the control of foreigners; thus, with the coming of spring, every drop of the profit of transportation goes into the pockets of foreigners.

When it comes to the physical features of the cities of Wu-han; Wuchang is by nature the

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political center, Hankow the commercial, and Hanyang the industrial. Should these be interlocked by a system of bridges or tunnel, it would not only tend to consolidate these three cities but also the trunk lines of the Peiping-Hankow, Canton-Hankow, and Nanking-Hankow railways into one system. This realization would not only open up a new era in China's national economy, it would also serve as a nucleus for future independent economic development, and for the emancipation of the South China trade from the clutches of foreign exploitation.

2. *Politically*—Effective political development and control depends, to a large extent, upon efficient means of communications. My personal experiences in the initial Northern expedition from Canton—requiring two weeks' of long, continual, and tedious advances by foot—have struck me with a feeling of apprehension. Because, in the course of our revolution, the foremost and most important step is the physical unification of the whole of China. With such difficulties and inconveniences of travel, to assure the effects of unification through military operations alone would be incredible. The actual fact was, no sooner had the Revolutionary expedition reached Hankow, Canton became practically isolated; and no sooner had it reached Nanking, than Hankow presented similar symptoms of political inaccessibility. Therefore, we might as well say that feudalistic society has been the principal cause of decentralization, yet I am afraid, that materially speaking, incommunicability is just as potent a cause. One actually wonders if any human being could help from becoming a militarist in China were he equipped with the necessary arms and men, and had occupied a desirable location!

Regarding the choice of China's new capital I have always been positively for the seat to be in Nanking. However, with the Canton-Hankow Railway not completed, and the Nanking-Hankow Railway unprojected, it would not only be inadequate to politically control the whole of China or just south China; even that of the Yangtze regions would be out of the question. Therefore for political considerations, we must hasten to take forcible steps.

3. *Militarily*.—In a not distant future China's engage- in some foreign wars may be practically unavoidable. In view of the existing cut-up state of communications it would be next to impossible to have efficient transportation of troops, supplies and ammunitions necessary for defense, to say nothing about an attempt to stage an offensive. In the event of an alien blockade at Canton, Nanking would not be in a position to afford assistance as far as the welfare of the whole of Kwangtung is concerned. Similarly, when Woosung is besieged, the various provinces would be at a loss to offer relief for Nanking.

The Necessity for Communications

We may always remain to be an ultra-peaceful people and would entertain no inclination toward engaging in any foreign wars; we would even then have to maintain internal peace and order. It seems to me that the inability to cope with the bandit situations in the various provinces has not been due as much to the lack of soldiery as to the lack of means of communication. And, that the political dividing up of the Yangtze regions into at least three sections has also been due to the same cause. Therefore, I contend, that in order to maintain the peace of the Far East, and to maintain the internal unification of China, she must have well-planned facilities of communication in order to give her the most efficient lines of defense and preservation of her political integrity.

Apropos the timely need for such a project I should attempt to present in the following a feasible plan, based upon my personal observations, for its materialization.

(1) *The Canton-Hankow Railway*.—From Chu-chow to Shaokwan, there is an incompleted portion of some five hundred miles requiring fifty million dollars capital investment to make continuation. The provincial revenue of Kwangtung is reputed to be approximately seven million a month; but military expenses alone occupy six million and two hundred thousand of that! Last year when we were in Kwangtung, however, we have found it possible to cut the military expenses down to the neighborhood of three million a month, thus leaving over three million dollars for which we had in mind to spend one million for the completion of the Canton-Hankow Railway, one million for the laying of a Tsao-Wei Railway (local), and portions of the remaining million for reinforcing the educational expenditure, and the rest for building highways.

Supposing that at present we are more anxious to bring to completion only the national trunk lines, (the Tsao-Wei local line may suffer temporary suspension) the Province of Kwangtung should at least be able to put up one-and-a-half million a month for the completion of the Canton-Hankow line. The Peiping-Hankow Railway has an annual income of over nine million dollars. Leaving three millions for the maintenance requirement, she could also manage to furnish five hundred thousand dollars a month. Altho Hunan has a revenue of only about one million and two hundred thousand a month, yet, it is my opinion, that when properly managed it could be increased to a good two million (judging from what Kiangsi has been doing lately since reorganization of her finances). Thus, Hunan ought to be able to contribute a minimum of two hundred thousand a month. The sum total of these three sources would amount to two million one hundred thousand a month which means twenty-six million and four hundred thousand dollars a year. Within two years, then, the completion of the Canton-Hankow Railway should be made possible, thus unifying physically the belly regions of South China.

The Canton-Hankow Railway

In the meantime, as to the portions already completed altho it would require a few more million dollars to make renovations, the necessary funds could be acquired from the surplus of a completed service without having to resort to the foundation funds accumulated for the purpose of completing the entire line. Thus we see, how we could have a completed Canton-Hankow Railway in no time without having to subscribe internal loans nor the refunding of the British Boxers' Indemnity!

(2) *The Nanking-Hankow Railway*.—According to Dr. Sun's plans this line would run south-westerly from Pukow along the left banks of the Yangtze, passing through the various districts of southern Anhui hitting eventually its capital Ngankin. Continuing thence, the main line would follow a prescribed westward direction, incorporating Kiukiang with a branch line, until it reached its terminus at Hankow, a distance of approximately three hundred and fifty miles.

It is my opinion, however, that since the national capital is to be in Nanking, there seems to be no necessity for the line to run along the left (northern) banks of the Yangtze. Ngankin, tho the capital city for the Province of Anhui, will, judging from present tendencies, not assume as much importance in the future as the port of Wu-hu on its south. Therefore, for the strengthening of Nanking, and for doing away with the extra amount of engineering in negotiating the gap over the River at Kiukiang, it is thought more desirable to lay off the line right from its terminal at Nanking, remaining along the right banks without having to follow a round about route in order to make for Ngankin. This would render the line shorter between the two termini thus saving an additional outlay of expenses.

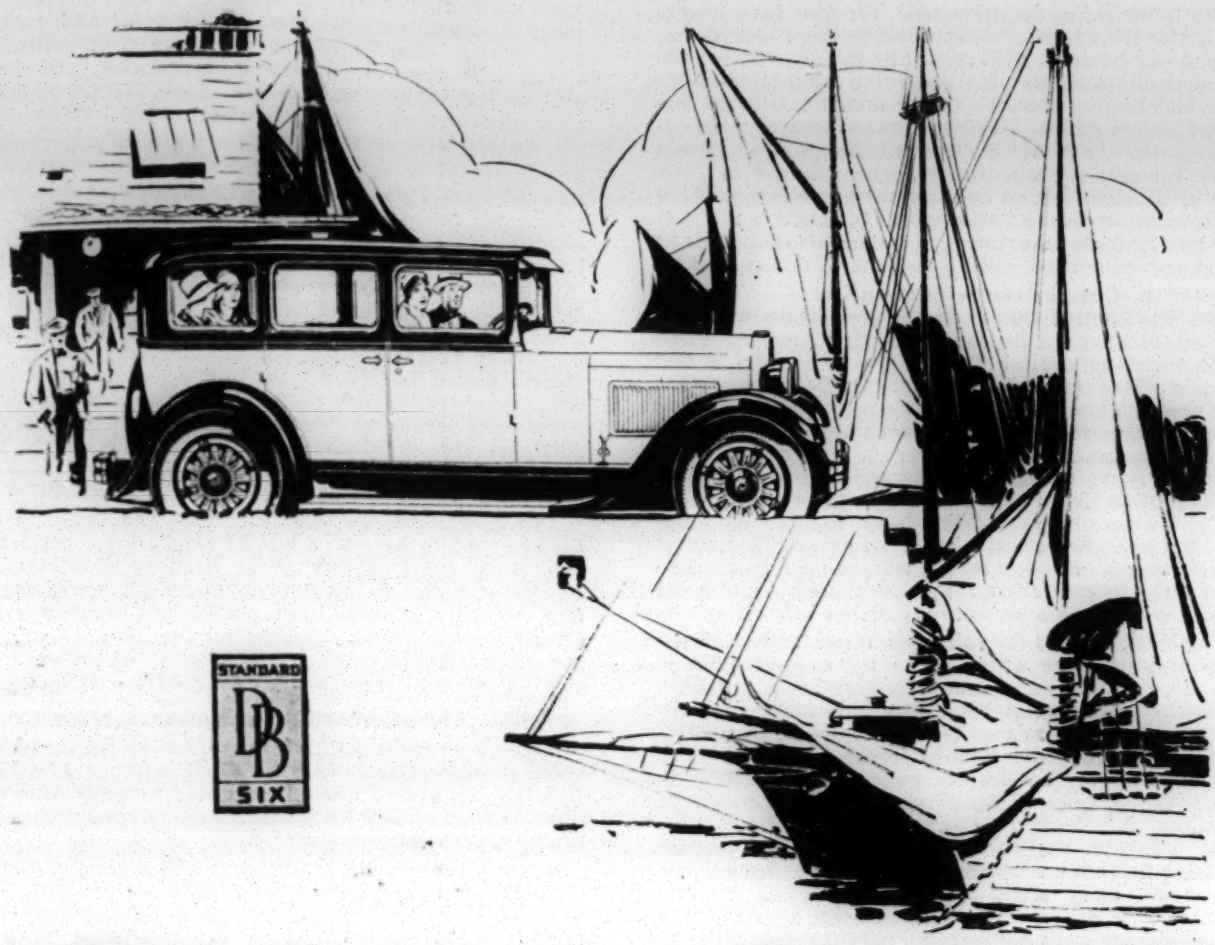
Anyway this three hundred and fifty mile stretch of railway would require an investment not exceeding forty million dollars. We will recall that at the prorogation of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Government had contracted loans in Shanghai amounting to no less than sixty million dollars (this not even including the new forty million dollars loan on the Special Gasoline Tax). With this proposed Nanking-Hankow line, the Government could aptly float a forty million loan so that in two years's time we would have a railway linking the upper and lower Yangtze valleys into a compact region, besides politically strengthening Nanking.

The Wu-Han Cities

(3) *The Wu-han tunnel*—Physically, the Wu-han cities as mentioned in above are being cut up by the pouring of the Han River into the Yangtze. My first experience in September of 1926, in crossing the Yangtze from Wuchang over to Hankow requiring some thirty minutes, gave me an impression that it was economically imperative to have an interlocking system to chain up these three cities. Subsequently, I had had occasion to consult with Commissioner Ferguson of the Hankow Maritime Customs, and also with Mr. Williams, engineer of the Canton-Hankow Railway, regarding the possibility of erecting a steel bridge across the River. According to our rough estimations then a type of bridge, having a dimension which would allow the running through of a railroad in the middle with both sides open for vehicles and pedestrians, would require approximately fifty million dollars, whereas a tunnel would only require some twenty million. My interest became drawn to the public lands of Hupeh, worth about twenty million, thinking that we ought to take determined measures by completely selling off these properties, utilizing the entire returns for the tunnel.

The above three items are all considered to be feasible plans, not fanciful notions nor inaccessible castles-in-the-air. All that is needed is the determination. Someone would ask: Does this constitute all that is necessary to build up state capital? Decidedly not. I do not believe either that national reconstruction is as simple as that altho I am confident that this may be considered as sound beginnings of it.

It is the universal belief that to contemplate reconstruction on a huge scale, China must have foreign loans, but at the same time, I also believe that without any signs of conscientious initiative on the part of the Government there is bound to be no response even within the country toward subscribing for reconstruction expenditures; failing which, to



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contemplate politically disinterested foreign investments would be worse than futile. Therefore, to show our determination and resoluteness with regard to the question of national reconstruction, let us plan according to the poor-man's methods, which implies the scrupulous manipulation of the Government budget itslef. Furthermore, as long as "there is life there is hope." If we are determined enough there should be no need for worry about funds. The Chinese in New York City alone represent an integrity of some two hundred million, whereas according to the words of Dr. Hu Shih, in Shanghai, too, Chinese amassment of wealth also amounts to some four hundred million. Who says that China is poor!

A Comparison with America

Dr Sun has pointed out to us, in connection with the accumulation of a capital for the state, that America owed her development of capital first to the railroads, second industry, and third mining. He adds that: 'If we want to recover these rights and interests, we must quickly employ state power to promote industry, use machinery in production, and give employment to the workers of the whole nation. When all the workers have employment and can use machinery in production, then China will have a great, new source of wealth. If we do not use state power to build up these enterprises but leave them in the hands of private Chinese or of foreign business men, the result will be simply the expansion of private capital and the emergence of a great wealthy class with the consequent inequalities in society."

In my opinion, besides the railroads, mines, and factories, we should also pay due attention to the consolidation of foreign trade. As we understand the free-trade policy is the keystone of commercial capitalism. And ever since the Industrial Revolution it has acquired an extraordinary protection. Without the centralization of foreign trade private capital is bound to develop despite governmental efforts to restrain it. And, in spite of our efforts to follow a course of non-capitalism, the roads leading to capitalism become the more open. I daresay that had the governments been capable of centralizing foreign trade throughout history, the capitalistic order of to-day might have to acquire an entirely different form. However, my proposal for the consolidation of our foreign trade does not merely imply the possibility of our drifting to be capitalistic; whereas it is meant as one of the foundation planks upon which to build a state capital.

A study of recent conditions of China's foreign trade reveals that in the fiscal year of 1926 the total value of both imports and exports amounted to one billion, nine hundred and eighty eight million H. K. taels. Altho we are conscious of the fact that China's foreign trade has been anything but fully developed—not even comparable to the Dominion of Canada, part of the British Empire—yet, this sum is considered to be tolerable. Even then, this class of trade has been under the complete control of foreigners; not only the importing business has been subject to foreign manipulations, in the exporting business too, the Chinese have been victims of foreign machinations. Furthermore, as to foreign market conditions, not only does the Government neglect to attach the necessary amount of attention to such important economic symptoms as market demands and fluctuations, even the merchants themselves seem spell-bound, entrusting their entire fate to the sole manipulations of foreign firms. Therefore, Government initiative for national consolidation of foreign trade is a neccessity not only in consideration of the building up of a state capital, even advocators for free trade policy requires governmental assistance.

Raising the Funds

The question remains then, Where are the funds necessary for the consolidation of foreign trade going to come from? Personally, I not think it difficult of solution; as it may be carried out in three ways, namely; (1) through purely government enterprise; (2) combined government and private enterprise; and, (3) through purely private business organizations.

Government enterprise implies the sole management of the business to be in the hands of the government, carried out through government efforts and supervision, and with government funds.

Combined government and private enterprise implies that the government puts in 60% of the total capital investment, while private capital amounts to 40%. Each of the two major parties will enjoy the same percentages of the dividends as represented by their respective investment.

In the purely private enterprise the government does not furnish any capital, only issues special permits to recognized private companies which pay to the government treasury a sum total of 60% on the gross profit. In return, the government grants special privileges to these companies, such as the precedence on transportation facilities, reduced customs rates, exemptions from the *likin*, etc.

The government should establish in London, New York, Paris, and Berlin, semi-commercial agencies. These agencies would undertake, on behalf of the Chinese government or private business concerns, shipping and transportation affairs. They could at the same time introduce into China new foreign industrial inventions, and improved agricultural appliances. In this way, foreign trade could gradually but surely become nationalized,

Altho it is hardly possible to organize at present purely governmental enterprise, yet the immediate starting on the lines of special granted private companies is considered quite within the range of achieving. Of course it would not be easy to have concentrated all of the importing and exporting business at once, but at least an appreciable amount of the export trade could be recovered. Even if we could recover half of the nine hundred million taels of the total exporting trade, we would consider the endeavor well worthwhile. Reckoning interest at 10% per annum, sixty percnt. of nine million would be five million and four hundred thousand taels, the government's share in the profit. Of course, when sufficiently developed we could participate in market manipulations abroad which would not only result in a much greater return for the government, but would also tend to level the prices of commodoties on the home market.

In conclusion, we may say, that the consolidation of foreign trade is not only a way of regulating capital, but also one of the main courses in the building up of state capital. Furthermore, we do not aim to prohibit private enterprise; in fact, we only promote the competition between state and private capital. That accounts for the reason why, aside of the government managing and control of railways, mines, and industries, I propose the consolidation of foreign trade.

Municipal and Rural Reconstruction

It is noted that each of the topics on the municipal and rural reconstruction could be dealt with in a voluminous treatise. However, what I am going to attempt to write in this connection will only be limited to general principles rather than to detailed plans.

As soon as we begin talking about municipalities, there immediately appear before us a series of problems. There are according to the existing systems of municipal government in China, two forms of municipalities, namely; the special and the ordinary. Experience tells us that a municipality in order to exist and to flourish should have its industries and commerce developed to such an extent as to render itself self-supporting. Leaving out of the discussions the ordinary municipalities, there are only two special ones-that of Canton and Peiping—which can be considered more or less elaborate. Because, despite of the existence in Canton of a Shameen, and that in Peiping of a Legation Quarter, these two cities are sufficiently independent when it comes to municipal needs. As to other special municipalities: Shanghai, Hankow, and Tientsin; the close proximity to foreign settlement areas has been exceedingly detrimental to their development. Let us first consider Canton and Peiping as municipalities. The former has still been depending on the Provincial Government of Kwangtung for its maintenance, whereas the latter owes its continual existence to politics—its entire revenue not being enough to cover the expenditure on public works and the police forces! Nothing seems to be more remote than to talk about municipal reconstruction on this basis!

However, since that we must foster municipal reconstruction, and that we must build up a capital for society, I would offer two lines of approach, namely: (1) a steady policy in the application of political strength; and active utilization of private capital.

What do we understand by the steady policy in the application of political strength? We know well that all the projects of reform conceived at the present time are, in respect to society, devoid of a social background; while on the part of the government, lacking concrete plans. The outstanding problem in a municipality is the land problem (even more so than it is in the country). What I have in mind regarding the land problem does not imply so much the rates of taxation as the methods of taxation. We must understand that land in the country is merely one of the factors in the producing of capital whereas in the city, land becomes also a medium for speculation. It seems to me that we should be determined enough to enforce that all appreciation in land values should revert to the community. I recall the recommendations of Herr Suremeyer, the German expert advisor to Dr. Sun, with respect to a system of land taxation. He proposed a system of land taxation based upon the usage in general practice in the various municipalities in Germany and in Tsingtao. It is considered that his modified form applicable for the conditions in China even exceeds the original in excellence. When the recommendation was brought out before the Committee on Taxations in the fall of 1925, both Liao Chung-kai and myself were strongly in favor of its adoption in principle, whereas the actual procedure of

collecting could be more deliberate. Inasmuch as the people have not been accustomed to the term of "land taxation" as yet, we thought it expedient to give this system of taxation a good start so that it could acquire added acceleration in the years to come. Even to-day I still hold in favor this proposal altho we should exercise deliberateness in its execution.

Political Strength

Once the land problem in the municipality is solved, the chief work in the concentration of political strength will also be achieved. In other words, we should develop municipalities with the welfare of the multitude of masses in view, but never acquire an attitude of *lassez-faire*, aiming only at personal gains.

How to actively utilize private capital in the development of a municipality? Municipal development is within the province of local enterprises and not a concern of the government higher up. Thus, to expect subsidies from the Province or the Central Government in a municipality is fundamentally erratic. Notwithstanding this, there still are people, allured by the false dignity of being a municipality, who insist on the establishment of such in a locality no matter how small the place may be; while at the same time applying for and relying upon a subsidy from the Provincial Government. This has been typically exemplified in the cases of Canton and throughout the Province of Kiangsi a couple of years ago. With the inauguration of a so-called municipal government, five or six independent showy bureaux would be formed, disregarding entirely the consideration of where the funds were going to come from. Consequently, this pseudo-municipal government becomes nothing more than a source of "rice bowl" for many with no design of bringing about municipal reforms.

In view of this, I propose that all public utilities, such as the telephone service, light, street-car, and water, could well be left in the hands of private enterprises. Special grants should be unconditionally given to these in consideration of the reverting to the municipal government all of the assets after a period of say twenty or thirty years of monopoly. Is this not, however, in contradiction to the fundamental principle in the regulation of capital? Regarding that I should answer in the negative, as we shall see.

Relations Between Capital and Labor

Besides this, the chief problem in a municipality is the aptitude of causing friction between laborers and the petite-bourgeoisie. My recommendation to that is, *vis-a-vis* the petite-bourgeosie, the worker should still recede, which implies the withholding of such demands as double increase of wages, etc.; for the needs of the workers are not confined to living alone, there being in addition, problems relating to education, illness, and recreation. For these, the municipal government should be held responsible. With the establishing of a municipal government—whether old or new-investigations should be carried out to determine, statistically, the exact needs of the particular community; its educational expenditures for the children of the workers; the annual report on the health conditions of the workers in general; and the number of public schools and hospitals to be maintained. There should also be statistics to show the total number of laborers, and the number of theatres, cinema houses, libraries, and public bath-houses to be run by the municipal government. In this way, the integrity of the revolutionary front could be maintained; feelings of class distinctions gradually dispelled; and, at the same time, foundations laid for the building up of a capital in society.

I am sure that there are many of the younger and progressive set, who would reproach me for being inclined toward "filtered" socialism. However, we should remember that a modified policy in an ultra capitalistic country is oftentimes considered most revolutionary when transplanted to a semi-colonial country.

Rural Reconstruction—Aside from the land problem there remain two other big rural problems to contend with; one is self-government and the other mass production. The question of land and self-government being beyond the province of this article, will be dealt with separately; and, we will direct all attention to this problem of mass production.

Why is China so agriculturally depredated to-day? In the first place, it is because of a lack of scientific knowledge, and secondly, fragmental production. Lacking in scientific knowledge will result in low production and depreciation in land values. And, fragmental production is incompatible with the application of scientific cultivation, causing farmers to be continually subject to the reverses of nature. Altho we may attribute the barrenness in many localities to the continual effects of militarism, yet we must also agree that the peoples' lack of scientific knowledge ranks as one of the main reasons. One glance at the Custom's reports will show us that agricultural products occupy about 96% of the total exports; whereas on the import sheet, machineries necessary for modern farming do not seem to occur at all which fact should not be wrongly interpreted as that we are manufacturing the modern implements ourselves, whereas the fact is that we do not and are not accustomed to use them. What could be more despairing than the thought that one of the leading agricultural countries of the world should be so devastated!

Regarding the rural program I also present two recommendations, namely; co-operative mass production; and, governmental cultivation of idle lands.

For co-operative mass production, the village, with its peasants' union as the center of activities, may be temporarily taken as the unit. Every member should pledge his land, equipment (including working animals) and labor as the common working capital toward the organizing of a cooperative society. Supposing that the peasants of a particular village should be in a position to "pool in," as it were, 200 mow (one "mow" is approximately equivalent to one-sixth of an acre) of land, worth thirty dollars a mow; then that co-operative society would have a land capital of six thousand dollars; 20 heads of ox at thirty dollars each; and two dollars worth of fertilizers for each mow of land, would constitute a cultivating capital of one thousand dollars; sixty working-hands (including hired labor) at a maintenance cost of 20 cents a day and working three months would represent a labor value of one thousand and eighty dollars. Thus it will be seen that co-operative society of such a constituency would have a total capital of eight thousand and eighty dollars to start with. As to the distribution of the profits of production, taking that 1% goes in for government taxes, another 1% against collections for local affairs, 5% for depreciation on land and equipment, and then deduct sufficiently for hired labor, the rest would all go in to the co-operative society, the members of which share evenly the net profits.

Advantages of Cooperation

The sixty members mentioned as an example in the above plan implies only the cultivation of rice requiring a working period of only three months of the year, while during the remaining months they could utilize to advantage by taking up truck farming and animal husbandry. As soon as this method has been successfully and universally practiced fragmental production would soon be replaced by co-operative mass production, and tenant farmers as such would be acquiring lands without knowing it. This method would also save the government from purchasing lands for idle hands.

Government cultivation of idle lands signifies the establishing in each province of a government farming agent the purpose of which to utilize modern farming machinery coupled with effective scientific methods in the cultivation of such lands owned by those people who either have no time for it themselves or are lacking the necessary working capital for modern methods of farming. The agent would help the transplanting of improved seeds, fertilizing exhausted lands in consideration of a certain percentage of the profits as remuneration.

In an enterprise of this sort the government should, similar to the case of the consolidating of foreign trade, take the lead in the undertaking if funds are permissible; if not, she should grant special permits to private concerns which in turn would share 60% of the profits with the government. Anyhow, our ideal China of the future is one in which industries will become socialized, and agriculture industrialized. Failing that, it would be futile to merely talk about theories and revolution, leading to continual controversy even to the extent of the final collapse of the party.

More Discussion Later

Now that I have attempted to express in the above my idea of a poor-man's program for the reconstruction of a new China as a first step toward the building up of state capital permissible of realization at the present time. As to the carrying out of Dr. Sun's "development plans" this is but a grain of sand on the beach. Of course, if it were only possible to obtain external loans which are devoid of any shadow of a possibility of infringing China's sovereignty, the above crude and elementary steps would be entirely out of the question. However, in order to bring to realization Dr. Sun's *Min Sen Chu I* and to avoid the foot-steps of capitalism I could see no other sound foundation on which to start out his plans for national reconstruction. As to the contention that the above is in contradiction with the principle of the regulation of capital I shall attempt to discuss them in a subsequent article, in one of the regular issues of *The Review*.

Shanghai, September 4, 1928.

Rural Co-operative Societies

BY PAUL C. HSU.

Most small and middle class farmers have a shortage of capital, and rather than borrow capital at exorbitant rates of interest they prefer to use inferior farm practices. Interest rates of 36 per cent, per annum are very common and rates of 80 to 100 per cent, per annum are not infrequent. Profits from farming are small and, therefore, make it impossible to pay such high rates on loans for productive purposes. It is because the profits of farming fail to meet high interest rates that farmers when once in debt can never redeem it unless through special assistance.

If, on the other hand, loans for productive purposes could be obtained at a low rate of interest the profits from farming would easily pay the interest and at the same time provide a surplus which could be used for better living, for liquidating old debts, for putting back into the farm business, or for other good purposes.

The high rates of interest in rural districts are caused by (1) the monopoly of the professional money lender and (2) by the insufficient supply of capital. The money lender's monopoly could be easily dealth with by legislation. Capital could be attracted to rural districts if the farmer's credit could be improved. The organization of rural cooperative societies is the best and most practical way of meeting the situation. A number of such societies have already been successfully organized and supervised by the University of Nanking, and are described on the following pages.

Cooperative Credit

In the fall of 1923 the College of Agriculture and Forestry of the University of Nanking, in cooperation with the China International Famine Relief Commission at Peking, organized the first cooperative credit society near the Feng Run Gate inside the Nanking city wall. The Commission furnished the loan while the college undertook the work of organization and supervision of the society. Two societies have been organized on this basis, one in Nanking and one in North Anhwei. A sum of money has been borrowed on personal security from the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank. In July, 1926, a capital fund of $ 5,000.00 was granted from the China Famine Fund Committee for the study and organization of different kinds of cooperative effort. Since then the cooperative activities of the Department have extended much more rapidly than before. The following data refers to the progress that has been made from July 1, 1926 to June 30, 1927:

Number of societies previously organized	16
Number of societies organized this year	4
Number of societies in process of organization	3
Total membership of organized societies	473
Number of societies making loans	15
Amount of money borrowed last year	$ 3,740.00
Amount of money borrowed since organization of first society	$ 11,120.00
Amount of money refunded this year	2,210.00
Amount of money now on loan	4,430.00
Value of loans due but unpaid	none

Organization

The need of a cooperative credit society in a given locality is determined by whether or not the rates of interest paid for loans are high. If most of the farmers borrowed money frequently and the rate of interest high, then there is an indication of the need of a cooperative credit society in that region.

After determining that a cooperative credit society is needed the next step is to find the right men for charter members. In accomplishing this, personal work is needed rather than the giving of public lectures. At the beginning one or two very reliable persons are found and convinced of the practicability of the principles of cooperation. This person or these persons can then locate the right type of persons from his village for the members of the society because he is well acquainted with them. When the requisite number of charter members are found they meet to formulate and pass upon the constitution of the society; then follows the election of the officers, *i. e.* the Executive Committee and the Council of Supervision.

It is essential that the activity of a cooperative credit society be confined to the members only, except the raising of loans from the outside and the receiving of savings from non-members. It also should be clearly understood that the members of a cooperative society are limited to the natives of the locality only—those who can really cooperate for mutual benefit. Rural school teachers or rural church pastors, even if from other localities, are in a very good position to assist in organizing and managing the cooperative societies. But they themselves must not join the societies. They are in position to advise and help members, but not to run the societies. *The society must be run by the members.*

The most essential qualifications for membership are:

1. Adults over 20 years of age with regular occupation
2. Residence in the same village
3. Good character—honesty, diligence, responsible, etc.
4. Understanding of and belief in the principles of cooperation

Protection of Loans

Loans to the members are confined to productive purposes, such as, the purchase of seeds, fertilizers, farm implements, farm animals, hiring of labor, and land improvement schemes such as irrigation or drainage. Loans for social purposes, such as funerals or weddings are granted in limited amounts. Such expenses are recognized as legitimate, if kept within bounds, and if money must be borrowed it is much better that it be at a reasonable rate and outside the clutch of the money lender.

The procedure for any member to make a loan from his society is as follows: The applicant submits to the executive committee of the society, an application for a loan, stating the amount of loan wanted, the purpose for which the loan will be used, the length of period the loan will be needed, the rate of interest, the security and the guarantor. The executive committee investigates the purpose of each loan as to its soundness. It can easily find out the details, as all belong to the same village. The executive committee has the authority either to grant or refuse the request for a loan according to their judgment. The committee on supervision, and the executive committee or any member of the society has the right to watch the actual use of every loan made by any member to see whether or not it agrees with the purpose stated in the application. Any member who has used the loan for any purpose other than that applied for must refund the whole loan immediately with interest. By this plan, misuse of funds is well protected.

Loans for productive purposes command better credit than those for consumption purposes because it is easier for the debtor to refund the loan. But a poor farmer with insufficient material security, even though he is an honest man with good character and ability, and uses a loan wisely for productive purposes is always a risk if loans were made to him as an individual. That is, if the borrower were sick or died before he carries out his productive project there would not be much hope for repayment. To offset the limitation of farmers without capital the cooperative credit society has in its constitution the rule of unlimited liability of all the members. This means that every member is responsible for any debt contracted by his society. This provision not only helps to make members watch each other for misuse of the loans but also gives a protection to the lender against the risk which might arise from any accident to the members. Thus as soon as a farmer becomes a member of a cooperative credit society, his credit is much improved over that of any individual farmer.

The Reserve Fund

The society earns a profit by loaning at a rate high enough above that paid for borrowed funds to more than pay all expenses. One-fourth of the annual profit is set aside and deposited in a reliable bank as reserve fund of the society. The reserve fund is used only (1) for paying bad debts or special liabilities of the society and (2) for security of loans borrowed. This plan provides adequate protection for all loans to the society.

Management

The society is chiefly managed by the executive committee and the council of supervision. Both these committees and the council are elected in the mass meeting by a majority vote. The executive committee manages all the business in the society such as raising loans from the outside, extension of credit to the members, keeping all the books, calling of meetings, etc. The council of supervision inspects all the affairs of the society. Its duty is to see whether or not the business of the executive committee has been properly conducted, whether the use of loans correspond so the purpose stated in the application, and whether the security is sound. The council has the right to inspect all the books kept by the executive committee at any time. It also has the right to suspend members of the executive committee. (For detail, see model constitution, article IX, section 37). The general meeting of all the members of the society has the ultimate authority in all matters relating to the administration of the society (see section 33, model constitution). In elections each member has one vote regardless of the number of shares he holds. The shares of any member are non-transferable, except by a three-fourths vote in the general meeting.

The admission of a new member requires a three-fourths vote in the general meeting by secret ballot. The secret ballot is used so that any undesirable person may be voted against without knowledge of who cast the opposing vote or votes.

In this way the real opinions of all the members can be obtained without causing any embarrassment. This method of voting is used for any other action when it is desirable.

Activities in Addition to Credit

In a cooperative credit society, it is very important to engage in other agricultural cooperative enterprises so as to keep the members constantly interested in their society and thus maintain its vitality. It is difficult to develop a pure cooperative credit society. This is because that after a member has received loans from the society, he has got all that he can get from the society, and he enjoys no more benefit but shares the liability. This affects vitally the member's interest in his society. In order to avoid this difficulty it is very necessary to undertake other cooperative enterprises such as cooperative purchase, cooperative marketing, etc.

Some examples of what has been accomplished follow:

Feng Run Cooperative Society:—Since most of the members of this society are vegetable growers, fertilizers are an important factor in production. Because of the high price of fertilizer to farmers at Nanking, night soil is often diluted with water. This practice led the members of the Feng Run Society to use one of their loans for renting a public water closet which they reconstructed on a more favorable site and in a more sanitary way. The night soil is collected by turn and the members are able to obtain better and cheaper fertilizer by this method.

Hsien Chia Pien Cooperative Credit Society:—The main crops of the region are rice and wheat and the chief water supply for rice is the run-off from the slopes of surrounding hills collected in ponds. With the passing of time the ponds have been gradually filled with silt and organic matter thus reducing the water holding capacity to a point insufficient for irrigation purposes, resulting in frequent rice crop failures. The members of this society used a loan to hire labor to clean out the ponds and to dig them cheaper, at the same time using the pond mud for fertilizer. Not only has a greater supply of water been obtained but soil fertility has been improved and the example has resulted in most of the neighbors deepening their own ponds and using the mud for fertilizer.

Chungshan Cooperative Purchasing and Marketing Society:—Farmers in this area just outside of the Tai Ping Gate of Nanking raise only enough rice for their own consumption for a period of four months because of other crops grown, so they have to purchase rice from rice shops at high prices. The chief activity of the society is to purchase rice from a producing district at Lu Ho, 20 miles distant. The rice so obtained is sold at a price slightly above all costs. Not only have the members obtained cheaper rice in this way but the activity has resulted in the rice shops lowering their prices thus helping non-members of the society to also obtain cheaper rice.

The Cooperation Union of Shantung:—Seven cooperatives of this region joined into a union to strengthen themselves. The chief project is the planting and growing of mulberries for rearing silkworms in order to diversify the farming of the district which is chiefly rice which often suffers from drought because of unavailable water supply. There is much uncultivated hill land not adapted to rice at all and this has been utilized for the establishment of mulberry orchards which can better withstand drought and still not interfere with the cropping system. The raising of silkworms does not interfere with labor required for growing wheat or rice. Altogether these societies have purchased cooperatively over 80,000 mulberry trees. Part of the work with these societies necessarily has been to teach methods of planting, cultivating, fertilizing and pruning mulberry trees.

Social Function of Cooperative Societies

It is generally recognized that the problem of rural improvement in China at present is an all-round one. In other words that in the program of rural improvement all of the different phases, such as the economic, moral, educational, sanitary, recreational, and spiritual, should be emphasized in order to give the greatest benefit to the farmers. A cooperative credit society can improve not only the economic conditions of the members but also their education and morality as well. One of the qualifications for members is that only honest men with good character should be admitted. This will encourage men to be honest and good, and will create an atmosphere in the rural community that it is worth while to be a good man not only for a good reputation and for honor but also for material advantages. Because, unless one becomes an honest person with good character, he cannot be admitted as a member and therefore cannot have the privilege of obtaining cheap credit.

In India, loans may be granted to members for funeral or wedding purposes on condition that the borrower will conduct the ceremony in a simple manner, provided that the total expenditure will not exceed a certain sum. The same plan is being tried with our own societies. It was an old custom in India that when a family had a wedding or funeral ceremony many feasts should be provided for their relatives and neighbors, and it very often resulted in great debts to the hosts. An effort has been made by the Government in India to change this custom but no noticeable result has been secured. Since the organization of rural cooperative credit societies was introduced into the country, the custom has automatically ceased not only among members but also among relatives of members of the society since the members have unlimited liability to the society. The indebtedness of the one will affect the welfare of the other, so they all insist on the doing away of the luxurious ceremonies.

In addition to the economic and moral functions, the educational function of the cooperative credit society is of no little value. In the general meeting, the members learn how to vote, to conduct a meeting, to discuss problems. Such common sense is fundamentally important in rural self-government. Such knowledge is not obtained either in people's schools or in public lectures, because the farmers would not be interested in listening to instruction on principles and methods of conducting meetings and voting; but in a cooperative credit society they have to learn it. In running the business, both the members and the officers have to learn how to compute interest, keep accounts, write loan contracts, etc. This certainly increases the member's knowledge.

Cooperative Societies and Agricultural Extension

Cooperative societies have a close relation to agricultural extension, because members of the society can be induced to conduct demonstrations which have a much greater influence than do public lectures or demonstrations conducted by outsiders. The Hsieh Chia Pien cooperative society of Chu Yung District, Kiangsu, organized by the College of Agriculture and Forestry, serves as an illustration. That region chiefly consists of rolling land and the main crop, rice, is entirely dependent upon rainfall and surface runoff collected in ponds, for irrigation purposes. Farmers in that region have suffered drought for three successive years. Certain members of the society obtained loans to deepen their ponds for the purpose of increasing the water-holding capacity and of using the pond mud for fertilizing the land. This practice greatly interested neighboring farmers and stimulated them to do likewise and with their own money. This is one instance showing how the more progressive farmer members of the society may influence their neighbors in the use of improved methods.

The improved wheat seeds from the Department of Agronomy of the College of Agriculture and Forestry gave excellent results last year at the Yien Chia Wei Society about 50 li south of Nanking. The demonstrations were given through a cooperative credit society in that place. The wheat produced was saved for seed for the following year, and the supply is not sufficient to meet the demand.

The trial of a corn sheller by members of the Feng Run Cooperative Society attracted much attention among the farmers of that section. The result of the demonstration is that the corn growers decided to get one machine for cooperative use.

The above instances illustrate very well the position of rural cooperative societies in agricultural extension.

Cooperative Marketing

Cooperative marketing is also widely needed in different places. Adulteration with water or other materials such as soil, sand, powdered or fragments of leaves, and hulls, is very common. The local middleman who purchases the farm products from the farmer and sells it to the big merchant, is largely responsible for such practices. The cost of labor, and transportation of the adulterated material and the loss due to inferior quality of the impure commodities make the cost of production of finished goods such as wheat, flour, cotton, yarn, bean oil, very high. The writer has been told by a man in a flour mill at Shanghai that sometimes it is more economical to use the 4th grade American wheat than the first grade of Chinese wheat because of its cleanliness. The flour mills, cotton mills or oil mills are willing to pay higher prices for more clean and better graded commodities because it will not only produce more and better products but also save labor. One of the cooperative societies directed by the College of Agriculture and Forestry is at Wukiang, Anhwei and is named Wukiang Cooperative Marketing Society. The first business done by the society was the cooperative sale of cotton. The cotton was sold to Shen Hsin 3rd Cotton Mill of Wusih. The cotton sold was graded into two grades and no adulteration of water nor powder was allowed. The society raised three short term loans, one of $500 and two of $400 each for advancing to the members a part of the value of the cotton to be sold. The following data show the profit from such cooperation in marketing:

	Per picul
Price received for improved cotton sold through cooperative society	$42.00
Price for ordinary cotton sold through cooperative society	39.00
Cost of baling, transportation, rent of warehouse, insurance, etc.	3.16
Net profit for improved cotton	38.84
Net profit for ordinary cotton	35.84
Local price at Wukiang for ordinary cotton	30.00
Local price at Wukiang for improved cotton	32.00

This indicates an additional profit of $5.84 per picul for ordinary cotton and $6.84 per picul for improved cotton through cooperative selling. Five per cent of the net profit over local selling was turned over to the society by the members as a reserve fund against general expenses and for future development.

The above demonstration shows very clearly what a cooperative marketing society can do for the farmers. Other kinds of cooperation such as cooperative irrigation or drainage, cooperative purchase, cooperative sericultural enterprise, cooperative utilization of labor saving machines, such as threshing machine, cotton gin, etc. would also prove profitable an in one place orother.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the rural cooperative society is one of the most practical and most important organizations in the program of rural improvement. It is comparatively easy to start and produces substantial results in quickly bettering the farmer's condition. It assists the individual farmer and at the same time it benefits the community. It improves farm life socially as well as economically. It is the most practical, effective and direct way for agricultural extension. It has very strict rules and management and confines all activities within the society, and in carrying out the plan it produces no serious conflict with any old custom which already exists in the rural community.

Statistics and Rural Cooperative Societies Organized by the University of Nanking

Name of society	Location	Time of organization	Kind of co-operation	Number of Members	Number	Amount	Loans up to Jan. 31, 1918		Amount of loans refunded	Amount still on loan	Number of extensions of time for repayment	Loans due but unpaid
	District Province	Year Month					Purpose of loan	Proportion of money for the specified purposes (per cent)				
Feng Run	Nanking Kiangsu	1923 October	Credit and production	35	12	$3600.	Liquidation of debts	42	$2990.	$610.	None	None
							Fertilizer	36				
							Renting land	14				
							Animals	2				
							Funerals and weddings	6				
Ging Village	Hwaiyuen Anhwei	1924 March	Credit	40	3	800.	Farm implements	38	800.	None	None	None
							Animal, fertilizer	41				
							Liquication of debts	21				
Kiang Gang	Chu Yuang Kiangsu	1926 March	Credit	31	1	700.	Implements	24	140.	560.	1	None
							Cattles	26				
							Fertilizer	20				
							Planting mulberry trees	14				
							Redemption of land mortgages	16				
Yien Chia We	Kiangning Kiangsu	1926 July	Credit	23	4	1800.	Liquidation of debts	47	920.	880.	None	None
							Redeem land	20				
							Labor on farm	5				
							Animal	8				
							Purchase food when the price was cheap	18				
							Funerals	2				
Wukiang	Hohsien Anhwei	1926 August	Credit	25	3	1300.	Cooperative marketing	100	1300.	None	None	None
Yao Hwa Meng	Kiangning Kiangsu	1926 October	Credit and production	16	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
Hsieh Chia Pien	Chu Yung Kiangsu	1926 April	Credit and production	18	1	600.	Labor for deepening ponds for irrigation	50	None	600.	None	None
							Fertilizer	50				
Yi Village	Tan Tu Kiangsu	1926 May	Credit, production and marketing	24	2	228.94	Fertilizer	47	None	228.94	None	None
							Purchase of mulberry trees	56				
Wu Tang	Tan Tu Kiangsu	1926 May	Credit, production and marketing	19	2	170.39	Fertilizer	37	None	170.39	None	None
							Purchase of mulberry trees	63				
Hsi Lu	Tan Tu Kiangsu	1926 October	Credit, production and marketing	20	2 20	285.25	Fertilizer	35	None	285.25	None	None
							Purchase of mulberry trees	65				
Yang Hsi	Tan Tu Kiangsu	1926 October	Credit, production and marketing	13	2	208.68	Fertilizer	48	None	208.68	None	None
							Purchase of mulberry trees	52				
Shang Tien	Tan Tu Kiangsu	1926 October	Credit, production and marketing	12	2	161.01	Fertilizer	62	None	161.01	None	None
							Purchase of mulberry trees	38				
Ting Kai	Tan Tu Kiangsu	1927 February	Credit, production and marketing	13	2	55.57	Purchase of mulberry trees	100	None	55.57	None	None
Wang Yuen	Tan Tu Kiangsu	1926 May	Credit production and marketing	14	2	190.16	Fertilizer	53	None	190.16	None	None
							Purchase of mulberry trees	47				
Tan Yang	Tang Yang Kiangsu	1926 Sept.	Credit and marketing	100	0	0			None	None	None	None
Tai Ping	Kiangning Kiangsu	1927 November	Credit and marketing	47	0	0			None	None	None	None
Fu Chia Village	Tan Tu Kiangsu	1926 October	Credit	16	1	240.00	Fertilizer	88	None	240.00	None	None
							Liquidation of debts	6				
Hsin I	Tan Tu Kiangsu	1926 October	Credit	20	1	300.00	Cattle	6	None	300.00	None	None
							Cattle	25				
							Fertilizer	55				
							Liquidation of debts	5				
							Food	5				
							Digging pond	5				
							Purchase land	5				
Mao Chu Wan	Tan Tu Kiangsu	1926 October	Credit	18	1	270.00	Fertilizer	78	None	270.00	None	None
							Cattle	17				
							Mulberry trees	5				
Kao Chia Pien	Chu Yung Kiangsu	1926 October	Credit	14	1	210.00	Mulberry tress	86	None	210.00	None	None
							Liquidation of debts	7				
							Fertilizer	7				

"Mighty easy to like— Chesterfields"

Mild enough for anybody . . . and yet they Satisfy*

*TO blend tobaccos is one thing . . . but to blend and cross-blend tobaccos so as to give *both* mildness *and* taste is the Chesterfield way!

Chesterfields *satisfy*. They have a full, rich, rounded-out taste that makes a merely mild cigarette taste flat by comparison.

They're *mild* . . . and yet . . . they *satisfy*.

Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.

EFFECTIVE ADVERTISING IN CHINA

(*Continued from page 171*)

the kind of copy, layout, illustration, type and other psychological and mechanical details in order to give a comprehensive treatment. However, I shall mention here only one important factor which seems to have been overlooked by the Chinese advertisers and that is about the change of "ad" copy.

The Importance of Changes

Most of the advertisers in this market have already realized that their "ads" should be changed frequently both in construction and in appearance. People here, like people elsewhere, will get tired of the same arguments, the same illustrations, and the same style of display. A local firm which sells mineral waters has used the same series of "ads" for the last two years. Do they know that the reading public is getting sick of the same pictures? Why not cut them out altogether for a while or replace them with some new illustrations? It is a bad thing to let your advertising become monotonous. It is advisable to change now and then the type in which your advertisements are being set. In brief, anything that will make people read your ads is desirable provided it is in good taste."

I hope my frank statements of facts showing the unhealthy conditions under which the few agencies are struggling and the ill practices which hinder the development of effective advertising in China will not discourage us, but rather enable us to see more clearly the opportunities in this field and to think out ways and means which may contribute toward the solution of some, if not all, of these problems and the promotion of better advertising and merchandising service.

China, as long as her industries are not fully developed and as long as her teeming millions continue to consume, is and will always be a potential world-market. Both Chinese and foreign manufacturers have already felt the keen competition which is growing keener every day. To be prepared for this competition, the advertisers will have to improve not only their manufacturing processes but their advertising methods as well. The former will produce goods of better quality while the latter will signal this good message to the buying public by taking the course of least resistance. In order to survive in this ruthless competition, it is vitally important to have effective advertising, and essentially advisable to have the advertising campaign handled by a competent Chinese agency which knows how to persuade Chinese men and women to act in the way that will be of advantage to the advertiser.

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Contains seven chapters, 300 pages dealing with the subject of constitutional development in America, Australia, Canada, South Africa, Switzerland, Imper al and Republican Germany with a consideration of their practicability for adoption in the Orient. Considers the subjects of Nationality and Patriotism, Language, Fear as a Propelling Force for Unity, Meaning of Autonomy, Powers of Federal Executive, etc., etc.

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
4 Avenue Edward VII
Shanghai.

A General View Over the Statistical Business on the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway in Shantung.

THE rendition of the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway by the Japanese to the Chinese took place early in 1923. In the commencement of their work assistance by selected men from the various government railways were secured and the work carried on successfully. Trade and traffic increased steadily. Left undisturbed, the volume of business on this railway would have surpassed that of any of the other lines. During 1925-1926 frequent military operations in this province repeatedly interrupted the traffic on this line. Taxes and duties imposed by the government were among the difficulties which brought about a great decrease in the trade and traffic. The annual payment of interest on the loan of Y40,000,000 was partly unpaid.

In 1926, special additional rates on both passenger and goods tariff were put into effect; but the revenue, however, showed very little increase. This was caused mostly by the lack of rolling stock as by that time 1583 cars and 46 engines were turned on to other lines having being commandeered by the military authorities. The amount of the net revenue was, therefore, slightly over one million, which was less than one half of that of the previous year.

A Revival in 1927

In the year following, 1927, the business showed a splendid revival. Through the efforts of the Managing Director, Chao Lan-tien, who still presides today, the rolling stock which had been commandeered by the military authorities and taken on to other lines for military services was successively returned with the exception of 360 cars and 5 engines which are still in the hands of the military men on the Tientsin-Pukow and other lines, and before long full operation of traffic on this line was effected. The revenue for that year had greatly exceeded those for any of the previous years and the expenditure was likewise allowed a limited increase. The revenue for the year was about $4,000,000 which was the best record ever reached since the rendition of this road to the Chinese.

Despite the many difficulties that the railway had to meet and overcome, still the net revenue showed fair amounts annually; however, on account of the absolute necessity of the maintenance of business and additions to land and other properties, the appropriation of which was over four million dollars, the actual profits realized each year was only sufficient to meet expenditures. The uncollected accounts covering the transportation of military services which amounted to one and one half million dollars, the deposits of $1,100,000 held in custody by the Shantung Provincial Bank which failed, the losses sustained from the banknotes of the Shantung Provincial Bank and the military notes of $1,500,000 have all wiped out the actual profit this railway made during these critical years. Moreover, the annual interest of Y2,400,000 was unpaid. Had this railway not been affected by these unfortunate circumstances, there would remain today a good profit for the railway's treasury. It is, therefore, apparent that there should be a net profit of over two and one half million dollars provided that the above outstanding accounts are collected.

Though faced with the disturbed conditions prevailing in this province, yet the railway authorities have been able to use all their efforts to keep this railway from total destruction as are the other lines which have been visited by militarists.

The Tsinan Incident

The Tsinan incident with the exception of the wounding of two of the employees on duty did not cause as much damage to this railway as it had been apprehended, as shortly after the destruction of two bridges, the authorities have been working hard on the reconstruction of the line. All members of the staff and all employees along the line being aware of the importance of executing their duty, have not shirked any danger; they have, on the other hand, worked hard so that in a short time all mail, passenger, freight and express trains have resumed their normal course and are running on scheduled time. Contrary to the customs prevailing among other Chinese railways, no one is able to ride on any of the passenger trains of this line without a purchased ticket.

Public comfort and safety have been given special attention by the railway officials besides all sanitary equipments and well-armed train guards; the public may, therefore, rest assured that there is no question as to the safety and convenience of the trains.

All members of the staff and employees serving this railway have been well paid and treated. Only qualified men are being engaged. Employees are promoted strictly in accordance with the service they give, and their efficiency.

The administration operates four hospitals; in addition to these, two hospitals have consented by arrangement to look after the health of the employees.

Six Primary Schools along the line and one Middle Academy at Tsingtao attend to the education of 2000 boy and girl students of the employees of the railway.

A double-track system is now under installation between Tsingtao and Tsangkow to ease the heavy traffic between those two stations, and the railway authorities are devising all means to make this line the most up-to-date railway in China. It is hoped that as soon as possible, a line between Kaomi of this line and Hsuchowfu of the Tientsin-Pukow Line will be projected to link up the leading cities of the center part of Shantung where large quantities of cereals are produced every year.

Tsingtao, Sept. 10, 1928.

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The New Woman of China

BY LOUISE BLAKENEY WILSON

No foreigner can remain long in China and doubt the potentialities of the Chinese woman. Her energy, practical qualities, and courage have become matters, almost, for truisms in the past few years, and potentialities have become realities.

Sensing these qualities in the average Chinese woman, an observer finds it less difficult to understand some of the changes which have come about, quite naturally, in the status of woman in China, in the past decade or so, and the whole scheme of development, which is still only in its beginnings, makes an intensely interesting *ensemble*.

Independence is the new cry. Just as it is the cry of womankind elsewhere in the world, it has been echoed and amplified in China today. And like the new propaganda spirit of the age, a thing is not heard reiterated and reiterated, with-

Modern Chinese Women's Fashionable Dress in Contrast with the Elaborateness of Past Centuries

A Charming Group of "Bobbed" Hair School-Girls who Took Part Recently in a "Tableau" for Charity Given by Chinese Women's Clubs.

out in time coming to be believed. In China women are beginning to believe in their independence.

It is an independence of "spirit" which characterizes the new woman's movement. The other forms must necessarily follow on, but, as yet, these are only at their commencement. The will to break away from the past has preceded the little beginnings of economic and political and social independence, in which, still the great mass of Chinese women do not share, but the will to share is beginning to become alive among all types and classes.

The old traditions are going by the board. In some cases this is a matter for much concern, yet, even so, inevitable. In other instances, it is simply the new constructive outlook of women revealing itself energetically. The household gods of past generations are having the dust wiped off; perhaps, too, they are being ejected rather unceremoniously from their sacred niches, and all this is shocking, but necessary, as it so happens.

The Three Stages

In describing the Chinese Woman's Movement before a meeting of the American Women's Club of Shanghai last year, Miss Grace Yang, Executive Secretary of the National Committee, Young Women's Christian Association, pictured woman's development in China in three stages. First she was the traditional flower, drooping with the charming qualities of delicacy, frailty, and all the unassuming virtues. Next she was educated up to a point and received a few worldly advantages through education. Even in this stage she was not actively regarded as men's inferior, but simply, she had her own sphere of work. "A woman's place was the home." And the Chinese woman from time immemorial has been pictured as the radiance therein. Finally, progress being what it is, the last stage has begun. Women are beginning to ask about life in general, "Don't we have a place in all this, and if we took our place could we not, perhaps, improve things?" Everywhere to-day, according to Miss Yang, one hears Chinese women, young and middle aged, talking about the need for "national character." Everything depends upon character, they say; and further, "We women have a lot to do with instilling character and building the character of the nation." This is constructive thinking and the educated Chinese woman of the present so thinks.

The tangible effects are to be seen everywhere. Dozens of women are to be found in government positions. Starting out as sponsors, oftentimes radical, of the Nationalist cause, they grew naturally into their places in the Nationalist *régime*. Many of them are inexperienced as such things go. At school they were, often, the "fire-brands," less scholarly than conscious of a sprouting freedom, and their fearlessness did the rest. Trying their new freedom frequently meant renunciation of their womanly qualities —the qualities of their tradition. The conservatives frowned, and more than frowned, ostracized them, but they went on.

An Old Nonsensical Tale

The ancient Chinese tale describing the horror of a young woman, on a past poetical day' who had rolled up her sleeve to rescue her fan, fallen into a well, and then discovered that a young man, a refugee from justice, hiding behind the shrubbery of the rockery, had witnessed the scene, and who believed that the young man must needs marry her after this indiscretion, can be contrasted with the present. A modern Chinese young woman finds this very pretty nonsense. The traditional woman of China did not look directly at male strangers. The modern woman of China takes clerkships in bureaux beside them. Formerly it was not conventional for her to appear too often on the streets, or to talk to men freely; now she elbows her way through busy thoroughfares, rides on tramcars, entertains male friends and insists upon going to all kinds of public places, from huge massmeetings to tea-houses, theaters, and the ubiquitous "movie." Nowadays she takes, not alone a dramatic interest in politics. As far back as 1911 there was talk of Chinese women regiments who "were measured for men's uniforms" with the intention of going up to fight at Nanking and Hankow. A "Dare to Die" Corps has been in existence since those days, and more recently one heard talk of a woman's battalion in the "Northern Expedition" of the

A Group of Chinese Girl Students in Shanghai Schools, who Volunteered as Cadets for Military Service. Hundreds of These Young Ladies Served as Nurses and Couriers During the Nationalist Advance from Canton to the Yangtsze Valley.

THREE PROMINENT MODERN CHINESE WOMEN

Miss Soumay Tcheng, Recently Appointed Minister to France, Formerly Judge of Shanghai District Court.

Madame Sun Yat-sen, Wife of the Founder of the Chinese Republic, Who Has been Prominent in Nationalist and Kuomintang Affairs Since the Death of Her Husband

Mrs. Liao Chung-kai (Popularly Known as Madame Ho Hsiang-ning) Member of the Central Executive Committee. Mrs. Liao's Husband Prior to Being Assassinated Several Years Ago at Canton Was Also a Prominent Member of the Kuomintang

A Scene from a Chinese "Movie" Showing the New Idea of "On with the Dance" in China.

A Chinese Cinema Actress in Ancient Costume.

Nationalists, since disbanded in favor of clerical posts, etc. in various government bureaux.

An example of women's political capacity is furnished in the career of Miss Soumay Tcheng, recently decorated by the French Government, made a Minister to France by the Nationalist Government a few weeks ago, and at one time appointed to be Chief Judge of the Shanghai District Court, though the appointment was never officially taken up. In March of this year, Soumay Tcheng was sent as "good-will" delegate to France by the Nationalists. Her studies at the Sorbonne, her conversant knowledge of the French language and temperament, and her 14 years residence at different times in Europe and America made her the logical appointee. The fact that she was a woman did not enter into it.

Of course, to the phalanxes of the conservative these things are "not proper," but criticism does not seem to interfere very much with the unfolding activities of Chinese women.

The Training of Nurses

Even the criticizers can find little to decry in certain other directions. In such institutions, for example, as the Nurses' Association of China (N.A.C.) organized in 1909, by nine foreign nurses during a summer holiday at Kuling, at a time when there were no schools for Chinese nurses, and no properly trained Chinese nurses. In 1927 the Association had 1,409 members of whom two-thirds were Chinese, with 107 schools for nurses, active at the time of the national conference held in Shanghai in January, 1928.

Similarly there is a medical college attached to the Margaret Williamson's Hospital in Shanghai, a missionary institution for Chinese women and children where Chinese girls become competent in this most praiseworthy of the professions, and where doctors engaged in training them speak highly of the natural abilities of Chinese girl medical students. No one, be he ever so much of the "old school" of thought, can deny the efficiency of the Chinese women's banks in Peking and Shanghai, administered by women and catering to women, and successfully weathering financial storms from time to time. Such institutions leave no room for the display of disapproval by the conservatives.

Then there are Chinese women's clubs, of which the Shanghai Women's Club is one example. Its yearly endeavor to collect funds to carry on with three free schools where about 200 childen profit by these philanthropic instincts is worthy of mention. On the whole, Chinese women are not what may be called "natural" clubwomen. They have their own family circles, their relatives' and friends' weddings and funerals, and a thousand and one details to attend to in the intricate family system, and they do not cooperate well, with one another, as Western clubwomen understand the word, but there are leaders amongst them who have co-operative affiliations with the leaders of foreign women's associations in Shanghai who believe that it is through clubs that Chinese women will be awakened to their civic duties.

The changes to be noted in education of modern Chinese girls are other points of contrast. Co-education, physical drill, games and sports for girls are only a few of the outward manifestations of change in a dozen years. The "middie blouses" and "bloomers" and tennis shoes worn by the 14 year old girls of one of the oldest schools for girls of the Chinese middle class in Chapei, were revelations in this respect when the author paid a visit to this Chinese administered school. Girls playing basket-ball in their small courtyard tucked away inside a Chinese city of indescribably dirty lanes, with the teeming, traditional life of China flowing all about them! How this contrasted in the visitor's mind with the foot-binding of the old days; with the turned under toes bandaged tightly against the arch of the foot, bandages drawn excruciatingly tighter day by day as the deformity set, so that in the end women might be sought as wives with "lily" feet. The tennis shoe young ladies would probably tell you that they intended to find a handsome husband too—most of them—but that in their opinion feet-binding could not possibly make them better "companions" to their husbands.

And this brings one to one of the most startling of all the changes in modern China, the relationship of its young women and young men.

Modern Courtship

Romance and poetry have not been lacking in the courtship period of past China, as evidenced in the classical love ditties. But a youth wooed a young lady of good family by showing his accomplishments to her parents, and the prospective bride was a kind of "lay-figure" throughout. Once married she was referred to in the polite phraseology of her husband as the "stupid thorn" in the presence of others. In the main, all poetry apart, romantic love in China was "*non est.*" Brides saw their husbands on their wedding day, and husbands their wives. It is not unnatural to suppose that cases of severe shock were registered on occasion. Marriages so arranged, or the "mariage de convenance" were supposed to work out very well. Then of course, there were the other wives, the Number Two and Three and Four, depending upon the amount of prestige aspired to by the husband. But all this is losing much of its ground amongst the younger, educated generation. Modern young women, especially those with Western ideals and education, with Western friends and contacts, are staunch supporters of monogamy, with love as a "basis." In time, it is not unlikely even, that the mother-in-law of China, that terror of every traditional Chinese bride, will be the subject of a Chinese joke. Divorce, it is true, was never easier, but Chin-

Part of the Women's Battalion at Hankow, Composed Chiefly of Cantonese Girls.

ese society does not countenance divorce, and the divorced man or woman is not thought well of.

The wife no longer sits back docilely in the marital relationship. One senses an element of comradeship which contrasts strangely with the old idea of woman's place before her lord and master. The young men seem ready to "discuss" all manner of matters with their wives and fiancés, although the comment was made, not long ago, in the writer's hearing, that Chinese men of the young returned student class regarded their woman as pretty playthings, someone to take to the endless tea-dances of a place like Shanghai. The older men are the ones who take women's movements seriously and who listen patiently to talk about women's clubs and social service work, and those thousand and one activities about which western educated Chinese women return to their native land enthusiastic.

But the social worker making this statement, a woman of great charm who sponsors a kindergarten where a few hints on hygiene are tactfully allowed to filter through the day's texts, went on to say, "But we do hold a kind of sway over our men. It has been compared to the power which French-women are supposed to wield from their firesides." No one can doubt this. Except that the fireside is carried, as it were, to all sorts of odd places—far away from the intricate bosom of a Chinese family with its inhibiting influences.

The power of Chinese women in the upper and middle classes is evident to all. As for—the man and woman in the street the coolie class—one hardly needs to digress at length upon the scenes enacted for the amusement of the onlooker, in which woman emerges victorious through the shattering and unremitting flow of her language, logic and libel, directed against a mere, swaggering male, who accepts his defeat with self-conscious smirks as he gets out of range.

The Modern Woman

The thing which has for long struck the writer is what may be called the "shock-proof" make-up of the Chinese woman. It is this devastating attribute which has created such a stir. She bobs her hair and shocks the whole family and the governor of the province who issues an edict to curb the evil, but bob it she does and apparently has no more qualms in the doing than her Western sister had when the shears clicked for the first time. Training schools for women barber's are an aspect of the new coiffure.

Chinese girls of the treaty ports are "flappers" in every sense of the word. Permanent waves are not unknown, whatever one's private prejudices in the matter, girl "movie fans" flock to the cinemas by the hundreds. The writer knows three or four Chinese girls of "independent means" whose independence is sufficient to make a western palate tingle with anticipation. Motor-cars—which they drive—riding masters, dancing partners, affiliations with all the right people, an engagement book which ignores the need of a few hours of sleep in each 24, and summer holidays at the fashionable rendezvous', to their heart content.

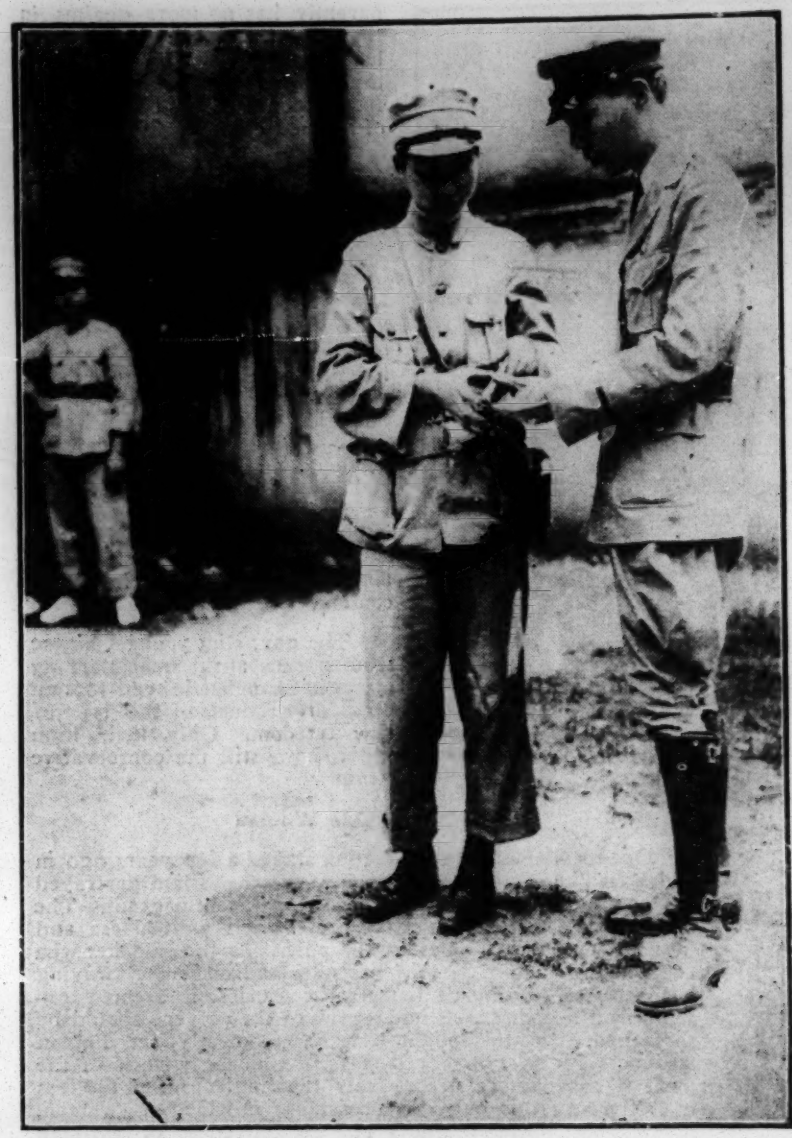
The gay, slim young Chinese women seen at the smart dancing places in Shanghai, in semi-foreign dress, are products of this type of new freedom. Only their high collar shows still the conservative strain.

The Indomitable Woman

One recalls, too, the production staged a few years ago in which well known Chinese women of social position portrayed old and new dress in China in a magnificent pageant. The fashionable young women of the present put on Chinese and Manchu ceremonial robes of the past. To the onlooker who could not but admire the stiff brocades and elaborate swaying head-dresses of China's immortal centuries, it seemed essentially fitting that the slim beauties of the present should be so attired. But this might have been merely the human weakness for *"les neiges d'antan."* Chinese women of the past, if robed more decoratively than in the present *did* less collectively. It is only the occasional outstanding woman, indomitable through beauty and seductiveness or through mental grasp which history records.

Again one was struck with a form of astonishment seeing the demure young woman who brought out her *pipa* at this entertainment and sang and played before an audience numbering several hundred foreigners and Chinese. This was done

Several Hundred Chinese Women, Chiefly Cantonese, Joined the Women's Battalion ttached to the Nationalist Forces at Hankow.



This Officer, a Mere Man, is Instructing One of the Cantonese "Amazons" in the Women's Battalion, regarding the Mechanism of an Army Revolver.

for charity. But one wonders whether charity could have tempted Chinese women of a similar class a decade ago.

It is said that since the establishment of universal suffrage in China in 1926, all doors are open to women in China, and that they can take their places according to their abilities. In the present formative period, however, woman suffrage as such is comparatively unimportant, though, when the time comes that it can play a significant part, it will be there to use, another weapon in the independence of Chinese women.

Domestic Arts on the Wane

The domestic arts are said to be on the wane in China today, as they are said to be elsewhere in the world. They are insufficiently stressed in the educational curriculum of girls of China, one hears said time after time. This is a part of the new spirit, to be viewed disapprovingly or otherwise according to the view it is natural for one to take. The standard of living beyond income, the evils of youth in general, their irresponsibility towards marriage, instability and extravagance are all aspects of the social revolution in China as they were in the After-the-War period of Europe. But, in the traditional sense, Chinese women were never good housewives. They are unsystematic and untidy about their homes, though thrifty always and doing beautiful needlework. They never tire of mah-jongg and vapid gossip and the old idea of the upbringing of children apparently does not include any of the rigorous notions of the West. For one thing Chinese babies never seem to go to bed, and nobody worries. So that this is an additional reason why the woman's movement towards a more constructive outlook in general cannot fail to have a good effect on the family life of the nation too. And is it not the family life of any nation which shows whether the core is sound?

Shanghai, September 14, 1928.

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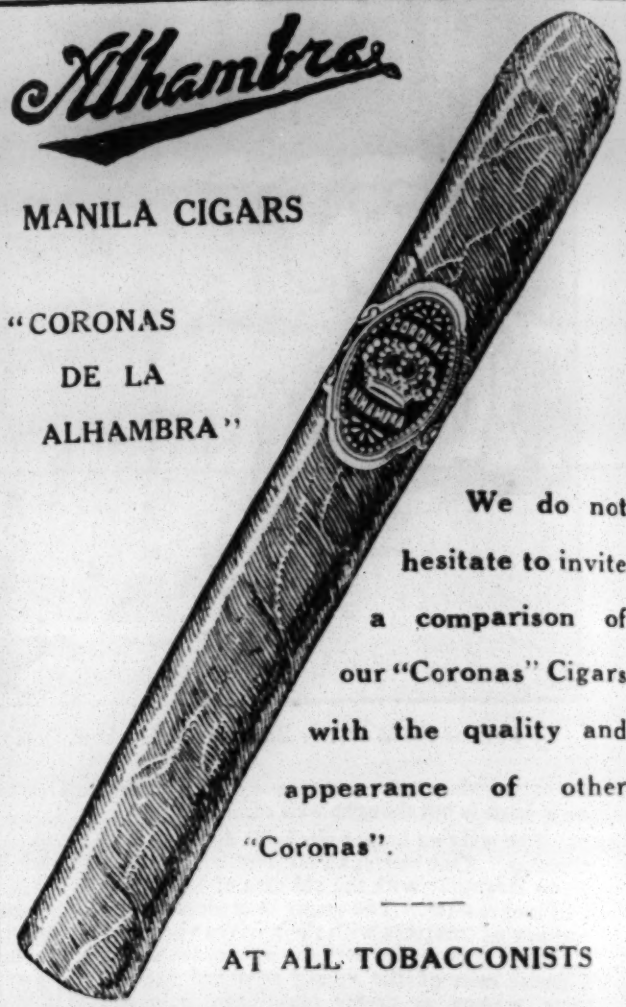

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THE SHANGHAI PROVISIONAL COURT. ITS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

(*Continued from page 165*)

protested against the ruling of the judge and insisted that the case must be disposed of by the Provisional Court. Meanwhile, the Municipal Police held up the prisoners and refused to surrender them to the Chinese Authorities according to the order of the Court. Such an action on the part of the Police is absolutely indefensible and it is also illegal that they should act in defiance of the express orders of the Court. For argument's sake, even if the trial judge erred in his ruling, there is still no lacking of judicial remedies and the proper and sane procedure for the Police would be to appeal to the Court of Appeals for a re-trial and decision. But, instead, they choose to take matters into their own hands and the Court is practically rendered helpless in face of such a situation.

Court is Disregarded

Cases of outrage of dignity of the Court and complete disregard of its authority are also numerous and three of these may be cited here. It is clearly provided in the Provisional Agreement that all summonses, warrants and orders of the Court shall be executed by the Police and be valid only after they have been signed by a Judge. The corollary from this provision is apparent that the Police shall not conduct any search or raid on any official or private premises, unless a warrant is procured from the Court. In other words, in such matters, the Court must first be consulted with, before the Police can be empowered to take action. Just to the contrary: the Police disregard the stipulation of the Agreement and ignore even the existence of the Court.

Last year, the Police arbitrarily entered the premises of the *China Courier*, a Chinese newspaper, and cut off its electric light and power supply. This was done for its refusal to pay the two percent surtax levied by the Municipal Council and without any warrant from the Court. The Chekiang Industrial Bank was also forcibly entered into by the Police for the same reason and the Bank's guards were disarmed also without any legal permit from the Court.

In addition to these, a still recent case may be cited, I refer to the recent Municipal Police raid of the Shanghai Office of the Intelligence and Publicity Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government at 25 Jinkee Road. Aside from Treaty Stipulations, the Chinese Government has a perfect right to establish offices in the Settlement, just for the simple reason that, in spite of its provisional character as a place designated for foreign residence and trade, it is still a part of the Chinese territory. Such a consideration, however, would be political and diplomatic and would involve the question of the status of the International Settlement but what interests us is the judicial side of the question with regard to the Police. Granting that a raid of the Office was desirable and inasmuch as a Law Court exists in the International Settlement, the Police, if they show any respect for the authority of the Court at all, should have applied for a search warrant from it before the raid was conducted. But the Police deviate from such evidently proper procedure and ignored the court entirely. The action of the Police in conducting the raid is evidently unwarranted and ultra-vires, but the Court is simply helpless in doing anything to rectify such an irregularity. The situation of the police in its relation to the Court is fatal to its administration and is calling for immediate attention. Unless vigorous reforms can be effected, in this respect, the authority of the Court might dwindle to nothing.

Freedom From Foreign Influence Sought

In short, complete independence of the Court from foreign influence and interference is a first prerequisite to its proper functioning. The Court must take necessary measures to uphold its dignity and safeguard its integrity as a judicial tribunal. Pending the expiration of the Provisional Agreement, the Court may well detach itself from the Municipal Police and create an independent judicial Police itself under its direct and effective control, to relieve the Court's dependence upon the whims and caprices of the Municipal Police. Upon expiration of the Agreement, it should be cancelled forthwith and the Court be taken over by the Chinese in its entirety. Presence of foreign Duties, should be abolished and all other remaining vestiges of Foreign control such as the foreign Civil and Criminal Offices, post of Chief Clerk and foreign control of the financial affairs of the Court, should be wiped away. Not until these vigorous measures are carried out, can the Court purge itself of the foreign influence and assume its proper place in the Chinese judicial system.

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THE NATIONALIST POLICY TOWARDS CHINA'S NATIONAL INDEBTEDNESS

(*Continued from page 21*)

A few explanatory notes may be necessary. It will be seen that the Fourth Year Extra Bond Issue, the 11th Year Short Term Loan, the 13th Year Treasury Notes, etc., have been retired up to the end of 1927 and so are not included in the above list.

Of the domestic loan obligations outstanding on January 1st this year, the Second Series of the Consolidated 6% and 7% National Loans occupy $33,000,000. These loans were issued in 1921 to redeem the 1st and 8th Year Bonds, but are themselves not definitely secured. This has caused considerable apprehension among the bondholders altho the redemption of these loans will not commence until 1931.

The amount outstanding of the 10th Year 96 Million National Loan ("96" Salt Surplus Bonds) is approximately $91,000,000. The credit of these Bonds has never been strong since their issuance. As of Jan. 1, 1928, ten drawings and ten interest coupons have been defaulted. Owing to the lack of reliable sinking fund and the suspicion and repugnance with which the Chinese people look at these bonds, the repayment of these bonds is very questionable at present.

The 5th Year National Loan was included in the Consolidated Loan Series in 1921, and according to the new terms drawn up the amount then outstanding, i.e., $18,757,590, was to be redeemed in six drawings from 1926-1928, 16/100 of the amount to be retired in each drawing. But the security for the redemption and interest of this loan is the deferred Russian portion and the cancelled German portion of the Boxer Indemnity respectively, and not the special Sinking Fund of the Consolidated Loan Service. As of January 1, 1928, four drawings and 23 interest coupons have been served. The amount outstanding is $6,377,582, and the total of principal and interest payments falling due in 1928 is $6,658,946.

In the case of the 14th Year National Loan, the payment of interest up to the end of 1927 was provided by special funds placed at the disposal of the Inspector-General of the Customs by the Peking Ministry of Finance. Beginning from this year, however, the security for the redemption and interest is the cancelled German portion of the Boxer Indemnity, which is free from all prior changes excepting the last two interest coupons of the 5th Year Loan. By the end of 1927, five interest coupons have been paid as they fell due. The redemption, however, begins only this year. The outstanding amount of the loan is $15,000,000, and the total of principal and interest payments falling due in 1928 is $3,300,000.

The other four loans, viz: the 7th Year Long Term Loan, Currency Reorganization Loan, Consolidated 6% Loan and Consolidated 7% Loan, are administered under the Consolidated Loan Service created in 1921, and are secured by a special sinking fund. But owing to the inadequacy of the sinking fund, the redemption of these loans is now two years in arrears. The 11th and 12th drawings (last two drawings) of the Currency Reorganization Loan and the 6th drawing of both the Consolidated 6% Loan and the Consolidated 7% Loan were defaulted in 1926, while the 7th drawing of the last two loans defaulted in 1927. These defaults amounted to $18,947,267, and $10,198,834 in 1926 and 1927 respectively, making the total arrears now $29,146,101. The redemption of the 7th Year Long Term Loan does not commence until this year. On the other hand, the 14th interest coupon of the Consolidated 6% Loan, the 13th coupon of the Consolidated 7% Loan, and the 19th coupon of the 7th Year Long Term Loan have all been paid as they fell due up to the end of 1927. The total amount outstanding of these Consolidated Loans is $104,742,604. The total of principal and interest payments falling due this year is $24,176,587.

In summing up, the total amount issued of domestic loans outstanding on January 1, 1928, is $336,992,228. Of this amount, over $86,228,942 has been repaid, thus leaving the total amount outstanding on January 1, 1928, $250,763,286. Excluding the "96" National Loan and the 2nd Series of the Consolidated 6% and 7% Loans, for reasons mentioned above, the total amount of principal and interest payments falling due in January 1 to December 31, 1928, is $34,135,533. These figures do not include the total amount in arrears on the Consolidated Loans. As matters stand now, the 5th Year and the 14th Year Loans are adequately secured on the Russian and German Indemnities, and their redemption and interest payments should meet no difficulty. The service of the Consolidated Loan Series depends on the Customs Surplus. But it is at any rate impossible for the Government to pay off the total amount of defaults this year, so that the payments simply remain two years in arrears.

II—Nationalist Policy Toward China's Indebtedness

What, then, is the policy of the Nationalist Government toward these domestic and foreign loan obligations which it is presumed to have taken over?

Mr. T. V. Soong's Forecast

To this question no answer has been given in the form of a definite, official declaration. But there are sufficient evidences that indicate unmistakably the tendency of the Nationalist Government. In the course of his opening address before the National Economic Conference, held in Shanghai last June, Mr. T. V. Soong, Nationalist Minister of Finance, said in regard to the question of China's indebtedness: "Our national loans, domestic and foreign, altho relatively small in proportion to our resources, are being badly managed. How shall we improve our credit so that we could like any other country go on the money markets of the world with confidence to raise funds for rehabilitation purposes?"[1] The significance of this constructive pronouncement was shown by the fact that in a few days Chinese Government bonds witnessed a sudden and unprecedented rise in quotation[2] and that numerous tetegraphic messages of congratulations and approval came from prominent financiers abroad.

National Economic and Financial Conferences Favor Liquidation.

What was implicitly forecast in Minister Soong's formula of the problem was soon worked out in detail by the delegates to the Economic Conference and confirmed by the officials at the subsequent Financial Conference held in Nanking. The former Conference consisted of the nation's leading businessmen and financiers, men of affairs who were chiefly instrumental in the successful financing of the Nationalist Expedition and who are now emphatically seeking measures of control over the Government's financial policy. The latter was an assembly of Central and Provincial treasurers, men who carry out the financial administration of the country. In reply to Minister Soong's question, both Conferences decided that the recognition of all of China's public debts should be adopted as a principle altho different procedures might be followed in dealing with particu ar cases because of the different nature of the several obligations. We quote the Report on National Indebtedness jointly adopted by the said Conferences: "If the readjustment of national indebtedness is further delayed at this time of financial stringency and industrial backwardness, the credit of the Government and the finances of the people will simply pass from bad to worse. Moreover, at this time when huge new loans have to be floated to provide funds for the various reconstruction measures to be carried out, it is especially urgent that the outstanding secured debts should continue to be repaid as originally stipulated while the inadequately secured debts should be properly liquidated. A definite and sound policy should be formulated and announced by the Government in regard to all the obligations. This isthe only way to prove China's good-faith and to establish sound national credit."[3]

Experience of Other Countries

In this connection, the experience of countries that have maintained their credit and those that have repudiated their obligations may be recalled with profit. Russia, for instance, repudiated her debts after the Great War and she was ridiculed and distrusted by the nations. France, again, attempted to reduce the payment of her indebtedness contracted during the War, but not only did she lose her credit without attaining her end, the exchange rate of her currency also suffered a tremendous fall and her new loans met with many difficulties. On the other hand, Great Britain, which incurred the greatest indebtedness during the War, has never defaulted in payment of principal or interest, and the result is that both her public and private finances remain strong and sound thruout the world. Similarly, Germany, though a defeated country, was after the War able to float new loans in London and New York with great success because of her maintenance of good faith. It does not require an unusually wise man to decide which example to follow and which to reject.

Having laid down the recognition of all public debts as a general principle, the conferences divided China's indebtedness into four categories and recommended plans for their liquidation[4]. These cover (1) secured foreign and domestic indebtedness, (2) unsecured or inadequately secured foreign and domestic indebtedness, (3) foreign and domestic indebtedness relating to communications, and (4) foreign and domestic indebtedness of the Provinces.

Secured Indebtedness.

The first resolution provides that all secured foreign and domestic indebtedness should continue to be repaid in accordance with the original terms governing them. The soundness of this resolution is obvious. Where the repayment of principal and interest of a debt has been met regularly according to a fixed schedule with definite funds earmarked for this pur-

1. China Press, June 21, 1928.
2. North China Daily News, June 28, 1928.
3. Report of National Economic Conference, p. 144; Report of Nationalist Financial Conference, 4th Section of Reports of Investigation, p. 24.
4. Ibid. pp. 145-150 and 26-32 respectively.

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pose, there should be neither dispute nor difficulty in carrying out the original terms.

Inadequately Secured Indebtedness

The second resolution calls for the recognition of the unsecured or inadequately secured foreign and domestic indebtedness too as a principle. But owing to the fact that the loans falling under this category vary greatly in purpose, nature and terms of agreements, and especially as some of them are regarded by the Chinese people with suspicion or as infringing on China's sovereignty, the resolution suggests that a Commission on the Liquidation of Outstanding Indebtedness should be established by the Government, whose duty it shall be to investigate into the facts in each case, to ascertain the exact obligations, and to determine procedures for their liquidation. In general, the Commission is to examine and check up the bonds or agreements in the hands of the creditors with the archives of the Ministry of Finance, to decide which principal is to be maintained and which discounted, which interest charge is to be annulled and which reduced. When the true amount of indebtedness is thus determined, the various debts are to be consolidated into a single issue and a liquidation loan covering the same amount is to be issued. This loan shall bear interest at 3% per annum, payable once a year, and shall be repaid within 30 years beginning from the 11th year of the date of issue. A definite fund is to be earmarked as the Sinking Fund, which shall be put in charge of a public Sinking Fund Board of Trustees.

Communications Indebtedness.

Likewise, the Economic and Financial Conferences are in favor of liquidating the foreign and domestic indebtedness contracted by the former Peking Ministry of Communications. According to the Report jointly adopted by the said Conferences, such indebtedness amounts to no less than $649,326,387.30, of which $87,358,621.93 is domestic debts and $561,967,765.37 foreign debts.[1] The former are secured on the surplus from railroads and telegraph service, and the latter on the properties of the same, both of which should be adequate. But on account of constant warfare during recent years, the properties of the different railroads and telegraph service became dilapidated and their receipts reduced with the result that secured loans have been put in the same precarious situation as unsecured loans. For this reason, it was resolved that all indebtedness relating to communications should be liquidated by the Ministry of Communications and that a special Rehabilitation Fund should be created by the Ministry of Finance for the purpose of enabling the railroads and telegraphs to resume full commercial operation so that the receipts shall provide funds for the liquidation of the indebtedness.

Provincial Indebtedness

Lastly, all Provincial indebtedness are to be liquidated according to the following procedure:—

"(1) Each Provincial Government should be ordered to establish a Provincial Indebtedness Liquidation Commission, which shall require the creditors of both the new and old indebtedness of the Province to produce the agreements and bonds in their possession, and shall examine the same, check them up with the archives of the Provincial Government, classify them, and arrange them in order of priority, in order that the true amount to be amortized may be ascertained.

"(2) Both old and new secured indebtedness of the different Provinces should be dealt with in accordance with the original agreements governing them.

"(3) In case of both old and new indebtedness of the Provinces that are either without security or with inadequate security or with security that has been changed or transferred, the respective Provincial Governments should for the repayment of principal and interest of the same, establish a Sinking Fund either from the Provincial Treasury or from a specific fund derived from some additional lawful Provincial tax.

"(4) For the protection of the Sinking Fund for the amortization of the Provincial indebtedness, each Province should establish a Sinking Fund Board of Trustees.

"(5) As the amount of indebtedness and the revenue resources of the different Provinces vary, the scheme for liquidation in respect of length of time and other terms must differ in details. Nevertheless, the liquidation must be carried out in accordance with the general principles adopted by the Central Government.

"(6) Bonds issued by the Nationalist Government which under the special circumstances of the revolutionary period were secured on Provincial properties, shall continue in force as stipulated in the original agreements, so as to maintain the Government's credit."

1. Ibid. pp. 150 and 32 respectively.

Sinking Fund Board Recommended

Mention must be made of another important resolution adopted by the Economic and Financial Conferences which recommends that a public National Indebtedness Sinking Fund Board of Trustees should be created as the custodian of the Sinking Funds of all domestic indebtedness [1]. It will be recalled that since the establishment of the Republic a portion of the customs revenue and the whole of the customs surplus have been assigned as security for domestic loans, and that the Inspector-General of the Customs was appointed by the Peking Government to take charge of all the Sinking Funds, which consequently are deposited with the foreign banks in China. To quote the resolution, "While this arrangement of entrusting the control of sinking funds to foreigners may be said to have been fairly efficient, it must be borne in mind that it was only a temporary pleasure. Since the establishment of the Nationalist Government, Treasury Notes secured on the 2½% Surtax and on other revenues have been issued, and in each case a Board of Trustees was established to protect the Sinking Fund. The success of this scheme is now everywhere recognized and national credit has consequently been greatly improved". Now that various rehabilitation works are to be undertaken and new loans have to be floated, the Conferences deem it most timely and desirable that a public Board of Trustees should be created to have custody of the Sinking Funds of all domestic indebtedness. This Board, according to the recommendation of the Conferences, shall consist of 15 delegates: one from the Central Government, three from the Ministry of Finance, one from the Auditing Council, two from the Shanghai Bankers' Association, two from the Shanghai Native Bankers' Association, two from the National Chamber of Commerce, one from the National Bankers' Association beside those from Shanghai, one from the National Native Bankers' Association beside those from Shanghai, and two from the Chinese emigrants abroad. The Sinking Funds shall be deposited in a Public Treasury, to be established in Shanghai under the direction of the Board of Trustees.

Thus, by providing for the recognition and liquidation of the outstanding indebtedness contracted by the former Peking Government and, further, by devising means to control and protect the security and sinking funds of loans in the future, it is hoped that the Nationalist Government will restore the national credit which the former government had allowed to be impaired.

From the statements of policy we now turn to the concrete acts of the Nationalist Government in meeting the loan obligations contracted by the Peking Government which have fallen due during the past three months.

Settlement of the Salt Question

Perhaps no part of China's outstanding indebtedness has given rise to more international dispute and speculation during the past few months than the loans secured on the Salt revenue. Prior to the Northern Expedition, the service of these loans, with the exception of the 1913 Reorganization Loan which has always been amply secured and paid from the Customs Surplus, was regularly met from the Salt funds. But when the northern Government became disorganized the Salt revenue diminished rapidly, until with the approach of the Nationalist Armies to the Yangtze all Salt loans, with the exception of the Reorganization Loan, went into default.

It will be recalled that as far back as last November, the Nationalist Government announced that it intended to reinstate the foreign directorate of the Gabelle. Nothing, however, came out of this until the end of last February when a categorical statement was issued by Mr. T. V. Soong, Nationalist Minister of Finance, that "the entire staff of the Salt Inspectorate, including the foreign personnel, will be restored to their positions as employees of the Ministry of Finance," this being followed a week later by publication of the names and stations of the foreign collectors. The Ministry objected to any system of debt collection independent of Chinese financial control and it pledged itself to serve the Salt Loans out of the general funds of the National Treasury. This brought forth many protests in foreign papers on the ground that it interfered with the duty of the Inspectorate to bondholders under loan agreements. And when the Salt Commissioner at Changlu, appointed by the Ministry of Finance, was allowed to release salt to the merchants, foreign correspondents harped that the salt administration would crumble to pieces in no time. The situation became so disquieting that on September 10, according to a Japanese report,[2] the Japanese, British and French Ministers at Peiping published a statement that they would be ready to make a certain declaration if the situation were not improved in the near future.

1. Ibid p. 148 and p. 30 respectively.
2. North China Daily News, September 11, 1928.

The untenability of the foreign contention has been well pointed out in an editorial in the *"China Critic"*.[1] Suffice it to say that on September 25, the Nationalist Government made public a definite and practical scheme for regular payment on the service of the Salt Loans. We quote the Finance Minister again: "Now that the Revolution has happily succeeded, the Nationalist Government is anxious to maintain the national credit even before complete unification of finance has been achieved and before the entire Salt revenue has become centralized under the Ministry. It has accordingly given orders that all salt-producing districts shall immediately begin to contribute a quota of its receipts to make up the total sum of ten million dollars annually, which is sufficient to pay for all loans secured on the Salt revenue,[2] with the exception of the Reorganization Loan which will continue to be met from the Customs Surplus revenue."[3] According to this scheme, each of the salt-producing districts shall pay into banks designated by the Minister of Finance, its quota of the total payment as decided upon by the Budget Committee, commencing October 1, 1928. The list of the respective quota, to be paid in 12 equal monthly instalments, is as follows:—[4]

	$		$
Fengtien	890,000	Chuannan	1,060,000
Changlu	1,558,000	Chuanpei	158,000
Shantung	498,000	Hankow	201,000
Hotung	308,000	Changsha	286,000
Huainan	1,294,000	Nanchang	158,000
Huaipei	742,000	Wuhu	137,000
Sungkiang	254,000	Ichang	158,000
Liangcheh	467,000	Koupei	42,000
Fukien	296,000	Huating	74,000
Kuangtung	933,000	Kihei	148,000
Yunnan	275,000	Chinpei	63,000
			Total $10,000,000

Nationalist Government Meeting Loan Service

It is learned that the above scheme is agreeable to all concerned and has the support of the Provinces. Thus, one of the most perplexing and complicated problems in connection with China's loan obligations is amicably and satisfactorily solved. Likewise, before a complete and definite program for readjustment of loans has been formulated, the Nationalist Government has undertaken to meet the principal and interest payments on the internal loans as they fell due since the capture of Peking,[5] while the service of the foreign loans secured on the Customs revenue has also been met regularly by the Inspectorate-General of the Customs. In the case of the Consolidated Loans, altho the Nationalist Government has not found it possible to pay off the total defaults yet by paying regularly in arrears it is at least discharging obligations which the former Peking Government had failed to meet since 1925; and this, before complete unification of national finance has effected.

1. "Protests about Salt Revenue," Vol. 1, Nov. 16, September 13, 1928.
2. The charges to be met are as follows: Anglo-German Loan of 1898; Anglo-French Loan of 1908; Hukuang Railways Loan of 1911: and Chinese Government Birch-Crisp Loan of 1912.
3. North China Daily News, September 27, 1928.
4. Ibid.
5. The payments falling due on the Consolidated 7% Loan were met on August 31; those on the Currency Reorganization Loan, Fifth Year Loan, and Fourteenth Year Loan, on September 31, according to schedule. See "Finance Daily" (published by the Ministry of Finance in Chinese), August 25 and 30, September, 4, 7, and 15, 1928.

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Centralization of Future Loan System

On the other hand, in order to protect the national interest and to insure a sound loan system, the Ministry of Finance has, acting upon decisions of the recent National Economic and Financial Conferences, circulated instructions to the various Central Governmental Organizations, the Ministries and bureaux, Provincial governments and the various special municipalities throughout the country, laying out limitations to the floatation of public loans in the future. The essence of the regulations is that no national or local public loan will be recognized in China in the future unless the same has been previously approved by the Central Government Council. The outstanding features may be summarized as follows:—[1]

(1) All National loans shall be issued by the Ministry of Finance with the approval of the Central Government Council, for which purpose detailed reports of the expenditure of loan proceeds and definite security and sinking fund for the service of the loan must be provided.

(2) All Provincial or Municipal loans must be first reported to the Ministry of Finance with detailed statements of expenditure and definite security, and the Ministry may either recommend the proposal to the Central Government Council for approval or reject it.

(3) All public loan proceeds shall in future be used for constructive purposes and no money shall be wasted in unbeneficial channels.

(4) Beginning with July 1, 1928, Provincial or Municipal loans may be cancelled by the Ministry of Finance unless they have been previously recommended by the Ministry and approved by the Central Government Council.

(5) Both in the case of National Loans and in the case of Provincial or Municipal loans, a Board of Control of Expenditure and a Sinking Fund Board of Trustees must be established to control the expenditure of loan proceeds and to take charge of the sinking fund and payments of the loan.

(6) These regulations do not govern national loans of less than $1,000,000, or local loans of less than $500,000, and of terms less than a year for repayment.

Record of Nationalist Loan Service

Finally, the greatest assurance that the Nationalist Government will be able to bring about a proper readjustment of the outstanding loans may be found in the remarkably sound and efficient system under which it has administered the service of loans contracted by itself since its establishment at Nanking[2]. Since May of last year, six loans have been issued amounting to approximately $145,000,000. In each case a reliable revenue was earmarked as the security for redemption and interest and a Sinking Fund Board of Trustees, independent of the Government, was provided to take charge of the sinking fund and repayment of the loan. All the actions of the Boards as well as their monthly receipts and disbursements are made known to the public. So far, all the payments have been made regularly and promptly. This together with the ample balances left after the service of the loans shows clearly the adequacy of the sinking funds. On the other hand, besides paying the Boards' operating expenses the Government has not interfered the least with their affairs. The fact that all the loans were subscribed for within a short time after their issuance and that the Treasury Notes now command high prices in the money market, speak positively for the credit of the Nationalist Government.

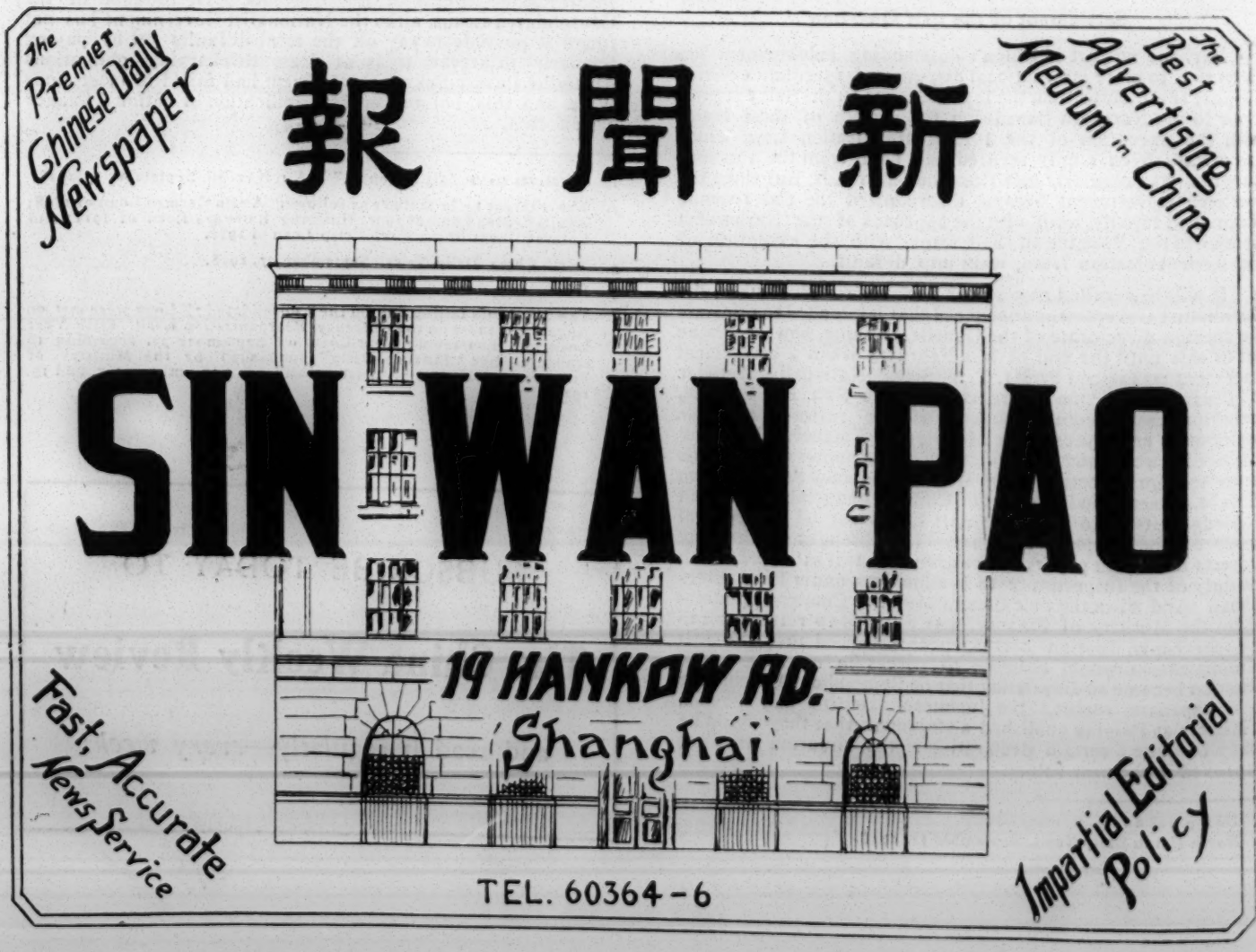
To show that this system of loan service is sound, we can do no better than to quote Li Ming, Manager of the Chekiang Industrial Bank and Chairman of the Sinking Fund Board of Trustees of the Nationalist Government Treasury Notes. In concluding his report on Nationalist loans,[1] Mr. Li says:" It (the Nationalist Government) has given publicity to the sinking fund provisions, and has permitted the representatives of financial and commercial organizations to have charge of the fund. It has abided by the conditions of issue which it originally published. Whenever the Sinking Fund Board has made a salutary recommendation beyond the conditions originally stipulated, the Government has conceded it without hesitation. It is an important reform in Chinese public finance. And the members of the Sinking Fund Board, being zealous at heart and untiring in their efforts, have discharged their duty very faithfully. It is only a natural consequence that the public should have full confidence in the Treasury Notes, and that the Notes should appreciate in the money market."

In the administration of its own loan service, then, the Nationalist Government has won the full confidence of its creditors. If that is an example of the Nationalist policy toward its loan obligations, and if the resolutions adopted by the recent Economic and Financial Conferences regarding the liquidation of national indebtedness are carried into effect, there is indeed hope for the re-establishment of China's credit and for the opening of a new chapter in Chinese public finance.

Shanghai Oct. 9, 1928.

1. The Sin Wan Pao, September 25, 1928.
2. "Banker Analyzes Financial State of the Nationalist Government and Demonstrates it is Sound," China Press, June 21, 1928; "The 2½% Surtax Treasury Notes", Chinese Bankers' Weekly, Vol. XII, No 12; "Nationalist Government Treasury Notes." Ibid No. 34.

1. Published through the Kuo Min News Agency. See China Press Op. cit.



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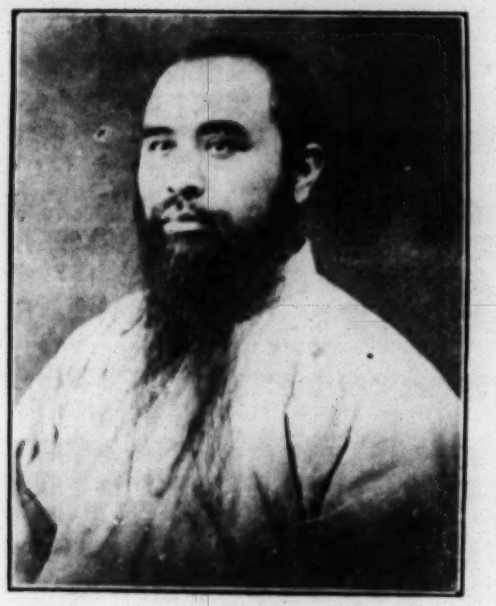
Former Commander of 6th Nationalist Army.

Mr. Tsai Yuan-pei 蔡元培

Recently Appointed Chief of Supervisory Council



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Commander-in-Chief of 2nd Nationalist Group Army.

Gen. Yang Yu-ting 楊宇霆

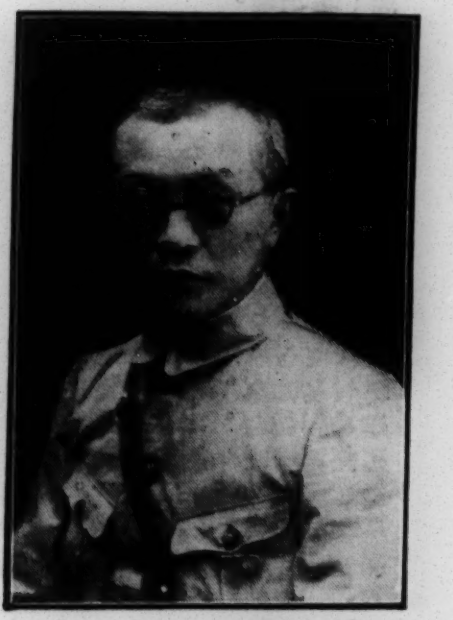
Former Chief of Staff to the late Chang Tso-ling.

Gen. Yen Hsi-shan 閻錫山

Commander-in-Chief of 3rd Nationalist Group Army in North China.

Mr. Li Chia-sum 李濟深

Chief of General Staff of Nationalist Army Headquarters.



Shao Li-tse 邵力子

Member of Government Council.

過教育之青年則不然。渠等曾受西洋教育。與西方友朋。頗多接觸。咸主張一夫一妻主義。而以愛情爲「基本。」將來「丈母」二字。當成爲一種笑談。而離婚行將不易實行。蓋中國社會。對於離婚。從來不特不加贊許。且離婚夫婦。俱不能被人重視也。

妻子將不若從前之易於馴服。與其丈夫將成爲友侶關係。而丈夫將事事與其細君或未婚妻商酌。然作者曾聞中國少年留學生。往往視其妻爲玩物。隨意携之跳舞場。以供玩賞。因此受人批評。年事稍長之人。則對於一切婦女運動。頗加注意。而對於婦女集會。社會工作。以及西洋同國女子之一切舉動之種種談論。尤樂爲傾聽。

以上爲一妖媚婦人所陳述。並云「我們有統轄良人之法術。正若法國婦女在爐邊所慣用之威勢。」

中國上中兩等婦女之勢力。盡人皆知毋庸贅述。茲一述苦力夫婦之爭吵情形。以供一笑。每見兇悍之婦女。發其河東之獅吼。咒罵其懦弱之丈夫。詬誶之聲。達於戶外。丈夫則低首下心。佯笑而出。殊堪捧腹。

▲新式婦女▼ 中國婦女之剛毅。作者對之。深受刺激。每見婦女。突然將其三千煩惱絲。付之幷州一剪。致使閨家震驚。雖在軍閥時代。官廳對於婦女剪髮。嚴加抑制。然婦女毫無畏懼之心。其毅然決然之態度。實可驚異。現今有女子理髮學校之設立。亦一新現象也。

通商各口岸之中國女子。類皆放蕩成性。影戲場中。女子爲多。作者曾識中國女子三四人。咸差足自給。其中自開汽車者有之。與男子交游或對舞者有之。因應酬忙碌而日夜不睡者有之。夕陽西下羣赴約會者亦有之。

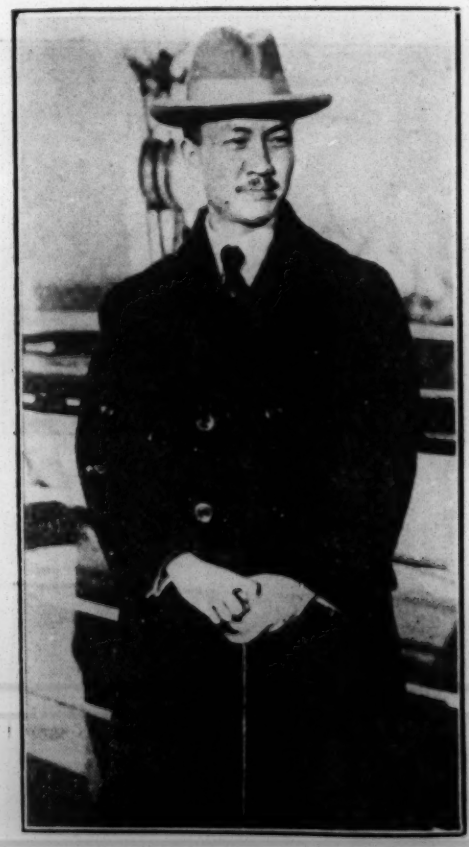
跳舞場中。時見有此種苗條淫佚之中國少婦。穿半西裝。袒有高聳之衣領。尚留一點古風。

讀者尚憶數年前之時裝競賽會乎。今日之中國時髦婦女。咸穿滿州式之長袍。此種裝飾。對於素來嘆賞中國婦女之錦緞頭飾之旁觀者。固屬合宜。昔日之婦女。即使服飾裝璜。較現今爲美。終不若現今服飾之一律。

佯爲端莊之婦女。每於大庭廣廈。及中西數百人之宴會中。携其樂器。或吹或唱。毫不羞恥。此雖爲慈善或募捐起見。然十年前無論何種慈善事業。恐終不能唆使此類婦女作此種舉動也。

自一九二六年解放後。中國婦女。得憑其各個才能。在社會上立足。然際此發展時期。婦女解放。已不若以前之重要。蓋將更進一步。利用別種利器。以遂其婦女獨立之目的也。

▲家政之不治▼ 中國家政。漸呈衰頹之象。即世界各國亦然。緣中國女子學校之課程表。對於家政一科。早已置之腦後矣。查中國生活程度。高過進款。青年之腐敗。及對於婚姻之不負責任。以及放浪揮霍。可稱中國社會之大變。與歐戰甫畢。歐洲各國情形相同。按中國婦女。不能算爲完美之主婦。大部分雖尚節儉。而精於針線。然於治家。往往毫無秩序。而整潔方面。更形疎懶。對於麻雀與閒談。則樂而不倦。至對於兒童之教育。更不若泰西各國之嚴厲。家庭中一有小事。兒童每不思睡眠。而長者亦不聞不問。此中國婦女對於普通建設方面一切運動。不能改進全國家庭生活之重大原因也。



Mr. Ta Chi-tao 戴季陶
Chief of Examinative Council.

中國名人錄

第三版續編

本編搜集最近國內名人相片暨英文傳略。增補一九二六年第三版之所未載者。精裝一册。價洋二元半

密勒氏評論報館謹啓

。自然是另一問題。不必再孳孳迄迄。徒從枝節做起。不過我個人有一種信念。如果要實現民生主義。如果要走非資本主義的道路。除了以上方法。恐怕更找不出基礎。至於以上方法是不是與節制資本相矛盾。我當於後期評論報中。繼續討論。

一九二八，四，九。

中國之新婦女

Louise B. Wilson

中國婦女之魄力。凡外人之僑華日久者。皆所公認。數年來。其毅力辦事才能與膽力。日益明顯。而其實在勢力。亦與日俱增。

中國普通婦女。有如斯之才能。我人觀於近十年來婦女地位之變遷。當能了解。此種進化。雖尚在幼稚時代。然係全體的。殊足引人興味者也。

婦女素受束縛。故全球女界。不憚奔走呼號之勞。要求解放。而此項聲調。中國婦女亦羣起響應。力爲鋪張。方今宣傳政策盛行時代。無論何事。一經反覆宣傳。必能使人相信。故現在中國全國婦女。已開始深信解放之必要。此種婦女運動。係求精神上之解放。其他解放之形式。勢必追隨其後。惟尚方之決心。至今日而各級婦女羣抱共享解放幸福之希望。

一切舊習俗。咸在破除之列。此種工作。爲不可免而且緊要的。蓋非此不足顯婦女之新建設能力也。即如幾代供奉之神像。亦將受被棄之災。此種舉動。雖屬驚人。但爲必要。

▲婦女發展之三時期▼ 婦女青年會全國委員會行政秘書楊女士。去歲於上海美國婦女會中演說。陳述中國婦女運動之詳情。分中國婦女發展爲三時期。在第一時期內。婦女俯首下眉。其優雅脆弱而謙恭之態度。殊足動人憐愛。在第二時期內。婦女已稍受教育。略識之乎。然尚不免爲一班男子所輕視。祇守自己操作範圍。蓋「婦女場所即爲家庭。」自後逐漸進步。至第三時期時。婦女頗欲知人生之意義。常以「我們生活上豈無立足之地位得此地位豈不能作種種之改良耶」爲問。據楊君言。目今時時可得聞中國少年與中年之婦女。高談國家德性之必要。以爲無論何事。全特德性。而女子亦能灌輸德性。與夫建樹國家之德性。此爲一種建設思想。亦爲中國有教育女子之普通思想。此種聲浪。既逐漸增高。到處皆有實體之結果。目今政界上有十數婦女。已經插足。渠等爲革命急進派。故雖乏充量之經驗。亦得立足國民政府政台上。在學校時。稱爲一種「火刀。」以大無畏之精神。高唱自由。至於婦女之道傳德性。所謂三從四德者。早已拋棄無存。渠等不願守舊派之譴責與排斥。仍進行不已。

▲荒謬之故事▼ 昔有一少婦。以所持摺扇。突落井中。遂捲起兩袖。意欲拾之。忽覩一腳腳少年。逋逃法網。躲身於石隙中。少婦遑急異常。然已被少年覩見。遂自責粗鹵。自信必須嫁與少年。此種無稽之談。目今新婦女必視爲荒誕。依中國古時禮教。女子不能直視生疎男人。而現代新婦女。則在各局處與男子共同辦事。昔日女子不便在街道顯現。或與男人自由談話。今則不然。交通大道也。電車也。游戲場也。會場也。茶樓酒館也。戲館也。影戲館也。無處不有婦女之蹤跡。渠等匪特於現在改治台上。佔一席地。即在一九一一年已有組織女革命軍以備於甯漢兩方從事戰事之說。自武昌起義以來。有「敢死隊」之組織。即此次北伐軍中。亦有女軍隊一營。業經解散。現派在各國立機關服務。

婦女之政治才能。觀於鄭毓秀博士而更明顯。按鄭氏曾得法政府勳章。數星期前。蒙國民政府派爲駐法公使。並曾被委爲上海臨時法院院長。惟並未正式接受。本年三月。奉派赴法。聯絡兩國感情。鄭氏精通法文。性情柔雅。且十四年留學歐美。學識優良。經驗豐富。故雖屬女性。亦能榮任斯職也。

守舊派對於此種牝鷄司晨之事。當然目爲不正當。但此部分之攻擊。與婦女之活動。初無有重大之阻礙也。

▲看護之訓練▼ 對於其他方面。詆毀者亦無從評貶。如中國看護會。於一九〇九年夏由牯嶺外國看護九人組織。其時中國尚無看護學校之設立。亦無一受過相當訓練之看護。迨一九二七年。該會會員有一千四百〇九人之多。其中華人佔三分之二。尚有看護學校一百〇七所。一九二八年一月。上海舉行全國會議時。看護工作。頗稱活動。

上海有一醫科學校。係附屬於婦孺醫院者。該醫院係教會爲中國婦孺而設。院中看護。泰半係中國女子。彼等才能。殊堪嘉許。即院中醫生。亦樂道中國女子對於醫學之天賦才能。又北京與上海之中國女子銀行。辦理完善。能禦經濟風浪。即舊派人物。亦稱其能。故守舊派實無詆毀之餘地。

中國婦女會。殊屬不少。即以上海婦女協會而論。每年籌款。維持義務學校三所。幼童之受其惠者。達二百人。亦堪欽佩。普通而論。中國婦女實乏天然集會精神。蓋中國家庭。組織複雜。婚喪喜慶。瑣屑家務。婦女之酬酢甚忙。固無暇從事互相合作。較之西洋婦女。實有天壤之別。然其中領袖。頗能與上海各外國婦女協會聯絡。蓋深知苟無集會。婦女斷不能盡市民之天職。

目今中國新婦女之教育問題。亦堪與古時相對較。十餘年來。改革頗多。男女同學。女子體操。一切運動游戲。爲革新之一部分。作者曾一度參觀閘北某女校。有十數女學生。年約十四歲左右。穿半截之運動衣與網球鞋。往來跳躍於不甚清潔之操場中。蓋正練習籃球也。一種怕羞畏怯之狀態。尚能流露於眉宇間。作者不禁回憶昔日中國婦女所受纏足之苦楚。十只足趾。緊緊束縛。既慘苦。又醜陋。而男子猶垂涎求三寸金蓮之女子爲良配。作者以爲此項穿網球鞋之少女。固大半欲求一俏麗之丈夫。惟以爲三寸金蓮。依現在時勢。實不足博得意中人之注意。是乎否乎。

▲新式求婚▼ 中國古式求婚。有一部分以言情詩曲爲媒介。少年之欲求娶富家女者。須先於意中人之父母面前。表現其特別才能。未來新婦。則始終形同木偶。娶親後。丈夫當他人面前。輒稱其妻爲「拙荆。」中國風流愛情。尚付「缺如。」夫婦雙方。於結婚日始得相見。故互相憎惡。爲常有之事。於是有娶頭妾二妾三妾者。其名次與威權。一視丈夫之寵愛程度而定。雖然。目今受

觀察。大凡都市之成立與盛。第一個原則卽在都市工商業的本身能够「養市」。現在普通市用不着說。特別市能比較完全的僅有一個廣州和北平。因爲廣州雖有一個沙面。北平雖有一個東交民巷。大體對於市的獨立還可勉强維持。至如上海漢口天津三個特別市。附着均有租界。在在妨害本國都市本身的發展。我們先就廣州和北平說能。廣州市依然靠省政府的補助。北平則僅恃政治而存在。其所收入尙不够路政和公安的動支。所以以此而言市的建設。似乎離眞正的問題還遠。

然而都市的設計必須進行。社會的資本必須建築。我對於都市的建設。只有兩個主張。卽是(一)對於政治要拿得穩(二)對於私人要放得鬆。換一句說話。卽是集中政治的力量和吸收私人的資本。

(1)怎樣集中政治的力量。我們很明白現在一切的設施。在社會是沒有基礎。在政府是沒有計畫。在都市最成問題的是土地問題(比農村還更切要)，我所謂土地幷不止捐課的額率。而是稅的方法。我們要知農村土地僅是生產資本的一種。而都市土地却是投機和壟斷的中心。在今日我們應該具一個決心。卽「土地漲價一一概歸之公有。我記得十四年秋總理所聘請德國的蘇林買耶 Suremeyer 曾提出一個土地稅法。這個稅法以德國都市的土稅地和靑島的土地稅爲舊本。而進步則竟過之。當日在稅法委員會提出時候。仲愷先生和我的主張應以這個稅法爲原則。而徵稅則主從緩進。因現在一般人民的腦中尙沒有土地稅的名詞。須使這個稅法首先暢行。每年才可逐步增進。今日我仍堅持這個主張。但附帶應該說明的。我們應以緩進爲手段。而不應當以緩進爲目的。都市的土地告一解決。所謂集中政治力量。已可爲大部分的解決。簡單一句話。我們應爲普遍羣衆幸福而發展都市。萬不可流於放任。至使偏於個人營利而發展都市。

(2)怎樣吸收私人的資本。凡都市發展。屬於地方事業而不是屬於國家事業。所以都市而希望國家補助。根本是錯的。現在人們迷於市政的美名。無論極小的地方。也要成立都市。同時也要省府的補助。這種現狀以廣東和前年的江西最顯著。幷且每一市府成立。不問建設經費之有無。先擺出五局六局的門面。結果市府只爲食飯機關。市政一點辦不到。我的主張。無論電話。電燈。電車自來水等均可讓之私人經營。除了專利二十年至三十年卽全部歸之市有以外。應爲無條件的特許。然而這樣豈不是違反本黨節制資本的原則嗎。關於這個問題我當於結論另作一個答案。

▲勞資間的關係▼ 除此之外。在都市中的最大問題。就是工人容易和小資產階級衝突。照我計畫。工人還須對小資產階級讓步。卽是工資不要驟然作對倍的增加。因爲工人之所需不單止生活。此外還有教育。疾病。娛樂等等問題。市府對於此等擔負應卽責之都市的商店和工廠。無論新舊都市。市府成立。須卽統計工人子女教育費若干。義務學校應設若干所。統計工人每年疾病的數目。醫院應設若干所。統計工人全體的數目。市立戲場。電影場。圖書館。浴室應設若干所。這樣最低限的建設。一可使革命戰線鞏固。逐漸泯除階級的不平。同時社會資本的建設。也有一個相當基礎。我必定知道有許多激越的青年。罵我是改良政策。但是要明白資本主義發達國家的改良政策。拿到半殖民地來往往是革命的政策。

(B)農村的建設

目前農村除了土地以外。有兩大問題。一個是自治。一個是大生產。自治非本題。暫擱不談。土地也當另爲專文去討論。我最注意的還是大生產。今日中國爲什麼荒落。第一是缺乏科學。第二是零碎生產。因爲缺乏科學。所以生產品減少。生產地荒磽。生產地荒磽。生產價低降。因爲零碎生產。所以不能接受科學。不能購買機械。不能不屈服天然。前幾天有個朋友自山東來。說兗州以北。遍地荒蕪。雨量逐年減少。運河壅塞。若再不治。沃土將變沙漠。我們固知山東因久處軍閥之下。連歲戰亂。也是極大的原因。但人民缺乏科學常識。總是主要原因的一種。我們看海關輸出表。農產占百分之九十六。而農產之機械需要。輸入表竟等於零。幷不是我們會製機械。實在是我們不能用而且不懂用機械。以一個世界著名的農業國。而荒落到這樣。眞是匪夷所思我對於農村的主張。也還是兩個。一個是大生產的合作。一個是國營農產的代耕。

(一)大生產的合作。暫時可以村爲單位。村又可以農民協會作中心。凡屬會員當拿他們的土地。工具(牛馬也算在內)。勞力(僱農)。作爲耕作的資本。成一共同生產的合作社。假定農民拿出耕地二百畝。每畝價值三十元。那麼土地的資本爲六千元。牛二十頭。每頭三十元。每畝需要肥料二元。那麼耕作的資本爲一千元。耕農六十人(包括僱農)。每人每日生活費二角。每人作工三個月計算。那麼勞力暫依生活費算定。總數爲一千零八十元。這種合作社的資本於是總數爲八千零八十元。至生產分配之額。假定國家徵收百分之一。地方事業徵收百分之一。土地和工具之利息爲百分之五。其餘利益則爲耕農工資。剩餘的都歸合作社。力耕之人平均分配。

▲合作的利益▼ 以上所指。所謂六十人不過僅指種稻而言。三個月農作之外。尙有餘力餘時從事於農業之副產(如種植蔬菜及雜糧)。從事於畜牧鷄鴨牛羊魚類等)。這種合作的方法一行。必使小生產變爲大生產。而僱農無形中已到耕者有其地的目的。更用不着家國收買土地了

(二)國營農產的代耕。什麼是國營農產的代耕。卽是國家於每省特設一種國營公司。利用極新的機械。和有效的科學。凡人民有土地而無暇耕種。或缺乏資本而無從購置機械。卽可委託此種公司經營。種子竝弱的由這公司移植。土地磽瘠的。由這公司變之爲沃肥。但每年收穫。則須以百分之幾十。(要視地方而定)爲代耕的費用。

國家建設此種公司。也像集中對外貿易一樣。國家有資本卽當自營。無資本卽特許私人公司而以總利益百分之六十歸之政府。要之我們心目中將來之中國。必使工業成爲社會化。而農業又變爲工業化。才有希望。否則漫無計畫。徒唱高調。空虛的革命。到底不過連綿爭奪的兵戰。黨亦跟着覆敗罷了。

上文所述。僅是建設國家資本的第一步。僅是窮人打窮算的第一步。對於總理實業計畫。還沒有實現萬分之一。若有外資可以利用。若有平等契約可以締結

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Chairman Northwestern Political Committee.

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Chief of the Legislative Council and Member of Standing Committee of the Government Council.

二千六百四十萬元。兩年以內。粵漢卽可接軌。打通中國南部的腹部。至於原來的鐵路。固然要幾百萬元來整理。但大可於延長路軌通車收入項下支撥。用不着移動接路的基金。這個粵漢接軌的步驟。既不須起借內債。又不須一定要英國庚款的償還。我們已可行而有餘裕了。

(二)甯漢鐵路　依孫先生計畫。此線應由浦口西南沿揚子江左岸行。經安徽南部。而抵南京。再以一支線與九江聯絡。卒西向以至漢口。距離約三百五十英里。但照我觀察。國都旣定於南京。此線無在左岸建築之必要。安慶雖爲安徽省會。但以時勢之推移。目前重心倒不在左岸之安慶。而在右岸之蕪湖。我個人意見。爲着鞏固南京。省卻九江間渡河的工程。和毋須必繞安慶。似應從右岸建築起。路線短而工費省。但無論如何。此三百五十英里的路線。用費必不能超過四千萬元。第四次全體執監會議以後。政府在滬上借款已達六千萬元。(新起之煤油特稅借款四千萬尙不在內。)政府卽以此路發行四千萬之借款。不到兩年。此甯漢鐵路已可貫澈長江上下游。南京在政治的勢力。益發更鞏固了。

(三)武漢隨道　武漢形勢我在上文已經說過。十五年九月我第一次由武昌渡江至漢。(小輪約需三十分鐘)我心內卽發生一種印像。以爲連鎖武漢是政治和經濟上最切要和永久發展的問題。我抵漢以後曾一度和稅司福開森討論。再度和粵漢路工程師威廉討論。當日曾簡單估算。橫過江面的鐵橋(中爲粵漢京漢鐵道。兩旁爲電車道及汽車道人行道)約須五千萬。而隨道則不過須二千多萬。所以我當日極注意及湖北官產的地皮(值二千多萬)。以爲應下一大決心將此種地皮完全變賣。作爲開隨道以啣接京粵兩路的費用。現在此項地皮依然在漢。我們能有偉大的計畫。那麼這項地皮的確還可利用來建武漢的隨道的。以上這三項計畫。都是目前能够坐言起行的計畫。幷不是空想。也幷不是紙上文章。只看我們有沒有決心來實行而已。可是必有人問我。建設國家資本就是這樣嗎。當然不是這樣簡單。不過我很相信這是建設國家資本的起首的。中國要做大建設勢不得不利用外資。這是任何人也這樣說。但同時我更相信。假使政府沒有建設的決心。內資當然未由集起。國內沒有人投資。而希望外人撤去一切政治的意味來投資。這還是空想。我們爲要表示建設的決心。應當窮人打窮算。應從政府本身收入的餘資着想。只要一有決心的表示。建設便不愁沒有資本。我們要知中國在紐約和倫敦的欵項就有二萬萬。(這是胡適先生告訴我的)據我個人調查上海的中國人欵項也有四萬萬。

▲與美國的比較▼　孫先生對於製造國家資本。曾舉出美國發達資本的門徑爲例。第一是鐵路。第二是工業。第三是鑛產。幷說。

「我們要挽回利權。便要趕快用國家的力量來振興工業用機器來生產。令全國的工人都有工作。令全國的工人都有工做。都能够用機器生產。那便是一種很大的新財源。如果不用國家的力量來經營。任由中國私人或者外國商人來經營。將來的結果。也不過是私人的資本發達。也要生出大富階級的不平均。」在我意見。除了圖營鐵路。鑛山大工廠以外。國家還須注意的是對外貿易的集中。我們知道自由政策是商業資本時代的骨幹。工業革命以後。自由政策一時更得一重意外的保障。假使國家不能集中對外貿易。無論怎樣節制資本。個人資本必會自然發展。我們雖日唱走非資本主義。而資本主義的道路卻明明白白橫在我們目前。我可以更露骨點說。若自歷史上自始至終國家能集中對外貿易。恐怕今日的資本主義制度必會另換一個形式罷。然而我之提倡集中對外貿易。幷不只是消極的防制走向資本主義的道路。却是積極的建築國家資本的基礎。

我們試考對外貿易的近況。把出入口貨的總值加起來。便是一億九萬八千八百餘萬海關兩。我們雖然知道中國對外貿易還是未盛。還比不上英領的加拿大一地。然而此數已大可觀。不過這種貿易還是完全操縱於外國人。不獨入口的貨品壟斷於外國人的洋行。就是出口的貨品也都使中國人動彈不得。而且外國市場的要求是怎樣。去年和本年的變動又是怎樣。中國的政府固然像漠不相關。中國的商人也是睡在鼓裏讓外國人去支配。所以國家要集中對外貿易。不只是建設國家資本的需要。就要講自由政策的。也不能不要政府去扶助。

▲經費的籌措▼　可是國家集中對外貿易的資本那裏來呢。這是一個當前的大問題了。我以爲這個問題幷不難於解決。對外貿易的集中可分以下的三個辦法。

(一)國營公司　對於這一點幷不須要說明。就是完全以國家的資方來營運。

(二)國家和私人合資公司　卽是國家出資本百分之六十。私人出資本百分之四十。利益的分配也照着百分之六十和四十畫分

(三)純粹私人公司　國家幷不需要資本。私人公司得國家特許以後。每年卽須給予國家以百分之六十的總利益。國家對於此等特許公司之貿易。應予以種種便利。如鐵路上輸運之優先權。海關的減稅。內河的免厘等。

復次國家應在倫敦。紐約。巴黎。栢林。各設一半商業性之國營機關。一面可以直接替代中國國營或私營之公司運輸。一面可以介紹外外國新發明之工業和農業的機械。這麼一來。對外貿易可以慢慢集中在國家的手上了。

目前我們欲建設純粹之國營公司殆不可能。然而建設特評的公司是立刻能辦的事業。欲完全集中出入口貨品的貿易殆不可能。然而集中大部對外輸出是立刻能辦的事。九萬萬兩的輸出算集中一半卽是四萬萬兩。贏利一分計算每年可得九百萬兩。政府得百分之六十計算。可得五百四十萬兩。至若能够操縱國外市場。不只能抑平本國的物價。幷且所得還不止此呵。

要之集中對外貿易不止爲節制資本一個法門。幷且是建設國家資本一條大道。而且目前我們幷不是禁止私人貿易只是以國家資本和私人資本競爭。我所以在國營鐵路。鑛山。工業以外。更提出集中對外貿易一個意見。

▲都市和農村的建設▼　談到都市和農村的建設。每一個問題。都可以成一本專書。我所談的僅是建設的原則。而不是建設的詳計。現在我們分列都市和農村的建設原則如下。

(A)都市的建設

我們不談都市則已。談起都市便有許多問題湧現在我們目前。現在照大體制度。有所謂特別市。有所謂普通市。到底我們談都市的建設指那一種。可是我們

▲國家資本的需要▼ 孫先生更說。「中國今日單是節制資本。仍恐不足以解決民生問題。必要加以製造國家資本。方可解決之。」

(一)民生主義決不是自由政策而是國家的干涉政策。

(二)民生主義決不止消極的節制資本和平均地權。積極方面還有建設國家資本。

(三)民生主義決不是解決個人倫理問題而是解決社會經濟問題。

(四)民生主義決不是從形而上來建設。而是從形而下來建設。

可是我這篇文章單闡明怎樣去建設國家資本。而且還是「目前」怎樣去建設國家資本。以下我先將論國家的建設當中最切要的問題。然後討論生產和貿易的集中。以次更談都市和農村的建設。但我要聲明的。我不是修正先生的理論。只是提出實業計畫以外的小意見。因我以爲今日建設國家資本實在急切於節制資本和平均地權。

關於國家的建設。孫先生於他所著「國際共同發展中國計畫書」已給我們一個具體而詳細的計畫。這種建國大計。孫先生叫做「製造國家資本。」關於國家建設的節目。讀者可以探討原書。用不着我再加以一度的重述。不過就目前而論。這種大計畫當然需要極大的資本。用內資嗎。當此民窮財盡之時。而且國人。對於政府還沒有相信。幷已喪失望之時。無論如何。內資集不起。用外資嗎。歐洲的資本主義剛剛穩定。必無餘資以貸借中國。美國雖有餘財。但就美國的對外策略。對華斷不肯單獨投資。所謂新四國銀團。因日本之所謂滿蒙除外。因各國政府之政策和銀團之政策還不能一致。當然還是徘徊瞻顧。縱讓一步說。銀團就有力量。意見就是一致。但所採用的方法是否能爲民衆所容納。還是一個極大疑問。

▲窮人打窮算的政策▼ 我對於建設是「窮人打窮算」的一個人。我們不能即刻爲大規模的建設。即當爲小規模的建設。我們不能吸收外資和內資。即當在政府本身收入打算一種餘資。讀者或者以我的說話夸大了。我且本我的經驗。作一個最低度的建設計畫。

(一)完成粵漢鐵路(二)連鎖武漢三鎮(三)建築寧漢鐵路目前最需建設的。就是(一)完成粵漢鐵路(二)連鎖武漢三鎮(三)建築寧漢鐵路三大項。自然除此三大項還有許多許多應該建設。不過我這三項計畫。第一對於經濟政治軍事均有火燒眉毛的切要。第二期間不過兩年。容易於最短時期收最大的效果。第三不必假借外資。獨立可以經營。我先說明第一點的重要。然後解說我的辦法。

(一)經濟　自省港罷工以後。開拓黃埔商埠的呼聲盛極一時。但我默察國內的經濟形勢。終以爲粵漢鐵路不能完成。開闢黃埔只是一種對外的空氣。必不能有什麼實際作用。大約黃埔要成世界第一級的商埠。必非投資五千萬元不可。三千萬元用以濬河和建設。二千萬元用以排去虎門零汀的沙壩。否則黃埔縱開。過五千噸的船舶即不能入。而且我們要明白黃埔幷非廣東一省的口岸。實是中國南部的口岸。如果粵漢鐵路不完成。入口的貨物往那裏輸送。出口的貨物由那裏運來。所以粵漢鐵路不能完成。我們縱然投資五千萬。黃埔還是等於死港。

▲外人扼制的交通▼ 漢甯交通完全靠着外國的船舶。雖然招商局佔四分一的勢力。但大體可以說長江運輸都握於外國的公司。每年自春以後。經濟運輸的利益一點一滴皆流入外人的囊裏。至說到武漢三鎮的形勢。天然的武昌爲政治中心。漢口爲商業中心。漢陽爲工業中心。如果這三鎮能以鐵橋或地道連鎖起來。不但使武漢三鎮可以連鎖。就是京漢粵漢甯漢三大幹路。也登時可以連鎖。不但於中國的經濟可以另創一個新局面。另展一個新紀元。讓一步我們要建築獨立經濟的情形使中國南部經濟不至完全爲外人所操縱。也非促成這三路聯系沒有辦法。

(二)政治　政治的發展和控馭。完全靠着交通。從前我們在廣東時候。大家都以會師武漢爲口號。各人的心目間。差不多以爲到了武漢便天下大定。但我一至湖南以後。經過兩星期由廣東樂昌至湖南株州的徒步行程。心裏便生了一種革命恐懼的感覺。因爲中國革命最要緊第一步是統一。以這樣交通不便的長距離。而說單靠軍事收統一之效。誰也不敢相信。果然。到了漢口。事實上便拋了廣東。到了南京事實上便拋了漢口。所以割據地方主義的產生。固然封建社會是一個很大的原因。而物質方面的交通障礙恐怕也和封建原因同其重要。我常和同志說笑話。以這樣交通梗塞的中國。假使我帶了軍隊。佔了一個地方。是不是自己也要變軍閥呢。我眞不能回答。現在關於建都問題。我自然不猶疑的贊成南京。但不急速完成粵漢和開始建築甯漢鐵路。不要說控制全國。控制南部。就控制長江也成問題。這是關於政治方面。我們非趕快着手不可。

(三)軍事　在稍遠的將來。中國要對別一國宣戰。恐怕事實上不能避免。我們不要說攻擊。單說防禦罷。以這樣片段支離的交通。士兵的運送。給養和器械的運送。簡直沒有辦法。假使外國兵艦封鎖了廣東。南京對於廣東便不能接濟。外國兵艦封鎖了吳淞。各省對於南京也同樣不能接濟。

▲和平的必要▼ 我們是和平的民族不會對外宣戰的但維持本國的治安總是要罷。我觀察各省軍隊之多而不能敉平土匪。幷不是什麼問題。只是交通問題。爲要維持國內的統一和平。必須中國有了極便利的交通才得有極堅固的防禦。爲要維持東亞現在長江最低限分成了三截。也不是什麼問題。只是交通問題。爲要維持國內的統一。也得要有極便利的交通。才可以實行簡單的控制。

但是我所述上面的三點。誰也知道重要。不過目前所急的不是理論。所急的還是建設的資本問題。現我更本着個人的經驗。試列一個簡單步驟如下。

(一)粵漢鐵路　北自株州起至韶關尙未完成的約有五百英里。這一段接軌須要資本五千萬元。查現在廣東每月收入約有七百餘萬元。軍費每月佔六百二十六萬。去年我們在粵曾減爲三百萬元。省下來的三百萬元。當時原定每月撥一百萬完成粵漢鐵路。一百萬元興築惠潮鐵路。其餘百萬則增加教育費和建築全省公路。現在我們爲急於完成國內的幹線。惠潮鐵路暫可止停。那麼廣東每月至少可出粵漢接軌費一百五十萬元。京漢路每年收入又至九百餘萬元。除了養路費三百萬元外。每月也可出五十萬元。湖南收入每月雖只一百二十萬元。但整理下來當可增至二百餘萬。(因爲江西現在每月收入已到二百多萬)那麼湖南每月也至少可出二十萬元。以這三項的分攤。每月已得二百二十萬元。每年就是

。失敗愈多。大皆以爲人類固藉麵包而生存。然不僅恃麵包而已。人類往往因不得麵包而死。然麵包雖多而死者。亦不在少數。人類將漸次覺得除實體需要外。世界上現有一組定義。苟予遵守。則此種需要之供給。得源源而來。並覺得冥冥中有一種神力。種於人類之心中。能改變其自私自利之心。而使友愛同胞。而爲同胞服務。此種思想既不深奧。又不「超凡」人類非特日常有此感覺。且係人類數代祖宗所經歷者。此種經歷。全球人類。一律感得。此卽宗教信徒所謂「神學」是也

然則此種理論。對於青年堅欲討究之問題。有何關係。曰。此種理論。第一足使青年不願要求人類需要之呼聲。而注意於根本的人類需要。藉此求得爲人之價值。與人生之主義。第二足使彼等覺得此種神力之眞實。且深信此種神力足主旨與方向。藉此可實行補救之方而已。但必須實地試驗。且具有忠實與勇氣此種神力。爲人生之發酵物。與之同一長遠者也。得其意志與精神者。須抱鎮靜堅信態度。方能得其益趣。

中國青年。正竭力尋覓一條非特爲己且爲國家的正當大路。彼等已開始享受解放之樂趣。惟種種問題。千頭萬緒。故尙在迷霧中。宗教能澈清其思想。青年苟能於人生試驗期內。忠心於宗教。則必能救國與救已。開國功臣孫中山先生之魄力。卽是此種宗教精神。民衆苟欲完成孫氏之工作。亦惟宗教精神是賴。

▲基督學生之猛醒▼ 中國基督學生。現正經歷精神上之革新。查過去十年中。彼等尙沈默不動。今已一躍而起。與非基督學生作澈底之探求。(一)彼等正從事澈清其宗教之信仰心。並以所得教育爲背景。拼棄一切宗教信仰之遺風。而從其自己之思想(二)彼等更竭力利用其信仰心。解決中國問題。彼等以爲宗教苟不深印人生之中。則失其意味。並組織同志隊。以幽靜態度。着手各種問題。總之學生基督運動。已屆發軔時期。基督學生之猛醒。未始非新思想運動及反基督運動所致成者。惟學生基督運動。如何影響一切普通學生運動。而加以指導。則尙難逆料。我人眼前之大工作。須用各種新毅力完成之。中國學生建造新中國之一大效力而歡迎之也。

目前怎樣建設國家資本

陳公博

「中國今日單是節制資本。仍恐不以足解決民生問題。必要加以製造國家資本方可解決之。」

目前解釋民生主義的理論。最有勢的有兩大派。一派是從哲學方面着手。發揮民生哲學的基礎。一派是從經濟方面着手。研究建設國家資本的方法。

我素來自己承認是一個歷史派。當然主張從經濟方面着手。我不是祇設一切人們。說不應建立一個民生哲學基礎。因爲自工業革命以後。帝國主義者挾着這個勢力。突入已破產的小作農業國家的中國。一切農業社會的封建道德皆跟着這勢力撕滅淨盡。在這個新陳交替的時候。個人的人生觀。社會的大信條。都飄搖沒有根據。的確非樹立一種新的哲學基礎不可。非另外創立一個人生觀不可。

我只承認由經濟的變動。影響及於哲學的變動。決不能由哲學的變動。影響及於經濟的變動。因此我很感覺。要樹立民生哲學的基礎。先要建樹於形而下學的衣食住行。決不能將民生哲學的基礎樹於形而上學的忠孝節義。我決不是菲薄道德。因爲社會上既沒有共通的經濟當然找不出共通的信條。

▲三民主義▼ 中國國民革命之所以異於歷史上的別國國民革命。就爲因孫先生提出的民生主義。有許多同志常問我「幾時才叫做國民革命成功。」我答他們說。「民生主義實行。就是中國國民革命的成功。」然而民生主義只是先生詔示我們的「節制資本和平均地權」嗎。不錯這是先生告訴我們的兩大方法。但是怎樣去實行和怎樣去充實。就是我們的責任。

我總不相信「只要關稅不受外國的拘束。只要安寧秩序不受軍閥土匪的擾亂。只要勞資雙方都有法律去規定雙方的範圍。用不着國家的多大的補助。企業便可活潑。產業便可發達」這樣簡單。

用革命手段來解決政治經濟問題的辦法。俄國革命時候。已經用過了。但是結果不可算完全成功。故孫先生用革命手段。奪取政權。以和平方法處分經濟。這就是孫先生的方法和列甯的方法的不同處。

孫先生並且說明中國不必以階級鬥爭來消滅階級。當用黨的專政來泯平階級。但是我們要知道。孫先生所謂和平方法。決不是自由主義者的方法。亞丹斯密的方法。却是用政治力量——黨的專政的方法。如果今日有人主自由發達實業之說。這是十八世紀經濟學的理論。不獨非吾黨所許。就是現代的經濟學也不許。

還有一點俄們更要知道的。實業計劃實與民生主義相表裏。假使實業計畫不克完成。民生主義必無從實現。實業計畫的詳盡精密和包羅宏偉實是中國自有歷史以來的第一書。孫先生對於實業計畫的設計。不僅是物質的建設。幷且是科學的民生主義的建設。他在結論說。

「達爾文後來的哲學家。發現人類進化的原始力是合作而非動物界的鬥爭。所以人類中殘餘的動物本能戰爭性應卽由人類消滅牠愈快愈好。」

他對於階級鬥爭的見解。說。

「階級鬥爭是勞工和資本間的爭鬥。這個鬥爭在產業最發達的國家現在已到了最高度。在工人深信他們的最後勝利。而資本家則決定抵抗至最後之一息。何時這個鬥爭才可以終止。和什麼才是這個鬥爭的解決。沒有一人敢預料的。

中國必須以全力發展工業的。我們主張利用外債。可互得其利。並且列强攫奪中國權利的鬥爭。可以避免。我的實業計畫。我主張第一須改良和擴張生產的機械。俾抑平貨品與公務的價格。第二須給予工人以高度的工金。俾阻止階級爭鬥。……要之我的理想使在中國的資本主義創生社會主義。這樣人類進化的兩大經濟勢力才可在將來的文明當中相互工作。」

(一)無經濟之準備。(一八九八至一九一〇年爲尤甚)(二)不能養成投資國外之習慣。以及美人求利心之太急。(三)美銀行家之偏狹性。美國對華外交政策之懦弱。與夫國務卿與行政官之猶豫不決。亦爲極大缺點。至於美方投資中國。謬誤雖屬無幾。然已吃虧不少矣。

今日之中國學生與宗教

Y. T. Wu

今日中國學生對於宗教之態度若何。宗教於學生之生活與一切舉動上能否佔眞實之地位。國家發展後學生對於宗教之觀念。當今國家重設時代。基督學生究作何等工作。凡此種種問題。對於過去十數年中留心觀察學生運動之人士。頗饒興味。本文對於以上各問題。當逐一作簡單之對答。

▲革命以來學生之唯一地位▼ 一九一一年初次光復時。與其後時期內。學生頗著勞績。此大皆所公認者也。舊政體之推翻。徵少年熱烈之勇氣。冒險之精神。恐難成功。蓋舊式政體。實壟斷我老大帝國之政治經濟社會與智識者也。中國青年。每與西方思想多接觸。又鑒於屢次所受之國恥。突然醒悟。於是不顧守舊派得過且過之態度。振臂一呼。不達目的不止。此種目的。雖不克完全達到。然中國歷史上。已滿沾彼等之血淚。此種勝利。完全以高貴之代價換來。亦足稱雄矣。至一九一九年五九。一九二五年五卅。一九二六年三月十八諸慘案。暨其他學生示威運動。大衆皆知。毋庸贅述。學生誠爲公意之代表。鼓動全國。爲國家統一。爲國際公道而力爭。苟無久經訓練之學生。一鼓作氣。投筆從戎。則一九二六年及一九二七年之北伐工作。恐無如此成功大而爲期短。目今南北統一。學生似宜繼續工作。故對於嚴禁青年運動之建議。力加反對。蓋渠等仍欲保持其原有地位。爲建造新中國之領袖也。

▲反基督運動之肇始▼ 一九二二年之騷亂。我人尚能回憶。故毋庸詳述。按攻擊宗教(指基督教)之理由。大概可分三種。(一)宗教爲資本主義之工具(二)宗教爲帝國主義之先驅(三)宗教爲一種迷信。(一)(二)兩項。爲民族主義啓發之結果。(按民族主義自革命以來。與西方各國及日本之經濟上政治上侵掠相奮鬥。無時或已)(三)與新思想之精神相符合(依此種新思想。科學與民主政體。爲解決中國問題之唯一兩工具。)歷史與經驗。證明此三種理由之的確。惟操之過急。故難得全國人士之贊同。際此時間。我人祇聞熱烈份子之喧鬥攻擊聲。而不聞學生鎮靜之批評。此爲中國學生對於宗教態度之第一時代。

▲宗教成爲旁題▼ 自一九二七年國民黨共產份子失敗以來。我人進入學生對於宗教態度之第二時代。際此時代。學生完全取冷淡而漠不關心之態度。其故有二。(一)國民政府屢次宣告信教自由。足以抑制攻擊基督教或教會機關之聲調。而政府機關中共產份子之剷除。亦爲一大助力。(二)目今有更爲重要之問題多端。亟待學生與全國人民羣起解決。故宗教已成爲旁題。新政府匪特須籌切實辦法。藉得國際平等地位。以及剿滅軍閥殘餘。且已進入範圍極廣之國家建設時期。政治器械之設置。法律之規訂。受兵災各地之整理。與裁兵等等問題。皆足引起大衆之注意。普通學生皆設。「我人現在待決的重大問題甚多。至於宗教姑無論其眞與假。我人實無暇顧及。」本時代之主旨。爲崇實主義。與軍事主義。前者注重國家之切實建造。後者注意軍事整備。以禦外侮。各學校實行軍事訓練。卽爲後者之明證。

▲狹面相遇之切實問題▼ 作者以爲實行此項建造國家計畫足爲學生對於宗教態度開一新紀元。北京攻下。統一中國之熱望。於焉滿足。然熱烈之歡呼。不久頓無聲息。蓋又有不愜意之新感觸發生矣。孫總理所言。「革命尚未成功。同志仍須努力。」殊屬確切。惟我人每次成功。每次遇有一種根深奧非常的問題。爲素未想及者。此種問題。非中國一國所能解決。須待全世界解決。且非一二十年。須經數代。方能解決。而又急切非常。蓋中國現正在歧路之中。須得一正義引導之。查此項又深奧又急切之問題。要有二種。卽社會經濟。與個人問題是也。

(一)社會經濟問題。溯過去二三十年中。不知不覺。學生常以「何種社會制度最適宜於中國」爲問。革命之前。固可以「共和政體」四字答之。然一九一九年以來。西方政治社會的理論。由新思想運動之媒介。源源而來。其時中國仍在勞工時代。故民衆對於革命是否已經解決中國各問題。頗多疑惑。迨蘇俄安定。而共產原理。流入中國青年之腦筋中。惟經濟問題。或卽民生問題。最屬緊要。社會上不公正與富壓貧之事情。處處有之。共產主義既能打破此種不良現象。青年當然歡迎之。而爲之犧牲生命者。亦不在少數。現在共產主義。大受打擊。全國青年。當能醒悟矣。然則「何種社會制度最適宜于中國。」依舊未能解決。按孫總理之三民主義。除反革命份子外。已成爲全國之信經。國民黨爲實行三民主義之機關。然黨內自相爭鬨。無時或已。政府行政方針。既爲黨員所詆毀。又爲外界所不滿。蓋三民主義爲解決中國問題之普通原理。須逐條切實實行方可。三主義中。以民生主義爲最重要。惟孫總理未待解釋完畢。而已去世。以致我人對於該主義如何實行。渺茫無定。無怪民衆常以「三民主義究以何種具體方法解決中國問題」「國民黨是否有能力實行之」爲問。而同時全國將繼續探求適當的社會制度。甚至追隨過激性的無政府主義。亦大有人在。

(二)個人問題我人可稱之爲人生新哲理之研求。新思想運動。確爲解放民衆之極大效力。蓋一切智識上及道德上之屏障。皆已破除。然時會變遷。困難愈多。以致建造工作。難以實行。一切舊有習俗與規律。一部分已經摒棄。一部分已經修改。而以種種新學理代之。今以男女關係而論。有主張婚姻由父母作主。有主張自由戀愛。有主張濫交者。觀念之衝突。與夫社會之環境。在在足以阻礙其實行。於是失望者有之。甚至自殺者亦有之。向則人人有一定的生活與信仰方針者。今則身入迷途矣。此民衆渴望眞理之緣故也。

▲宗教之功效▼ 此種社會制度之探求。與研攻眞理之熱望。卽爲宗教。按宗教目的。並非欲置人民於另一生活狀況中。而以「宗教」二字爲標識。其職任無非爲引導此種探求。與夫滿足此種熱望。中古時代以至今日。宗教完全偏向來世之事。然目今人民。適與之相反。以爲世界上無靈魂學之存在。問題愈大

美政府對於美人在國外經營事業。全持冷靜態度。毫不援助。未免太覺過分。此購買粵漢京漢路計畫所以失敗之大原因也。一八九八年四月十四日。中美發展公司。與中政府訂立合同前。曾請求國務院協助。國務卿當即覆函該公司云。「美政府對於國外美僑。當時時維護其正當權利。國務卿當即覆函該公司云。同。美政府從不能加以干預。至担保該種合同之實行。更屬分外事矣。」

▲美政府之覺悟▼ 自一九〇九年以來。美政府漸注意於中國之商務。與投資機會。而對於滿洲。則更注重。自此以後。美國漸與日本疏遠。而與中國親近。國務卿諾克司及塔火脫總統。以國務院名義。公然發起一種「金錢政策。」此政策結果。使美財政家得湖廣鐵路借款之四分之一。而引起日俄與其他三國之反對。南滿青愛兩鐵路之商務歸一計畫。卽爲該政策之結果。但此項商務歸一計畫。終歸失敗。

金錢政策。完全爲塔火脫總統所發起。渠在末次常年報告。致國會云。「現今之外交政策。須應現今之商務情勢。大來政策係以金錢代替子彈是也。」自此以後。國務院開始協助美各銀行予中國以經濟扶助。實開美人投資中國歷史之新紀元。關於湖廣路之交涉。國務院竟願負完全責任。七月十五日。塔總統直接致信於中國攝政王。

「關於最近鐵路借款事。貴國曾應許敝國得有同等投資機會。頃聞外界有人反對。不勝驚異。查敝國之要求。非但根據貴國一九〇三及一九〇四年之誓約。並係符合與貴國有利之機會均等主義。請卽從長計議。俾雙方得良善之結果。此次中美交涉之結果。頗屬重要。故敝人直接函達閣下也。」

其後中國請求美銀行團。購買實業公債券。以及協助改良幣制，美方鑒於新政策既告成功。故每樂爲贊助。國務院初意。此種事務。可完全由美國担任。所借之款。須着中國。付之正當用途。其後美各銀行。以爲數太鉅。若無歐洲財政家之協助。誠有獨力難任之勢。中政府遂允許英法德各銀行加入。而四國銀行團。於以成立。

▲中國之革命▼ 中國革命。舉國紊亂。各國銀行。應中國共和政府之請求。担任一種整理借款。經長時期之談判。各國咸提議共管中國財政。而日俄首先躍躍。加入此項所謂萬國監事會。中國正擬拒絕外人干預財政時。美威而遜總統就職。一九一三年三月十八日。威氏於報紙上宣告美國對華政策。言美銀行家。雖願從中國政府之請求。繼續借款。但美政府對於該借款條件。絕不贊成。故美政府並無訓令銀行家援助中國情事。依該項借款條件。簡直使各債主。強迫干預中國之政治及經濟。蓋條件上指明。中國願將各種特稅抵押於外人。稅務行政權。概給外人，故美政府決不忍作此殘忍之舉也。

威氏宣言傳達各關係國後。美銀行家。當卽退出此項整理借款。查威氏此舉。當時出於憐憫中國之意。固足感佩。但嗣後中國財政上。不能得美國之幫助。且威氏此舉。足以完全推翻塔總統之政策。於是財政家對於政府之信任減少。而中國需用之大宗款項。向之仰給於美國者。勢難如願以償矣。

自一九一三至一九一六年間。美人雖有願以個人力量。投資中國。使其發展者。然亦無重大事業可言。

自一九一六年以來。美政府擬在中國財政舞台上。作單獨行動。同年七月二十五日。國務卿藍辛。請銀行家借款於中政府。但駐華美銀行團。以種種牽制。勢不能從其請。一九一七年九月底。中國加入歐戰後四十天。美政府擬自國庫中提出款項。以借於中國。惟以戰事方烈。及日美條約關係。此議不得不暫時作罷。

最近美國對華政策。又有改變。一九二〇年十月十五日訂立之銀行團新條約。爲各列強在華經濟合作之基礎。年來美政府。正竭力保護美國在華之一切權利。對於美國無線電公司之爭執。大陸商務信託公司關於中國到期不能付款之交涉。暨執有德國所購之滬廣鐵路債券之美人。以及積欠利息等問題。國務院均竭力援助之。

▲美國之新現象▼ 此後。除滬廣事件外。美國素持冷靜態度。除必要時。始終追隨他國之後。一九二〇年所成立之新銀行團。實足使美國對華政策。根本改變。一九一三年所不肯爲者。現決意爲之。一九一四年。歪脫公司。擬聯合其他外國公司。建造中國鐵路。而國務院以爲此種事業。含有建造中國鐵路專利權意義。是有關國際問題。故不肯加以援助。但依據新銀行團章程。各銀行儘可借款於中國。以充建築鐵路。振興實業。改良行政之用。此非含有專利及國際關係乎。總之美國對華之財政外交政策。自一九二〇年以來。純取一種新態度。對於在華之美事業。其援助較前熱心多矣。

▲美國對華財政政策之結果▼ 查歷來美國投資中國之機會。較他國爲多。中國對美。素屬信仰。舉凡重要鐵路。各項借款。與發展實業之好機會。咸先獻之美國。然美國談判結束前。往往失敗。或因他國之壓制。或因財力不及。致不克實行合同條件。或先單獨進行。其後不得不完全放棄。或與他國均分其利。

▲交涉多而投資少▼ 中美外交史雖久。而美國實在投資數額。殊屬微些。查美國投資於中國之政府公債。建築鐵路。發展實業。開濬河道。暨其他公用事業上者。其數祇達美金二千九百萬元。連長期鐵路公債交通事業以及在華美商行之資本。及美人房產生財等一應在內。亦不過七千萬元而已。又查美人與中政府暨其他行政機關所訂有效合同。共三十九起。然美國投資於中國鐵路者最少。倘美國能利用機會。完全投資於中國鐵路。當可建築一極長鐵路。自鴨綠江邊之愛渾起。至廣州止。另築支路。直達山水及內地各省。如鐵路營業發達。則因此可得各種商務經濟及其他利益也。

美國對華財政政策之不能完全成功。原因甚多。最大者爲各國之反對。蓋列強皆欲在華佔一席地。而實行其各個政策也。又美國政策。頗受意外事情之影響。此種意外事。殊足妨礙其行動自由。大概可分三種。(甲)中國與列強所訂之各種公開及秘密條約。美國絕不與聞。(乙)中國對列強宣言之不割讓主義及其他條約。(丙)中政府曾口頭答應北京各國領事館。予以便利。尙有關於投資外國之困難問題三項。美人應亟起解決之。

所訂關於兩國人民來往及法庭手續之一八八〇年十一月十七日條約。（第三款）暨一九〇三年十月八日之商務條約。（第三。五。七。八。等款）皆附件耳。中國門戶開放政策。係最惠國條約所產生。蓋該條約與中美通商。有同樣陳舊之歷史。故維持最惠國條約。卽所以維持門戶開放政策也。

按門戶開放政策。卽閉關自守政策之對偶。閉關自守政策。爲十六七世紀時所盛行之殖民政策。蓋彼時各國。以爲殖民地爲祖國利益而存在。時會變遷。至十八世紀之末。舊制消除。而門戶開放政策興。俟後無論何國。不得利用其政治或軍事勢力。置他國於不顧。對於世界商務較衰之地。獨占商務及航海權。一八八五年二月十六日簽訂之柏林條約。一八九八年六月十四日在巴黎簽訂之美法盟約。及一九〇四年四月八日之英法宣言。皆例證也。

門戶開放政策。於一八五八年天津條約簽訂時。爲最昌盛時代。然不久大受打擊。而中日戰後。一八九八年夏爲尤甚。其時各列强一致要求中國。予以租地權。建築鐵路權。及借款優先權。非特不利於華人。抑且有礙各通商國之利益。幸有美國務卿約翰赫伊。乘此時機。遍發通告於柏林倫敦聖彼得堡。（一八九八年九月六日）東京。（十一月十三日）羅馬。（十一月十七日）巴黎。（十一月二十一日）藉以維持列强在華之商場。而免互相衝突。

▲門戶開放主義▼　門戶開放主義之發源。正似門羅主義。與英國有不少關係。始自一八九八年。其時英國頗欲阻止中國土崩瓦解。按約翰赫伊。在此危急之秋。能得金勒亞與羅希爾之同意。利用其國際政策。實足欽佩。蓋約氏政策。匪唯與美國機會均等主義相脗合。且使中國免受亡國之禍也。

美國對於門戶開放政策。深爲重視。二十八年中。在外交公文上反覆言之。當一九〇〇年拳匪之亂時。一九〇八年十一月三十日訂立中美公斷條約。一九一三年三月十八日威爾遜總統關於美銀行團之請求發表宣言時。一九一三年五月十三日。關於日本致五月七日哀的美敦書於中國時。一九一七年十一月二日。美日訂立藍辛石井條約時。及一九二二年二月六日。九國訂立關於對華政策之條約時。美國乘以上時機。每將門戶開放政策。一再申述。雖然。美國依然不能完全實行其門戶開放政策。按該政策包含三點。

（一）在各國通商口岸利益範圍及租地內。一國不得干涉一國之權利。

（二）在中國管轄範圍內。（除通商口岸外）中國之條約稅則。須予以維持。

（三）在各國利益範圍內。一切港口稅及火車價目。概須一律。

尊重中國領土權。及貿易機會均等權相並。故爲門戶開放政策之一部份。約翰赫伊雖未明言。然欲實行貿易機會均等權。須先尊重中國領土權。故夫人而知之矣。

▲現今對於門戶開放政策之趨向▼　現今該政策之範圍。實較大於二十五年前。實際上與貿易機會均等主義同義。美人以爲該政策。適用於中國之工商業以及投資於中國鐵路鑛業各種公共事業及工業之列强。美國以爲各國採用該政策。則各國政府。在中國領土內。絕無獨占權利。或專利。或阻止別國在華經營工商業等情事。固有此種情事。顯係違背其主義矣。而中國如予無論何國。以特別權利。致使他國不得均等機會。亦係違背其主義。

美政府對於美人投資中國。則絕端不加贊同。蓋美政府所願者。爲保護在華美僑。能與他國人民。得同等機會而已矣。美人之有志助中國得經濟發展者。須全恃自己之力量與資本。所望於美政府者。不過普通之維護而已。而對於北京美領事館之意志。尤須遵從。蓋美領事館。對於中國各工商業之經濟狀況及信用。較爲熟悉也。

▲美國之投資▼　美人投資於中國。美政府初不加以約束。惟近年來國務院曾遍發通告。請美財政家於本國內。出借的款前。先行咨照其政府。對於借款於中國亦然。故美人投資中國。須先徵求國務院之意見。關於談判情形。以及進行程度。亦須時時咨照國務院。

按美國務院之所以請求美銀行家於借款於外國前。先行徵求其意見者。因恐美金之促助外國內爭。或流行於美國所未承認之各國也。

國務院對於資本家與中政府借款往來。究持何種態度。爲我人所急欲知者。查屋而南君。曾於一八九六年十二月九日。致訓令於達盤君。國務院於一九〇五年十月二十一日。亦致訓令。而國務卿於一九一三年九月十一日。曾致訓令於署理公使惠森。依此項訓令之內容。美政府頗願開採中國之富源。促進美人在華所經營之事業之發達。與夫儘量發展中美兩國間之商務關係。並希望美國各事業。在中國無論何處。與列强各國。享受同等權利。茲摘錄屋而南致達盤訓令之一節於后。

「國務院之意。以爲汝須利用自己之勢力。設法使各美公司。得與在華別國事業。享受同等之便利。」

國務院以爲右訓令於駐華美代表達盤之職務。太加限制。故屋而南卽繼續其辭曰。

「汝之經驗與判斷力。及求助之各公司之境況。俱屬重要。務祈用正當方法。發展本國在華之商務利益。惟不得庇護一公司。而致有礙於其他各公司」

由此觀之。在華美國事業。亦得美政府之扶助。如美僑與外國政府營商。有怨屈情事時。國務院當竭力使其得公正之待遇。並依尋常習慣。暨當時情形。將各案逐一判決。

▲政策之運用▼　除機會均等主義外。國務院。北京美領事館。暨政府官員。施用美國對華政策。往往前後相反。彼等深信美人已由農業生活。進入工業生活。與夫人民經濟負担之日重一日。與夫國貨及溢餘資本之應有銷路也。

門戶開放政策。美國始終遵守。惟考過去二十年來中美外交史。美政府屢次不得不放棄其政策。而承認其他國在華特權。觀於一九〇八年十一月三十日訂立之中美公斷條約。暨一九一七年簽訂之日美藍辛石井條約。而可瞭然。依中美公斷條約。美竟承認日本在華之特殊地位。依藍辛石井條約。美承認日本在華之特別權利。

自一八九六年至一九〇八年間。美人在華經營事業。係完全恃個人能力。美政府概不加以贊助。卽如建築粵漢鐵路。（酬勞原定六百七十五萬元。但於一九〇五年八月取銷。）及新愛鐵路計畫。及美人哈連門欲實行其環行全球計畫。擬購買南滿中東兩鐵路。（按此項計畫。其後失敗。）皆個人之企圖。實言之。

二六年九月二十二日頒行。依該項條例。黨員背誓。以刑律加一等治罪。並已施用於服務政府機關之官員。

(丁)民法

國民政府尙未頒佈民法。編纂法典委員會與法制局。現正規訂新民法。查「親屬關係」及「承繼問題」之民法。已經法制局規訂完畢。呈送政治委員會審核。該兩法草案之根據。與北京編纂法典委員會完全不同。其餘各法。現由司法部編纂法典委員會規訂。最近該委員會委員伍某。遞呈一長篇累牘關於改革新民法之覺書一通。頗足引起中國司法界之討論。在民法未頒布前。各法庭處理民事案件。仍援用舊民法。而以最高法院決案增補之。南京最高法院。已交下重要決案數件。如未出嫁女子得與其兄弟同有承繼家產權。尙有一件。關係于盤剝小利之科罰。緣國民政府。曾明令嚴禁民間利率不得超過二分也。

(戊)訴訟法

新刑事訴訟法。於一九二八年七月二十八日由國民政府頒佈。於九月一日施行。至民事訴訟法。已經編纂完畢。現由政治委員會審核。

(己)勞工法

保護勞工。爲國命黨之根本主義。故國民政府對於習以爲常之勞資糾紛案。急急準備。一九二八年五月二十三日。政府公佈關于調解勞資糾紛之條例。政治委員會於一九二八年九月五日通過管理工會組織法。至勞工問題需要的別種法律與章程。現亦在規訂中。

▲雜法▼ 政府頒佈之雜法中。以一九二八年五月十四日頒佈之版權法。及一九二八年七月十一日頒佈之地產法。最堪注意。

依五中全會通過之議案新式最高司法機關。亟當設立。該議案規定設立一司法院。與立法院行政院考試院監察院。處同等地位。五院合成一五權政府。孫總理鑒於中國新式政治機關之缺點。故於三民主義講演中。竭力伸說五權制之足資補救。各權分立之學說。足使司法更形獨立。故司法院實際上包含現在之司法部。(擔任司法事務之行政裁判)及最高法院。(執行訴訟事件之最高法)至於亟須實行之普通的司法改良。司法部已規定進行步驟。限於現在軍事時期後之訓政時期內。次第實行。茲將此項步驟中較爲重要各點。臚列如后。

(一)增添法庭 縣長同時管理司法事務之不便利。我人素引爲缺憾。司法部現擬在較爲富庶之各省。設立多數之縣法庭。倘縣法庭以經濟困難。不能設立。則司法職務。一以委之審判官。而以縣長爲檢察官。如此則行政官(此處指縣長)不致干涉司法事務矣。同時各省都市與各主要口岸。將設立地方法庭。即高等法庭。亦將設分部於每省重要地段。司法部對於各行政地段。應行設立法庭。已依其重要之程度。先後列表。並限定每種法庭應設立完備之時期。

(二)改良監獄 司法部已擬定計畫。在一定時期內。增設新式監獄。同時訓令監獄官。對於挑選看監者。須謹愼從事。而對於罪犯衛生監獄衛生及監獄職員之監督。尤宜注意。

(三)司法官之訓練 關於司法官之考試審查與資格。司法部已有具體辦法。行官訓練學校。將近設立。對於法律學校畢業生。將予以補習訓練及實習機會。以備在各法庭執行職務。至於次等司法官。若附屬於縣長法庭之審判官。以及司法登記員。法警等之考試條例。亦正在規訂中。

(四)法律之編纂 ▲司法部編纂法典委員會。擬於本年內。完成民法與商法。俾全組民法。得由各法庭施用。

美國對華之財政政策

S. H. Tan

在討論本文之前。有先行申述之必要。按中美發生關係以來。美國外交政策之理論與實行。往往互相差異。外交公文及本國政台上。固明明宣告其策略。而結果所實行之政策。則迥然不同。茲即就外交政策之原理而言。亦有普通國家政策。與臨時政策之區別。蓋此種臨時政策。係根據特別情形。或其他官員商議後。由國務卿斷定。美人與中政府間一切財政來往。既繁且多。而美政府所持之態度與政策又變幻莫測。我人苟欲加以審察。須先辨別美國務院所採取之普通政策。與其臨時決定之方略。按普通政策。爲國務院所規定者。臨時方略。乃依特種情形而決定者。

茲將美國要求最惠國條約之原理。門戶開放政策之性質。以及美政府對美人投資於中國之政策。逐一討論。(按最惠國條約之歷史。有三十年之久。)最後當詳述美國對華財政政策之效果。並證明此種政策之不甚奏效。

▲美國對華之經濟政策▼ 按美國對華之根本政策。大概係有關經濟與商務性質。溯中美往來以來。對華政策。祇有一條。卽對於中國工商業利益均等主義是也。然初時祇有最惠國條約之要求。其後有門戶開放主義之要求。而最惠國條約。不久大受打擊。蓋其他列强。彼時正向中國要求特別權利。如經濟與鐵路之讓許。借款與租地之取捨權等等。

致最惠國條約。係根據國際公法。舉凡一切商務條約上莫不表明者也。依該條約原則。甲乙兩國簽字後。所有甲國給與其他國之特別權利。亦須無條件與乙國以同樣權利。卽以後與其他國訂立條約。與以特別權利。乙國亦可得同樣權利。按最惠國條約。爲美國對華經濟方略之根基。中美第一次條約。爲望廈條約。訂于一八四四年七月三日。美方由顧聖簽字。該約第二款。卽載有最惠國條約一項。其後一八五八年六月十八日。中美締結之天津條約第三十款載有下列一節。

「雙方彼此允洽。如大淸帝國給無論何國或該國商民。以無論何種關於航海商務或其他權利。美國與官長商民人等。咸得享受該種權利。」

至該約第十四款。與上款雷同。卽指明美商得在中國通商或未通商各口岸。自由營商是也。

▲蒲安臣條約▼ 中美商務與經濟之關係。已由天津條約及其附加條約(或稱蒲安臣條約)所規定。該附加條約。係于一八六八年七月二十八日簽字。俟後

Gen. Chu Pei-teh 朱培德

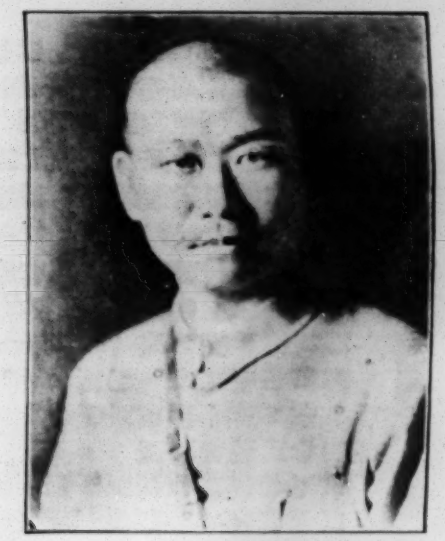
Commander of 5th Nationalist Army.

Gen. Chien Ta-chun 錢大鈞

Commander of Bandit Suppression Army in Kiangsu and Concurrently Commander 3rd Division of 1st Nationalist Group Army.

Gen. Ku Tso-tung 顧祝同

Commander of 2nd Division of the 1st Nationalist Group Army.



Gen. Liu Chih 劉峙

Commander of 1st Division of the 1st Nationalist Group Army.

Mr. Kwongson Young 楊光泩

Counsellor to the Foreign office of the Nationalist Government.

Mr. Wenzu King 金問泗

Special Commissioner of Foreign Affairs of Kiangsu Province.

Mr. Y. L. Tong 唐悅良

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Gen. Chen Ming-shu 陳銘樞

Commander of 11th Nationalist Army.

監督執刑。及管理司法警察等一切權力。咸操於檢察官之手。至於民事。以及關於公衆利益與道德案件。檢察官處於國家代表地位。查檢察廳與各廳幷行。並處於同等地位。深爲不便。其故有三。(一)維持兩個機關。費用太大。(二)兩機關處理同樣案件。一切訴訟手續。勢必太覺繁冗。(三)二法官處於同等地位。難免傾軋。以致引起糾紛。司法部長王寵惠。有鑒於此。於一九二七年八月十六日。呈請國民政府廢止檢察廳。嗣後檢察官雖爲各廳之屬員。尙能行使其職務。然不若從前之直隸於檢察廳矣。渠等現在地位。與附屬美國各法庭之「國家代理官」同。(Conrt) 之原有名稱爲審判廳。與(Procuratorates) 卽檢察廳相對照。現已改爲法院矣。新司法組織法。已經起草。呈請政治委員會考核。該法通過後。司法組織。當另有一翻新氣象也。

(丙)特別臨時刑庭

爲革命黨利益起見。須組織特別刑庭。處理反革命罪。及「土豪劣紳」。以此種罪名。刑法上並未載明故也。該刑庭分爲二級。卽各省特別刑庭。與中央上訴院。至一切組織條律。概由國民政府於一九二七年十二月一日頒佈。並於一九二八年三月三十一日修改。

▲臨時法庭應予取銷▼ 依中央執行委員會五中全會議決。一切特別臨時刑庭應一律取銷。由各正式法庭接收之。

(丁)司法官

依照國民政府一九二八年八月九日頒佈關於司法官考試委任之規程。凡有相當資格。經預備試第一試第二試。考試及格。得派爲承審官或檢事。初試及格者。發送各法庭實習。實習滿期後。再受第二次考試。及格者得派爲候補承審官或檢事。俟有缺卽派爲正式承審官或檢事。

凡經前司法部第二試考試及格。及現在執行司法官事務者。得予免試。惟須投呈書面判斷語。俾便調查其成績而批准其委任。司法官行爲端正。除經直隸國民政府之法官懲戒委員會調查判決外。不得任意調動或革職。至於法官懲戒委員會條例。已於一九二八年五月十二日。由國民政府頒佈。在監察院未組織前。該條例依舊有效。

(戊)律師

在國民政府成立前得准執行律師職務之律師。須備具證書靜候檢驗。及格者由國民政府司法部給發新證書。至關於准予免試執行律師職務之應具資格。該部已於一九二七年八月五日頒發規程矣。

(四)法律

國民政府於一九二七年八月十一日宣布。「國民政府一應法律。在未制定頒行以前。凡從前施行之各種實體法訴訟法及其他一切法令。除與中國國民黨黨綱主義或與國民政府法令抵觸各條外。一律暫准援用。」之訓令。意卽前北京政府所訂之法律。依舊可生法律效力。蓋革命方息。百端待理。固不得不利用此種暫時辦法。溯一九一二年民國成立時。有同樣之命令。文云「民國法律尙未頒佈。凡以前有效之法律。及暫行新刑律。一律暫准援用。惟與共和政體抵觸各條。概作無效。」

然國民政府頗不滿意於此陳腐之法律。故於一九二七年八月十一日。訓令司法部從速編纂新委典。該部爰卽組織編纂法典委員會。從事起草。同時直隸國民政府下之法制局。除規訂政府行政法令及一切規程外。亦擔任編纂法典事務。

▲法律之一瞥▼ 國民政府制定之各項法律茲特約略述之

(甲)規訂法典予續法

規訂法典予續法。於一九二八年三月十一日頒佈。爲第一條法律。我人應首先注意。該法規定草法如何發生法律效力。按國民黨中央政治委員會有全權規訂或通過各種法律。交由中央執行委員會。呈請國府頒佈施行。國府固可頒佈施行法律織程。惟此種規程。不能與法律相矛盾。各部各省政府各特別市。皆可呈交草法於政治委員會。請其審察決定而採用。國府接到政治委員會通過之法律草案時。須於十日內頒佈。在此十日中。可請求政治委員會。將草案重行考慮。惟以每案請求一次爲限。

(乙)憲法

國民政府。雖尙無書面憲法之設置。惟我人敢說。憲法大綱。大半已包含在黨義中。故實際上黨義有習慣憲法之效力。蓋無論何種法律或規程。如與黨義矛盾。或抵觸。概不能成立。推而論之。國民政府實以國民黨爲石基者也

此次國民黨五中全會。法制局局長王世杰。曾提議訓政時期中應草訂暫行憲法。以便施行。按訓政時期。在軍事時期之後。而憲政時期之前。該憲法當規定人民之權利與義務。中央政府之組織大綱。中央政府與地方政府之關係。及黨與政府之關係。王君提議。當蒙採用。現此項憲法草案。已在規訂中。明年春當送呈第三次全國代表大會採用。

(丙)刑法

本刑法於一九二八年三月十日頒佈。九月一日施行。(參閱一九二八年九月八日密勒氏評論報作者所著「本刑法」篇)。而施行十七年之暫行新刑律。遂致淘汰。本刑法實體上法理上均較暫行新刑律爲完美。本刑法雖已規定然舊刑法亦有依舊有效者。茲約略述之。盜劫最爲罪大惡極。故一九二七年一月十八日頒佈之抑制盜劫暴徒之暫行規程。由國府於一九二八年五月三十一日通令繼續有效五月。至一九二八年三月九日頒佈之懲治反革命條例。暨一九二七年八月十八日頒佈之懲治土豪劣紳條例。爲應革命需要起見。亦依舊有效。前者指各種反對國民黨與國民政府之罪。後者指土豪劣紳壓制人民之罪。(此種案件內地最多)此種條件。爲便利革命工作而定。故皆爲暫行的。尙有一組特別刑法。爲懲治黨員背誓之條例。於一九

儘可規訂章程。阻止中西工廠之暗殺式之競爭。

就經濟方面而論。資本之不足。銀行便利之不充分。亦爲中國工業之大妨害。中國工業出產物之缺少。觀於普通生活程度與進口統計而可明瞭。然欲增加工業出產物。必需充量之資本。廠址與機器之設置。最費資本。此外尙需流通資本。以資週轉。中國各紗廠與絲廠之範圍與設備。非但不能與國外各廠相比較。且較之在華之外國各廠。亦相去遠甚。據阿腦兒計算。以中國全國而論。每一男子婦女或小孩。應得四分之三之機器奴僕。美國則每人可得機器奴僕二十五至三十人之多。此種比較。雖不得謂爲準確。亦足表示中國工業機器之缺乏。

資本有累積之效用。國家資本愈大。用之適當。則本上生本。循環不息。我人雖可反對資本主義。然資本固有裨益于人類者也。蓋資本愈多則愈賤。而人類之價值愈高。中國現在情勢則反是。資本既感缺乏。利率隨之而高。而人工之供給。則有過多之患。蓋工業既不發展。此項人工。不能完全雇。用無怪工資之低落矣。結果中國各工廠。竭力利用低廉之人工。而不願利用機械力與工業機器。此中國工業不發展之第五原因也。

余所討論者。祇限於經濟原因。其數有五。雖不致使工業完全不能發展。至少使其難以發展。然據確實調查。及國外貿易統計比較。中國工業。雖有此種阻礙。已得多少之發展。以上所述各工業中。在本國經營之外國工廠。亦屬不少。且佔極重要之地位。外國工廠有助於中國工業之發展處。固屬不少。然中華民國。豈肯坐視外國製造家工作。而自己反不努力前進乎。欲達此目的。非亟謀改良不可。生料之取給於本國也。運輸便利之設備也。厘金及其他通行稅之取消也。科學稅則之採用也。最後工業資本之供給也。凡此皆係亟應實行之改革。至此項改革。如何成就。則太覺消屑。本文以限於篇幅。不及討論矣。

國民政府司法的革新

司法部秘書梁鋆立

中國政府於滿朝時。已有改良法律及司法制度之企圖。其時中國深受列强之欺侮。以日本爲尤甚。政府遂決定開始一般的革新運動。對於政府法律統治。尤爲注重。挈匪亂後。中外條約。開始談判。協約國允許放棄其治外法權。惟以中國法律及司法制度與他國相契合爲條件。故此種革新運動。益加興奮。滿朝立卽核准編纂法典委員會之設立。辦理草訂民刑商法暨民刑訴訟法事務。民國成立。該委員會卽經改組。並在北京繼續工作。至今日而止。大概而論。該委員會之成績。深堪嘉許。以所做工作。處處能根據中政府創造新式裁判機關與夫修改陳舊法律及習慣之目的。故民國以來。得有各種司法革新者。該委員會之功居多。

依國民黨之意想。司法革新。雖爲取銷治外法權之先導。然二者爲迥然不同之問題。查過去各種司法革新。處處以使列强滿意於中國司法情形爲主旨。此種主旨。足使發生不良之結果。蓋力圖遵從他國之法律。反置本國之急切需要於腦後。此乃最爲顯明之結果也。孫總理以司法爲政府五權之一。中國苟欲成爲新式之國家。司法必須正當執行。故際此革新司法制度與法律時。應顧及人民司法生活之特別需要。改革時固宜利用過去的經驗與夫西方各國的規模。然苟一味罔從其法律與制度藉以誘其放棄治外法權。而反置人民之需要於不顧。是失我人之宗旨矣。

▲適合社會生活狀況▼ 此種問題。國民黨似已計及。故此次革新司法。擬處處迎合社會生活狀況之要求。國民政府成立以來。爲期雖祇三年餘。而司法革新之進步。已大有可觀。本文擬略記此項進步之情形。分司法制度與法律爲兩大綱目。同時述及政府擬不久實行之司法革新計畫。

(一)司法制度

(甲)司法事務之行政裁判權

民刑案件之裁判法庭。與監獄之建設。司法官之委派。執行律師事務之核准。以及其他事項。皆爲司法部分內事。司法部之組織。於一九二六年十一月十五日國民政府頒佈之司法部組織法內載明。該組織法。曾於一九二七年八月九日及十一月五日修訂。按司法部直隸於國民政府。處理全國司法事務。各省各縣最高行政官之行政司法權。概由其指揮監督。司法部又分總務處民事處。刑事處。及監務處四處。總務處。辦理(甲)法庭之建設與廢止。及法庭裁判權之更改等事務(乙)司法官及其屬員之考試委派與革職事項。(丙)律師事務(丁)法庭與司法部之度支表結帳及其他國庫事項。民刑監務三處。辦理民法刑法監獄之行政事務。司法部職員有司法部長。次長。參贊。司長。秘書。科長。專家。及司事等。該部組織。與前北京政府司法部。大同小異。

▲幫助司法部之兩機關▼ 附屬司法部之機關有二。(一)編纂法典委員會。委員有五。辦理調查民間風俗與習慣。及編纂法典事宜。(二)司法參議會。於一九二八年三月十九日由政府核准成立。主持者有司法部長。次長。最高法院院長。及部長聘請之參事六人。該參議會。按月舉行會議一次。討論部長提出之改良司法行政辦法委任司法官員及其他重要事項。

(乙)法庭

國民政府對於法庭組織。尙無根本之改革。法庭四級人民得二次上訴之舊制度。現在依然有效。卽地方廳縣廳高等廳大理院是也。國民政府之最高法院。於一九二七年十二月二十五日。由政府明令核准設立。同日頒佈該院組織大綱。最高法院審理案件。承審官有五。院長有副一法律解釋之權但無指揮承審官審理或判決各案之權。主持最高法院者。現有院長一人。各區主任承審官六人。承審官二十四人。及司事數人。

國民政府對於法庭制度之最重要改革。爲檢察廳之取消。按檢察廳素與各廳幷行。各種刑事案件。舉凡初步調查。起訴或不起訴。掌理一切起訴。

值三百九十萬海關兩。迄一九一五年。出口額忽增至二倍。翌年而三倍。一九一八年而四倍。至一九二六年而五倍。十四年內。出口額增加七倍之多。平均每二年增二倍。至豆餅之出口數量與價值。較豆油尤大。惟在同時期內。無豆油之增加迅速。蓋數量之增加祇三倍有餘。價值之增加則四倍耳。

▲黃豆與豆油▼ 豆油與豆餅。皆爲榨油廠之貨產。滿州以及大連哈爾濱周圍。豆類之供給。甚形豐富。故榨油廠最多。漢口亦不少。而江西及其他各省亦有。此等地方。豆類出口數量亦多。苟油業更形發達。則油類勢將製造完成後出口矣。譬如一九二六年。出口之油與餅混合價值爲一億兩。黃豆爲七千五百萬兩。卽四與三之比。苟油業更形發達。則大部分黃豆。將在本國製成油與餅。然後出口。自一九一三年至一九二六年間。出口黃豆之數量。祇增加二倍。價值則增加三倍。

香煙出口。在民國開始數年間。數額殊小。一九一二年之出口價值。不到八十萬海關兩。一九一三年。不到四十萬兩。歐戰以來。情勢大變。一九一九年之出口數額。達六百五十萬兩之譜。一九二五年至一九二六年。超過一千五百萬兩。卽二十倍於一九一二年。而四十倍於一九一三年之數額是也。除英美煙公司及南洋兄弟煙草公司。爲最大香煙廠外。中國其他香煙廠。亦屬不少。祇上海一處。去年內新創廠家。實屬不少。其餘各省及都市。尙不在內。以之供給本國需求。綽乎有餘。故一九二六年進口香煙之價值。幾與出口香煙之價值相等。然一九一二年。出口與進口數額之比例爲一與十。一九一三年爲一與三十。

蛋亦爲出口貨之一大項。蛋類包括乾蛋白。冰蛋白。乾蛋黃。濕蛋黃。冰蛋黃。乾蛋。濕蛋。與冰蛋。新鮮殼蛋。以及鹹蛋等。此種蛋類。大多由新式廠家製造。新式廠家。現爲數甚多。蛋類之出口數額。亦自一九一二年之五百萬兩。增之一九二六年之三千八百十萬兩。

機器麪粉。依出口統計表。雖爲數不鉅。然近年來對於中國。漸見重要。在過去二十年內。已漸呈發展之象。上海及無錫兩處。現有麵粉廠二十二家。每日可製十一萬六千七百袋。哈爾濱天津濟南漢口等處。尙不在內。據一中國有司言。全國目下有麪粉廠約一百三十家。麪粉事業之興旺與國外貿易之關係。我人所可想見者。不在本國機製麪粉之出口數而在外國小麥之進口數。查一九一二年外國小麥之進口數。祇七千兩。至一九二六年。已增至一千八百萬兩。較一九一二年增加二千五百倍之多。殊可驚已。

當歐戰及歐戰甫畢時。中國麪粉之出口數最大。一九一九年。達一千萬海關兩之多。其後一九二二年。跌至三百六十萬兩。翌年則不到百萬兩。自此以後。中國麪粉。已成爲無足輕重之出口貨。

綜觀上述各出口貨。除茶葉外。皆與我國新式工廠之發展。有密切之關係。故其重要。實有與日俱增之勢。生絲與絲綢匹頭貨。差堪立足。茶葉與機製麪粉。則日呈衰頹之象。而機製麪粉尤甚。中國工業。固漸形發展。然不能算爲滿意。苟無以下各厄事發生。則其發展情形。當更可觀。而每年出口數額。亦當增加多多也。

十餘年來之國內戰爭。爲摧殘工業發展之大原因。此盡人皆知。毋庸多贅者也。雖然。在此數年中。中國工業。尙能得多少之發展。已屬奇事。現在北伐完成。全國統一。我人深望此種內亂之不重演於將來也。

影響工業發展之主要經濟原因。爲優良生料之供給不足。譬如美棉。早已移植我國。然所產數量。殊不足應紡織廠之需要。且往往經一二年而卽腐壞。故每二三年。須重行移種。至上海之麪粉廠所需之麥。咸仰給於加拿大。以江蘇之麥。性質太壞故也。天津各廠。所需之麥。本地可能供給。然一部分必需仰給於外國。

此種缺點。苟欲根本補救。政府必須實行改良農業。設立農業學校及試驗室。使農夫採用新式方法。並利用較爲完善之農具肥料及種子。查山東河南安徽等省。種植浮其尼煙葉之成功。大半因各香煙廠之免費供給外國種子也。

▲運輸之不便利▼ 泥土之適宜與否。受天然之限制。而運輸之不便利。亦爲阻礙工業發展之大原因。蓋遠處之供給。每不能送達各工廠。陝西之棉。質地優良。然自陝西運至上海之運費太大。故卽同等貨品。亦不能與進口貨相爭競。由此可見河南設立紗廠之便利矣。阿腦兒在最近所著「中國問題之幾個大論點」中。敘述中國運費之高。茲照錄其序文如下。

「陝西渭水流域之農夫。離鉄路有三四百英里之遙。(合一千里)欲運其麥至車站。須用牛馬或人工肩挑。苦力送費。每擔每日五十里。爲大洋叁角。計每擔每里大洋半分以上。加之其他費用。計每擔每里。至少須大洋一分。美國鉄路之平均運費。爲每噸每英里美金一分一厘。故中國之苦力送費。竟十五倍於美國之鉄路運費。」

湖北鹽城之石膏。不能與天津之德國石膏相爭競。上海製造者。不願購徐州之硝石。而願買支國之硝石。其原因一也。

運輸不便利。爲第二原因。其第三原因。爲國內稅率障礙。卽釐金及其他同類之捐稅。查茶葉一項。自漢口運至綏陽由俄西比利亞出口而在蒙古發售。途中須徵稅十三次之多。羊毛爲製造地毯之用。在大通與北平間。須經過關卡七處。最後徵稅處。爲北平。迨地毯製成。在上船準備出口前。尙須徵稅三次。是以地毯工業之中心點。已自北平。移至天津。大通之羊毛。固仍付同樣之捐稅。然地毯之賦稅。因中心點移於天津。而得減少矣。由此觀之。通行稅稍減一籌。卽足使一市之工業興旺。彼市之工業凋零。苟將國內之普通稅卡。一律廢除則工業。得隨時隨地。自由發展。其爲益爲何如耶。

▲稅則規定不依科學方法▼ 本問題之彼方面。卽進出口貨科學稅則之缺乏。中國恢復關稅自主後。當然不希望建築一堅固之關稅城牆。所希望者。卽貨物種類既異。徵收捐稅。亦應區別是也。對於國內之幼稚工業。應稍予以保護。免爲外貨競爭所摧殘。此係關於國內外國工廠問題。然外國工廠。爲數尙少。

至棉匹貨品之出口數。雖不若棉紗之增加迅速。然較爲穩固。蓋一部分因採用價值而不用數量爲基本之故。海關報告。習慣以擔數或匹數。記匹頭貨之出口數額。而不能記明兩者之總數。祇能記明價值之總數。查一九二一年。棉匹出口數價值爲五百八十萬海關兩。一九二二年。五百七十萬兩。一九二三年。百十萬兩。一九二四年。一千二百萬兩。一九二五年。一千一百萬兩。一九六年。則爲一百二十萬兩。試參閱海關報告中國工廠出產品出口數特別攔。部分出口之棉匹貨爲新式工廠之出產品。一九二五年。八百萬兩。一九二六。爲九百十萬兩。可知一九二六年超過之一百萬兩。純因工廠出產品出口數增加而獲得者。

生棉價格既屬昂貴。而棉紗與棉匹之賣價。因外貨競爭。又未便抬高。致使棉絲不能發達。然絲廠之情形。更形困苦。去年經濟討論所。曾調查上海絲業狀況。結果查得不能完全工作者多家。而各絲廠獲利之機會殊鮮。幸廠址租費便宜。故不致停頓大部分資本於廠址。而各絲廠尚得苟延殘喘。惟廠址原主。或已將廠址廉售。或取極低之租價。故大受損失者。彼等而已。按租賃廠址之絲廠。所製之絲。大概係次等貨。祇能供國內之需要。而不能供國外之需求。依海關報告。近二十年內。生絲出口額。殊屬無定。由下表觀之。生絲出口額。在一九二六年。爲十三萬五千擔。一九一三年。爲十一萬九千擔。是增加成數。祇百分之十三・四。且一九二五年及一九二六年之出口數額。雖較一二〇年以來爲大。然較之一九一九年。則無增加之勢。在一九二〇年至一九四年五年中。較往年實無進步之可言。至野絲之出口數額。則更不如矣。雖然。以價值而論。生絲仍爲中國出口貨之最大項目。豆類出產品之出口數。雖較生絲爲大。（按海關報告豆類成數爲百分之二〇・三四。絲繭成數爲分之一八・四〇然豆類包括許多項目。而生絲出口數。在一九二六年。單獨有一億四千四百七十萬海關兩之鉅。倘將絲繭匹頭貨及繭一併加入。則其所占成數。當爲百分之二一・九七。可爲出口貨品中之最高成數。

▲絲業狀況之不良▼ 絲繭匹頭貨業。占出口貨中極重要地位。然正若生絲無滿意之結果。匹頭貨之價值。在一九二一年。爲一百七十萬海關兩。一九二二年。爲一百四十九萬兩。一九二三年。爲一百六十八萬兩。一九二四年。爲一百五十七萬兩。一九二五年。爲一百五十四萬兩。一九二六年。則爲二百三萬兩。祇有去年。增加最速。其餘各年。上落不過百分之十五耳。雖然。匹頭貨之進口數額。殊屬些微。故不可謂爲惡現象。查該貨之進口數額。當在一百萬海關兩左右。故中國絲貨之出口數額。即使不能與年俱增。至少在本國市場上。能佔極大便利。實言之。中國製造家。年來頗能仿造外國進口貨。（如印度繃線緞等）而以較廉之價出售。藉得與外國貨互相角逐。

第五表 （絲類出口表） （以一千擔爲單位）

年分	絲	野絲	年分	絲	野絲
一九二六	一三五	三一	一九一六	一〇三	一八
一九二五	一三三	三四	一九一五	一〇九	三四
一九二四	一〇八	二二	一九一四	八七	二一
一九二三	一〇七	三一	一九一三	一一九	二九
一九二二	一一九	二三	一九一二	一二一	三六
一九二一	一一三	三七	一九一一	九六	三三
一九二〇	八二	二一	一九一〇	一一〇	二九
一九一九	一三一	三三	一九〇九	九五	三四
一九一八	九六	二八	一九〇八	九四	三四
一九一七	一〇七	一八	一九〇七	九二	二三
一九一六	一二五	三四	一九〇六	八〇	二一
一九一五	一二四	三二	一九〇五	八一	二一
一九一四	一一〇	三一	一九〇四	八一	二一
一九一三	一一〇	三一	一九〇三	八一	二一
一九一二	一一〇	三一	一九〇二	八一	二一
一九一一	一一〇	三一	一九〇一	八一	二一
一九一〇	一一〇	三一	一九〇〇	八一	二一
一九〇九	一一〇	三一	一八九九	八一	二一
一九〇八	一一〇	三一	一八九八	八一	二一
一九〇七	一一〇	三一	一八九七	八一	二一

茶素爲重要出口貨。然年來在中國國外貿易中。常呈衰頹之象。溯過去二十年中。出口數量。終在一百五十萬擔左右。然自一九一八年以來。忽降至一百萬擔內。而三年來。則不到五十萬擔。觀下表而可明瞭。一九二五年與一九二六年。雖稍有進步。然恢復之期尚遠。考茶業衰落之主要緣由。爲錫蘭茶葉之競爭。故改良茶質。爲恢復中國茶業之唯一方法。

▲茶葉之俄方銷路▼ 一九二五年。俄國向中國定購多量之茶葉。是年定購數額。達三十一萬九千半箱之多。茶商前途。頗有希望。然蘇俄政府。嚴禁茶葉進口。故中國茶商。大受打擊。一九二六年份。祇有十七萬二千半箱。運至俄國。可知欲增加茶葉之出口數。須先注意外國採用之限制進口情形。而對於買茶最多之外國。尤宜注意。最好由中國政府。設立一試驗室。各茶出口前。須先受試驗。而何種茶葉。最能應外人之心理。尤宜調查。使各茶商週知。蓋茶商選擇苛刻。則種茶之農夫。亦不得不竭力改良其茶質矣。再設試驗場以培植茶樹。亦爲恢復茶葉之大助力。

第六表 （茶葉出口數額表） （以一千擔爲單位）

年分	一千擔	年分	一千擔
一九二六	八三九	一九一六	一五四二
一九二五	八三三	一九一五	一七八二
一九二四	七六五	一九一四	一四九五
一九二三	八〇七	一九一三	一四四二
一九二二	五七六	一九一二	一四八一
一九二一	四三〇	一九一一	一四六二
一九二〇	三〇五	一九一〇	一五六〇
一九一九	六九〇	一九〇九	一四九八
一九一八	四〇四	一九〇八	一五七六
一九一七	一一二五	一九〇七	一六一〇

滿州豆油業之興盛情形。亦堪注意。滿州豆油之出產或出口額。殊屬些微。至滿朝之末。始稍稍增加。即民國元年（即一九一二年）出口額。祇五十萬擔。計

粟	二三・四	一九・〇	百分之三・三二	(連其他穀類)
生棉	二九・三	二九・八	百分之三・四〇	
紗類	七・四	七・七		
花生	一八・五	一七・二	百分之三・四五	
花生油	一〇・七	七・六		
桐油	一四・九	一七・四	百分之一・七三	
茶葉	二六・一	二二・一	百分之三・〇三	
煙葉	六・四	六・一		
(三)織物與其產物除絲類及布類	四八・一	三六・六	百分之五・五六	
棉類匹布	一二・〇	一一・〇	百分之一・五四	
洋紗	一一・〇	三・九	百分之一・二五	
草布	五・四	三・四		
地毯毡氈	六・五	六・三		
(四)絲與絲料及其產物	一九一・六	一七八・四	百分之二二・一七	
絲類匹布	二一・三	一五・四	百分之三・五七	
絹類	九・四	七・七		
生絲	一四四・七	一四〇・三	百分之一八・四〇	(連繭)
絲之費物	一〇・五	八・九		
(五)木柴及紙料	四五・一	三八・四	百分之五・二一	
煤	二六・一	二〇・〇	百分之三・〇三	
木	九・五	八・八	百分之一・一九	
(六)鑛物金屬及其製造品	二八・二	二八・四	百分之三・二六	
鋤	六・三	四・七		
錫條與石板	八・七	一二・〇	百分之一・〇一	
(七)雜貨	五九・二	五〇・八	百分之六・八五	
香煙	一五・四	一五・二	百分之一・七八	
藥類	四・四	五・〇		

依右表觀之。第一。二。五。六。類貨品。大半係生料。第三。四。七。類。係製造品。雖然。其中顯有區別。蓋卽生料亦須經一度之整備手續方可出口。至製造品。則手續更繁。棉與絲綢匹頭貨物。在整備最後消費前。當然須經過許多製造手續。然毛皮亦爲最後消費品。我人不可以毛皮之出口無甚有關於國內工業發展而忽視之。苟我國毛皮。有充量之供給。而國外需要緊急。則所需之整備手續之簡與繁。殊無關輕重者也。試觀宣化之皮毛。大半恃國外貿易。而賴以發展者也。

(讀者可參閱「中國實業與財政」第三頁至第五頁)

中國棉業。是否已儘量發展而能消用全國所產之生棉。右表並未指明。查近二年來。生棉之出口者。價值每年達二千九百萬兩之鉅。但此非本國消用數量些少之證據。實因本國棉花。不適用於製造優紗。必須購多量之外國棉。以應需要。查一九二五年進口生棉之價值。爲六千九百九十萬海關兩。一九二六年。爲九千三百七十萬兩。較之該兩年之出口數額。超過多多。而一九二六年外國棉之需要又較一九二五年爲大。足徵一九二六年中國紗廠之發達。

▲棉花之消費▼ 試將該兩年各紗廠所編之生棉消費統計互相比較。計增加約四十八萬擔。(該統計爲中西合辦之中國紗廠聯合會所編訂。然紗廠有數家。不肯報告準確之數目。故該統計不能得完全準確之結果。)又查一九二六年之進口數額。超過一九二五年九十三萬七千五百六十七擔。同時本國產棉數額。減少一百八十九萬五千擔。然後者不若前者之重要。蓋本棉祇供舊式紡織業之需要。而進口之外棉。皆供新式紗廠之需求。茲列比較表。以供研究。

(生棉消費表)

(以擔爲單位)

	一九二六年	一九二五年
出產數額	5,680,000	7,575,000
進口數額	2,745,017	1,807,450
總計	8,425,017	9,382,450
除出口數額	878,512	800,786
消費之淨數	7,546,505	8,581,664
新式紗廠消費數	4,983,685	4,505,531
占消費淨數成數	66	52

中國棉紗之出口數額。年來逐漸增加。足徵本國紡織事業之逐漸興旺。一九二一年之口數額。祇二萬五千擔。一九二二年。增至三萬八千擔。一九二三年。八萬八千擔。一九二四年。增至十四萬六千擔。一九二五年。忽減至六萬四千擔。然一九二六年。躍至十九萬二千擔。此爲最高之數。出口數額當然不能與進口數額相比。然中國紗廠。現竟能出產充量之棉紗。除應本國消費外。尙能供外國一部分之需要。彰彰明矣。

一九一五	◎四一八	◎四五四	一八七〇	◎六一	◎六九
一九一四	三五八	五六九	一八六五	◎六〇	◎六一

（有◎記號者指每五年）

在此六十年中。出口貨額。增加十三倍。然進口貨額。則增加十五倍之多。一八六五年。海關第二年報告。是年進出口貨額。以均等數額起始。卽出口貨以「六〇」起始。進口貨以「六一」起始是也。設以一八六五年之數額爲一〇〇則下表中每五年之指數。足以指明進出口貨數額之增加速率。「貨價升高。則價值亦增。惟須留待以後討論。左表之數目。係指總數。對於貨價上落。毫不計及。」

第二表　（進出口貨數額之指數）

年分	出口貨	進口貨	年分	出口貨	進口貨
一八六五	一〇〇	一〇〇	一九〇〇	二六三・三	三四五・九
一八七〇	一〇一・六	一一三・一	一九〇五	三七八・三	七三二・八
一八七五	一一三・三	一〇九・八	一九一〇	六三三・三	七五七・三
一八八〇	一二八・三	一二九・五	一九一五	六九六・六	七四四・二
一八八五	一〇八・三	一四四・二	一九二〇	九〇一・六	一二四九・一
一八九〇	一四五・〇	二〇八・二	一九二五	一二九三・三	一五五二・四
一八九五	二三八・三	二八〇・三			

由右表觀之。最初二十年內。進口貨。與出口貨之增加速率。幾乎相等。但自一八八一五年以來。進口貨之增加速率。較出口貨迅疾多多。至一九〇五年。進口貨數額。竟兩倍於出口貨。一九一五年。以歐戰關係。中國出口貨數額。幾與進口貨相等。故歐戰時期。爲中國工業極盛時期。每五年度之增加速率。觀於下列第三表更覺明瞭。蓋每紀年之對面數目。足以指明該紀年超過下紀年之數。

第三表　（指數用連環制）

年分	出口貨	進口貨	年分	出口貨	進口貨
一八六五	一〇〇	一〇〇	一九〇〇	一一〇	一一三
一八七〇	一〇二	一一三	一九〇五	一四三	二一一
一八七五	一一二	九七	一九一〇	一六六	一〇三
一八八〇	一一三	一一八	一九一五	一一〇	九八
一八八五	八五	一一一	一九二〇	一二九	一六七
一八九〇	一三四	一四四	一九二五	一四四	一二四
一八九五	一六四	一三四			

中國某統計家。曾根據海關報告。編訂各年份指數。惟該統計家之指數表。一時難以覓得。故余不得不用上海與廣州之批發價格指數。藉以查核因貨價升高而進出口貨數額增加之度限。以上各表卽爲余查核之結果。按上海與廣州之指數。係以一九一三年貨價爲基本。卽一〇〇是也。依此基本。則一九二六年上海之最大指數爲一六四・〇。至是年廣州之指數。則無從查考。卽一九二五年余亦祇有按月之指數。計是年上半年度指數爲一七九・〇。爲一九一二年（卽編訂指數之初年）以來最大之指數。查中國國外貿易之經過上海者。占全數百分之四十。故上海之指數較爲重要。茲就上海而論。一九一三年至一九二六年總貨品之價格增高成數。爲百分之六十四。而二年中出口貨之增加成數爲百分之一一四。進口貨之增加成數爲百分之九十七。苟加以更正。則出口貨之增加成數當爲百分之三〇・五。進口貨之增加成數當爲百分之二〇・一。然此種價格指數。祇適用於總貨品之價格。並非專爲進出口貨價格而設。故此項更正。不能算爲滿意之更正。

▲工業發展▼　考察進出口貨之普通情形。尙不足明瞭國外貿易與工業發展之關係。故我人對於各種進出口貨。應逐類考察。而對於出口貨。尤宜注意。以出口貨與工業發展之關係更爲密切也。苟海關能將國內各工業所需運自國外之機器與生料。詳爲報告。則進口貨一項。亦足指示國內工業之興衰。但海關報告從未有如斯詳細者也。下表祇標明主要之出口貨品。卽在一九二六年或一九二五年出口數額達五百萬海關兩者。一九二四年暨較早之報告既完全不同。且較爲簡單。故此數年之數目概不列入表內。余之類集出口貨品法。與海關所用之法。稍有不同。故末項之成數。（該成數大半由海關統計處計算）未必與余所核定之第二項絕對數目（一九二六年）相符合。惟所有不同之處。確定後均於末項中說明。

第四表　（主要出口貨品）

出口貨品	一九二六年	一九二五年	估總出口額之成數（一九二六年）
	（概以海關百萬兩爲單位）		
（一）畜類與畜類產物	一一〇・五	一一七・一	百分之一二・七八
鬃毛（已分類與未分類）	一〇・四	九・五	百分之一・二一
鮮蛋類	三八・一	三三・〇	百分之四・四二
牛皮	九・〇	八・三	
獸皮	一九・五	二一・六	百分之三・三四（各種獸皮與皮革）
腸膜	四・九	五・五	
羊毛	九・七	一八・五	百分之一・七二（連各種羽毛類）
（二）植物類	三八一・二	三二六・二	百分之四四・一一
黃豆	七五・〇	七一・一	
豆餅	七〇・〇	四九・四	百分之二〇・三四（豆與豆類出產品）
豆油	二九・九	二〇・三	
麩皮	六・九	六・五	

而優游自樂者。處此情形。欲求絲質之優美。其可得乎。

▲中國絲業之危機▼ 中國絲業。正在千鈞一髮之際。政府萬不能繼續以冷淡態度處之。蓋向則從事於軍事。固不遑顧及實業。今則軍閥剷除。全國統一。尙有所藉口乎。查國稅之徵之於絲繭者。爲數頗鉅。政府不加援助。是自絕生利之源也。依現行稅則。絲繭之正稅與附稅。佔製造費之十二分之一。設製造費每擔九百五十兩。應徵之生絲稅。須九十元之譜。例如中國中部之生絲出產額爲五萬捆。則常年供給於政府之稅額。須四百五十萬元之鉅。其餘產絲各區。尙不在內也。

考日本絲業之發達。大半由於日政府之扶助。如設立特別局。以研究育蠶問題。營業衰敗時。則假款於絲商。設育蠶學校及試驗房。以利絲商。更與絲商合作。規訂買賣章程。以便貿易。此不過日政府扶助絲業之數端耳。政府促進絲業之發達。觀於日本而益瞭然。茲臚列國民政府亟應實行之要點數端於后。

（一）組織全國絲繭局。（按去年甯政府曾有此項機關設立。惟無善政可言）。該局須由專家主持。以審查國內外育蠶情形。及會同絲商共謀改良。爲唯一目的。蓋無政府之先導。絲商恐無改良其製絲法之趨勢也。

（二）萬國育蠶改良委員會。育蠶試驗場。以及育蠶學校。每因經費竭蹶。難奏功效。政府對於此種機關。應儘量予以金錢援助。

（三）國內各地。不乏氣候土地適宜於育蠶者。須不遺餘力。廣爲提倡。至沿長江流域各省。交通便利。儘可用作絲繭商場。

（四）減低稅額 絲繭稅須求簡單而劃一。查現行絲繭稅。名目繁多。稅額又因地而異。估價亦無定則。余意絲繭稅須儘量減低。藉以提倡實業。稅則不可任意修改。所有附稅以及其他各費。應一律取消。

（五）政府應會同絲商。訂定工人工資。與工作時間。雙方務須遵守。並嚴制罷工。工人固有組織工會之自由。廠方尤宜有雇歇工人之威權。

（六）遇絲商營業衰落時。政府應予以經濟援助。利息從輕。蓋我國絲廠。大半資本輕微。殊不堪禦大風浪也。

以上所述。僅就管見所及。約略論之。政府既能引導。絲商尤宜努力。俾此項革新工作。早告完成。以下各點願我絲商從速解決之。

（一）經營絲廠。不宜執之舊法。須立卽採用科學方法。查我國各絲廠。以管理不善而致失敗者。十常八九。

（二）舊式機器。一律廢除。應改用新式者。並須按時檢驗絲質。蓋欲得國外之銷路。須應外人之心理是也。

（三）須備充分之資本。以免度日維艱之虞。而範圍過大。不事經濟。亦非所宜。

政府既能會同絲商。將各項問題。逐一解決。則我人何患日本之競爭乎。我國不乏後起之秀在國內外研習絲繭問題者。據美國絲業調查委員會會長惠霖艦納云。五年前渠來華時。所遇絲商。咸係老朽之徒。而此來所遇者。有多數靑年絲商。見解較其長者進步多多。足見中國絲業前途有望云。願有志靑年。竭其智力。使我國絲業。回復元氣。此其時矣。

中國國外貿易與工業發展

劉大鈞

余曾著一書。名「中國工業與財政」。其中自第二十一頁至第二十六頁。對于國外貿易與工業發展之關係。詳加討論。茲將主要各點。重行提出並援引該章原文。以備本文之討論。

中國工業發展之第二要因。爲國外貿易。國外貿易之有助工業發展。要有三點。今特逐一陳述。第一。國外貿易足以發展通商口岸之工業。蓋通商口岸。爲國外貿易之中心點也。

第二。國外貿易。足以影響出口貨品。且其影響係直接的。蓋國外需求愈急。則國內出產額愈大。而工廠之設立也愈多。滿州榨油廠之林立。上海蒸溜絲廠之發達。可爲此說之明證。實言之。國內商品。苟無國外之需求。斷難佔重要之地位。

商品中仿倣進口貨而製造以供國內需要者。爲火柴香煙罐頭食物水泥及織襪等。據各局調查。中國現有火柴廠一百三十四家。製造火柴梗匣及其他附屬品之工廠。有十五家。

由此觀之。國外貿易。足以促助一國工業之發展。爲彰明昭著之事實。國外貿易統計表。足以指示其發展之速率。惟出口貿易。最有影響於工業發展。故出口貨統計表。最足顯明發展之速率。下表爲一八六五年以來。中國進出口貨數額。（槪以海關百萬兩爲單位）一八六五年至一九〇一年。每五年總結。一九一一年（卽光復之年）以至一九二六年。則以每年計算。

第一表 （以海關百萬兩爲單位）

年分	出口貨額（中國出產品）	進口貨額（淨）	年分	出口貨額（中國出產品）	進口貨額（淨）
一八六五	八六四	一一二四	一九一三	四〇三	五七〇
一八七〇	◎七七六	◎九四七	一九一八	三七〇	四七三
一八七五	七七一	一〇一八	一九一九	三七七	四七一
一八八〇	七五二	九二三	一九二〇	◎三八〇	◎四六二
一八八五	六五四	九四五	一九二五	◎二二七	◎四四七
一八九〇	六〇一	九〇六	一九二六	◎一五八	◎三一一
一八九五	◎五四一	◎七六二	一八九五	一四三	◎一七一
一九〇〇	六三〇	六四六	一八九〇	◎八七	◎一二一
一九〇五	四八五	五五四	一八八五	◎六五	◎八八
一九一〇	四六二	五四九	一八八〇	◎七七	◎七九
一九一六	四八一	五一六	一八七五		◎六七

Mr. Hsiung Ping 熊 斌

Representative of General Feng at the Government Council.

Mr. Miao Ping 繆 斌

Member of Central Executive Committee.

Mr. Li Lieh-chun 李烈鈞

Member of Standing Committee of Government Council

Mr. Chang Chih-kiang 張之江

Member of Nationalist Government Council, Member of Military Council and Concurrently Chief of Adviser Department of Nationalist Army Headquarters.

Gen. Bei Tsung-hsi 白崇禧

Field Commander of the 4th Group Army.

Admiral Yang Shu-chuang 楊樹莊

Commander-in-Chief of Nationalist Navy

Mr. Chang Ting-fan 張定璠

Mayor of Greater Shanghai.

Mr. I Pei-chi 易培基

Minister of Mining and Agriculture of Nationalist Government.

裂。而中國之憲法。則既破裂又折曲。實際上中國憲法之意義。尙未存在。卽法官與律師。對於憲法原理與實行之學識。亦感缺乏。普通人民。既茫無所知。而軍人卽使知之。亦不聞問。此殊屬不幸之事也。

中國初次規定之臨時憲法。表面觀之。殊稱完美。一九二三年。北京頒布之永久憲法。則更屬完備。國民政府正可依此成績。編訂憲法。此五中全會。對於法制局所呈之臨時憲法。曾加討論。查該憲法文稿。規定以下各項。

(一)解釋人民之權利與義務。

(二)解釋與規定中央政府之組織。

(三)解釋與規定地方政府與中央政府之關係。

(四)解釋與規定黨與政府之關係。

我人深望該憲法。能以人民權利爲前提。並望政府從事宣傳憲法教育。蓋憲法教育。足以引起人民尊重憲法之定則習慣與權力之心也。目今中國人民。對於此三者。茫無所知。以致持異議之法官。竟不能申述其異見。

中國憲法。應規定保護狀。俾被告得免未被控拆而受拘押。或已被控訴而須長期候審之苦。查此種保護狀。早經北京永久憲法中規定。而各法庭各律師以及普通人民。置若罔聞。目今人民中。往往有未被控訴而長期監禁。或長期候審者。此衆目昭彰者也。

中國憲法。應有否認追溯法律之規定。例如本年春。國民政府通過懲辦反革命已。直至本年三月十日。該政府始頒布中華民國新刑法。距北京公布最初臨時刑法時。適十有六年。該新刑法。定於本年九月一日起。在上海實行。較之以前之臨時刑法。改善之處甚多。

按新刑法第一條。係不溯既往法則。茲照錄於下。

「行爲時之法例。無明文科以刑罰者。其行爲不爲罪。」

上項條款。頗屬重要。而對於政治多故。無論虛實之政治罪易於發生之國家。尤加重要。故此項條款。於憲法(卽一國之根本法律)中。必須規定。以資預防。而爲人民之保障。外國憲法。固亦若是之週密也。

關於免刑問題。新刑法似有遺漏。而檢舉期限。似已展長。例如舊刑法。對於死刑之檢舉期限。爲十七年。新刑法。則此項期限。已展至二十年矣。依新刑法。三人以上聚會。顯有犯暴行爲。或用恐嚇之蓄意。謂之擾亂治安。第二百條刑法。係關於製造。或持有炸葯縣花葯雷汞及其他相類之爆裂物。或自外國輸入者。惟未提及軍火。是不明瞭處也。新刑法對於褻瀆祀典。及侵害墳墓屍體罪稍爲加重。又該刑律對於商人。頗爲重要。以其對於影射商標。視爲重罪故也。茲照錄第二百六十八條及二百六十九條刑律如下。

「意圖欺騙他人。而僞造已註冊或未註冊之商標商號者。處二年以下有期徒刑。得併科三千元以下罰金。」

「明知爲僞造之商標商號之貨物。而販賣或意圖販賣而陳列。處六月以下有期徒刑拘役。得併科或易科一千元以下罰金。」

第三二四。三二五。三二六。三二七。三二八。三二九。三三〇。三三一。及三三二條。係關于公然侮辱。或敗壞他人之名譽。此新聞界所關心者。然第三二七條。則規定以善意發表言論。而有下列情形之一者。不罰。

(一)因自衛自辯。或保護合法之利益者。

(二)公務員因職務而報告者。

(三)對於可受公評之事。而爲適當之評論者。

(四)對於中央及地方之議會。或法院。或公衆集會之記事。而爲適當之載述者。

第三二九條。指明公然侮辱已故之人。亦應受罰。故傳記著作家。依新刑律亦有受罰之虞。

海盜依新刑律爲重大罪咎。須受七年以上長期徒刑以至死罪之刑罰。刑事訴訟法。已經核准頒行。亦勝於暫行舊刑事訴訟法。又依新頒行之刑事訴訟法。檢察官之制度。略有修改。

中國絲商之所望於國民政府者

汪仲芳

中國頻年內亂。生靈塗炭。治理不善。社會顚倒。目下新中國產生伊始。亟宜設法使國家元氣恢復。雖工程浩大。實爲當務之急。顧此種工作。非僅改革政體。遷移京都。所可完事。須從根本着想。謀社會之發達。財政之革新。與夫經濟之改造。查我國失業人民。達數百萬。裁兵實行後。將更增多。故發展實業。使失業者得安插之所。實爲目今最要之圖。考發展中國實業。問題有二。卽舊有的加以扶助。新興的加以促進是也。故第一步我人須澈究我國舊有實依然處於幼稚狀態中之緣由。查我國實業中以絲業爲最古且廣。我人應首先注意。詳加討論。余敢提出下列關於絲業各問題。並憑一得之愚。討論政府應行利用之補救方法。

▲絲爲大宗出口貨▼

我國繅絲廠所出之生絲。大半爲外人所消費。故爲出口貨中之一大項。是以我國絲業之生存。全恃外人之需求。年來顧客頗不滿意於我國之絲料。以致此項需求大有一落千丈之勢。憶上月美國絲業調查委員來滬時。曾表示五年來我絲商對於所製之生絲毫無進步。並力勸我改良絲質。藉可維持在美銷路。可知我國製絲法。頗有不盡善處。使之改良。實屬急不容緩之舉。余以爲改良之法。約有二點。(一)使繭質優良。(二)改良工作方法。

繭身優良。則絲質亦從之而完美。固大都爲絲商所共認。然議論多而成功少。十年來各委員各蠶桑學校。曾孜孜迄迄。從事研究。終以各方既不合作。政府又漠不關心。致使毫無善績可言。政府固曾常年捐款於萬國育蠶改良委員會。以期培植無病種子。但捐款尠小。此種機關。以迫於經濟。不得不縮小範圍。而不能儘量發展其工作矣。

欲求絲質之優美。須先改良繭身。而熟練之手藝。加以適當之管理。亦屬重要。溯自工會組織以來。罷工動輒。絲廠方面。以乏駕御工人之能力。常有歇業之虞。而當局似無抑制工潮之權力。於是絲商咸抱消極。甚有甯願捨棄本業。

遷都計畫。固不可任其完成。蓋此種變更。足使舊京人民顚覆痛苦。國家幸福。姑不具論。此固中西人士早所大聲疾呼者。此次革命。足致生命財產之損失。工商業之停頓。一切快樂之制止。革命同志。早已明曉。然鑒於將來希望之重要。與遠大。不得不置利害於不顧而完成之。遷都事猶小焉者也。遷都後。一部分人民。固受痛苦。然以四萬萬同胞。及全國革命而論。此項痛苦。誠無足輕重者也。如湖南廣東等省。首府雖從未遷移。而百姓所受共產禍患之痛苦。較北京人民現今所受之痛苦爲甚。過去二年來。全國受難。無論貧富。皆受痛苦。武裝同志之犧牲生命者。達數千萬。孤兒寡婦。不勝其數。我人始終默受此種痛苦者。以此種犧牲。卽打倒君主政體。達到最新式民主政治之代價。成功與失敗。固難逆料。然我人之目的係純正的。工作係認眞的。我人深悉人民與政府之艱難。惟際此時期。正宜激勵忍耐性與信仰心。須互相信任。意志誠摯。願犧牲私人之利益。以謀國家之利益。目今全國商人。已竭其汗血金錢。資助北伐。地主已應徵重稅。總之全國人民。莫不受此項大改革之影響。查北京人民。向不受戰事直接影響。至今日而亦受遷都之影響。不觀食不飽。衣不暖。給資不足之武裝同志乎。自廣州出發以來。生命握之掌中。無非爲中國自由平等而爭鬪。彼等以奮勇堅決之心。至今日方見軍閥主義與帝國主義之劇除。最後始得直搗北京。試問同志之所得爲何。全國人民。尙有較武裝同志犧牲再大者乎。政府籌畫北伐費。已達智窮力盡之境。不得不裁兵。我數千百武裝同志。行將流離失所。我人對於彼等。應如何予憐恤。酌量救濟。而北京人民。觀於此等情形。相形之下。當能忍耐。而漸應時勢之變更焉。

遷都爲必要之舉。蓋意旣深且遠。一九一一年。武昌起義時。孫中山先生卽主張南京爲將來中華民國之京都。一九一二年。孫氏被推爲第一任臨時總統。卽主與帝國主義空氣。殊不適合。新中國創造伊始。新都以遠離北京爲宜。惟袁氏藉故不從。堅持北京。蓋別有用意也。故當時民衆。咸預料戰事之必須重現。果也。十七年來。內亂不息。生靈塗炭。袁氏之堅持北京。有以致之。蓋當時北方軍閥。初未改變其本性。謀改造共和者。惟南方而已。北京總統。旣受軍閥之慫恿。羣思直搗北京。以遂其做君王之妄想。張作霖至死覬覦心不滅。一若北京有無限之魔力與光榮者。要知全國人士。主張君主者殊少。觀於法國革命。而可瞭然。新中國苟能就此立足。固屬大幸。然意外之事頗多。我人切應加以預防。各種君主黨。苟不予以根本剷除。則數千萬爲國犧牲之同志之偉功。將化爲烏有。我人遷都之舉。係根據定見。然自來各種歷史運動。民衆公意。必須徵求。否則難以成功。南京雖久不修治。各種政府機關之地位。與應用器具。咸不完備。然我人當願費大宗款項。建一富麗堂皇之京都於南京。而不願費數千百萬金於無意識之國內戰爭。此種戰爭。乃堅持舊京之必然結果也。從歷史方面觀之。遷都之舉。殊屬有利無弊。日本將其舊都西京。遷於東京。

國民政府法典組織大綱

N. F. Allman

革命軍於去歲春間。佔據南京後。國民政府。卽規定在該政府一應法律未制定頒行以前。凡北京通過之一切舊法律。如與該政府主義無不合之處。一律暫准有效。按革命軍自廣東開始北伐。節節勝利。後方治安。概暫以原有舊法律維持。司法部長王寵惠博士。曾頒發下列命令。證實此項辦法。

「國民政府司法部訓令第二十號

案准國民政府秘書處民國十六年八月十五日第二七七號函開。案奉國民政府民國十六年八月十一日訓令。內開。查國民政府一應法律。待用孔亟。在未制定頒行以前。凡從前施行之各種實體法。訴訟法。及其他一切法令。除與中國國民黨黨綱主義。或與國民政府法令抵觸各條外。一律暫准援用。至設置最高法院。及編訂法典兩事。一爲訴訟終審及畫一解釋法律機關。一爲籌定章制。施治所從出。均與適用法律。互有關係。尤爲目前切要之圖。着希照辦等因。查本部對於最高法院之設置。已有具體辦法。曾經條陳國府在案。現正從事編訂法典。一俟就緒。卽當呈請國民政府核准。公布施行。特此佈告週知。希各關係人通令各該管部屬爲要。此令。

中華民國十六年八月二十九日 司法部長王寵惠」

除暫行舊法外。國民政府曾頒布各種有法律效力之訓令。並於日前組織一編訂法典委員會。討論民法問題。暨修改前北京制定之民法。查舊法之依然有效者。爲商法。(管理商人營商法)商會法令。暨商標法等等。

國民政府。對於組織憲法。亦加注意。然美國之憲法。雖常經曲折。而從不破

不料孫氏病態。漸呈危狀。突於一九二五年三月十二日逝世。當在北京舉行喪事。遺骸即保藏在金屬靈柩內。

按孫氏當時完全被視爲夢想家。不當爲高尙政治家。然時至今日。昔之嘲笑孫氏者。已達到孫氏之夢想。即其終身之政治仇人。觀於孫氏之成績。亦不得不承認孫氏之夢想。非完全不根據於政治經濟與社會科學也。

孫氏最著名之成績。爲「三民主義」。即民族民權民生是也。

依民族主義。孫氏以爲全世界應平等待遇中國與其人民。渠首先主張廢除不平等條約。俾中國與列强之國際關係。得處較爲優勝之地位。民權主義。指國內人民之政權。民生主義。指改進民衆之生活情形。南京國民政府之唯一目的。即爲完成此三主義是也。

南京與廣州之孫中山先生紀念物

呂彥直

孫中山先生。爲我中華國父。全國各處。理宜爲之建造紀念坊。與其他紀念物。以誌不忘。而此次擇定南京紫金山。建築孫氏陵墓。（按該處爲其生前素所懷抱之地）尤爲重要。蓋此種紀念物。匪特足以紀念孫氏之高尙志氣與偉大功業。且可使我四萬萬同胞。以及世世子孫。永不忘孫氏拯救與改造我中華民族之主義。當一九二四年。孫氏遺體。安置北京西山碧雲寺時。革命黨黨員。即組織孫氏陵墓建築委員會。同年四月。在紫金山明太祖攻墓附近。選得空地一方。五月舉行建築祭堂與攻墓圖樣投標。投標者。計中西營造家。達四十人。九月結束。並頒發獎章。即指定圖樣第一名得獎者爲營造人。

▲工程之阻礙▼ 建築祭堂與攻墓。爲工作之第一部。於一九二六年一月開始。預定一年後完工。礎石於孫氏一週紀念日即三月十二日竪立。惟工程進行。以革命軍抵南京時。戰事頗烈。故受重大之阻礙。但從未完全停止。該祭堂與攻墓。現定本年十月完工。以備十一月爲孫氏營葬。其他建築物。爲紀念碑牌坊墓。內部裝修。概用青石大理石與人工石。天花板及柱上之裝飾。不用刷漆。大門口。牌樓。紀念圓柱兩個。園牆。石路。石級。護陵房屋。及其他陵墓點綴品等等。

一切建築費用。概由國庫支撥。惟大部分的款。自一九二六年廣東政府建設以來。早由該政府預備。計總共費用約需二百萬元强。

▲營造師之目的▼ 營造師打樣時。欲借此建築物。以釋明孫中山之精神與觀念。按孫氏主義。欲合中國古時最高尙哲學思想。利用最新科學方法。切實解決人民生活問題。是以陵墓圖樣與形式之根本理想。咸與中國遺風相附合。其建築性質。處處以表示孫氏之理想與德性爲目的。蓋現代各種紀念建築物之創造觀念。固宜依照古風。故陵墓建造。採用廟宇式也。

依陵墓圖樣。擬連接祭堂與攻墓。由祭堂可直通攻墓。攻墓之外表與中國普通商業合同。都隨政府轉移。最受影響。昔日華麗擁擠之旅館。今則門可羅雀。房租一落千丈。即人力車事業。亦受致命之打擊。此最爲可慮者也。凡此皆係實情。全國人士。對於此種不幸情形。當予以體恤。而國民政府。亦當竭力籌畫補救之策。

堂內。與華盛頓林肯祭堂相似。孫氏祭堂。計長九十英尺。闊七十二英尺。高八十英尺。

▲地位之完美▼ 陵墓地位。極盡完美。適在紫金山之中間。攻墓建在該山之高岡。由該岡瞭望南京全城之東南兩面。歷歷在目。全岡極似一巨鐘。其極頂爲陵墓。遠在數里。即可望見。石路長一千二百英尺。兩旁遍植扁栢。沿郊野慮。尙有曲折馬路兩條。每條長二英里。與城內大路相連。自馬路中或列樹間。瞭望陵墓。全景歷歷在目。至鄰近曠野及山陵等處。擬建造一極大之國民公園。

建築方法。雖屬革新。然理想上。係用純粹中國法。全部概用水門汀。嵌以磚石之牆。極似古時之柱樑。攻墓係圓頂式。亦用水門汀建築。而以青石爲面。惟此項建築物。以經費有限。且限期局促。不能全部採用堅固之石工。而達中西合璧之完美。按水門汀係近年來發明。是否堅固。尙難逆料。惟孫氏陵墓所用之水門汀。外面保護完固。尙爲中國最堅固之建築物也。

▲材料之耐久▼ 此次選擇材料。以耐久爲宗旨。祭堂與攻墓。用九龍青石。其他一切石工。亦用青石。屋頂之瓦。本擬用青銅。惟以太覺奢費。將鑲以玻璃。內部裝修。概用青石大理石與人工石。天花板及柱上之裝飾。不用刷漆。而用嵌工。至窗戶則概用青銅製成。

計畫此項建築之目的。係利用審美學。以改良中國之建築。既非强使古式之適合現代建築法。又非强使現代建築法拘泥於古式。惟務求適合中國理想是已。

一九二六年。廣州國民政府成立時。衆議爲孫氏建設紀念堂與紀念碑於廣州。此項建築工程。由陵墓建築師。同時擔任。一九二八年春。即行開工。預計二年內完竣。各項費用。達二百萬元以上。

▲依中國式打樣▼ 廣州紀念堂。係依中國式製造。爲東方最大建築物。用鋼與水門汀建造。全堂可容五千人。助聲機暨其他最新設置。將裝置完備。該堂長二百四十英尺。闊二百十英尺。高一百六十英尺。係就一九二四年孫氏總統府衙門地址建造。紀念碑擬築在觀音山頂。適在紀念堂之後。該碑長一百二十英尺。係完全用青石建築。可臨視廣州全城及其周圍之風景。

北平與南京

Li Tz-hyung

北京爲數百年來中國老大帝國之京都。此次失守。全球公認南京必爲新中國之永久首都。遷都之舉。頗受中外人士之反對與怨言。蓋人事之各種變遷皆然。毋庸驚奇者也。人類爲守舊動物。對於各種更變。深爲憎惡。除不得已時。終不肯任意改革。此次遷都。北京人民。大受影響。滿城頓呈陰慘之象。而各項商業合同。都隨政府轉移。最受影響。昔日華麗擁擠之旅館。今則門可羅雀。房租一落千丈。即人力車事業。亦受致命之打擊。此最爲可慮者也。凡此皆係實情。全國人士。對於此種不幸情形。當予以體恤。而國民政府。亦當竭力籌畫補救之策。

先在孫氏遺像前。俯首靜默三分鐘。然後恭讀遺囑。按孫氏主義（或云孫逸仙主義。）全國普遍。幾乎攘奪一切舊宗教勢力。此殊堪驚異者也。

經祭堂即達墳墓。墓在圓頂室內。較外廳爲小。倚欄杆而望石棺。瞭在如掌。與紐約之大墳墓。巴黎之拿破崙墓相仿。

圓頂室實際上已經完成。既富麗。又簡單。以鋼與水門汀爲基礎。並用意國大理石完成之。欄杆與地板。用白色大理石建築。室頂則用厚玻璃。外廳與墳墓。明一古銅門隔離。俾夜間關閉。

自外廳大門首。我人可一路瞭望長江流域及明陵。並可遙望蜿延曲折之城牆。直至長江繞入太平洋處十

自紫金山麓經南京而至長江。擬築一石路。起初一千二百英尺。（約四分之一英里）須二百五十英尺開闊。可由此而進國民公園。對於陵墓格式完全適合。公路兩邊。擬植扁柏。另築二英里長之小路二條。經公園。繞曠野。而與直通南京及長江之大路相接。自紫金山至長江之大路。一路寬闊。至少須八十英尺。直貫全城中心。而達下關。按下關爲城外商務區域。而鄰近長江者。南京街道。素稱狹窄。兩輛人力車。已難通過。此次計畫八十英尺開闊之公路。殊屬可貴。且南京必須重建。開國民政府決定以之爲首都。並定種種計畫。使南京成一最新式之都市。

孫氏祭堂陵墓及石級建築費。須三百萬元。超過預算多多。緣營造者須炸開紫金山邊之磐石。然後竪立屋基。故費用殊大。至築路費用。尚未正式估計。惟預料須二百萬元。一切費用。現大半由國民政府支撥。

查南京陵墓暨範圍較小之廣州孫氏陵墓之建築。概由上海營造家呂彥直担任。據呂君言。工作概用華人。各項需要材料。皆係國貨。山東之黑大理石。蘇州之青石。及廣州之玻璃磚瓦。爲建造陵墓之主要材料。

呂君最近云及第一部工程。即建造祭堂與墳墓。係於一九二六年一月開工。須一年餘完竣。礎石於是年三月十二日（即孫氏一週紀念日）建立。

呂君云。工程之進行。頗爲革命所阻礙。雖然。工程方面。從未因戰事而停止。

渠預料祭堂與墳墓。十月間當可完工。其餘工程。爲紀念碑之帳幕。大門口。紀念圓柱兩幹。圍牆及石路。暨其他護陵房屋。以及陵墓周圍之點綴等等。

呂君又鄭重聲明。此項紀念物。純係中國性質。

渠又云。打樣時目的。欲藉建築格式。而釋明孫中山之精神與觀念。故圖樣上形式上。根本意想。皆與中國遺風相附合。

又云。所選之地位。亦完美無疵。全部處於紫金山中間。陵墓係築在山邊之圓丘上。誠爲一種絕妙看台。蓋西南可直望城中。東南兩面則風景絕佳。陵墓全形如大鐘。祭堂與墳墓即在其上頂。

由山頂可瞭望南京全城。當夕陽西下。城池中滿佈荷花。陵墓與城牆間。明陵任焉。紅黃廟宇。時在樹林中隱現。誠勝景也。

自南京乘車至陵墓。明陵爲必經之地。明陵周圍之破廟及小石路。與一百五十英尺寬闊與紫金山坡映成雪白色之孫氏陵墓石級。古蹟與今蹟。互相對照。令人不禁生今昔之感。

此項小石路。繞通明陵。荒草滿佈。昔日之帝王。其憔枯之像。鶴立路旁。數百年來。日曬夜露。似乎默察路過遊客之面貌。現則山谷之中。祇聞鎚擊之聲。蓋石匠正在刻鑿其他石像。而爲另一大人物建造富麗堂皇之石級也。

由小石路轉灣。不平之路又來。而各種動物石像與皇家屋宇。頓現眼前。此種動物。左當時固視爲不可褻瀆之物也。既而東一馬。西一駱駝。再進而有偉大之石獅兩隻。互相對視。經數百年而不稍轉瞬。

獅之頂上。排列小石無數。據一種野談。婦女苟能投石於獅身。而石不跌落者。則主得子。此種無稽之談。目今新中國人民。誰能信之。惟獅之背上。固已滿黏石子。蓋東方婦女。苟不能爲其良人育後嗣。不久終必被棄。此亦宗教使然歟。

再前數武。而各種動物。與帝王石像。儼然不見。道路狹窄。艱於步行。一二年內新大路完成。誠爲人民之福。各種青石。咸用大貨車自南京車站運來。惟據工匠言。貨車在此種小路上駛行。不到一星期。即有毀壞之虞。使一坐汽車經此小路。即知此言之不虛矣。

孫中山先生。終身致力革命。一八六六年生於廣東。一九二五年三月十二日歿於北京。其時正擬召集中國各黨派會議也。孫氏遠涉重洋。冀外國對於中華共和。予以同情。又召集同志。與北京滿政府奮鬬。再後助革命黨與北方軍閥爭戰。計前後垂六十年之久。

孫氏爲中國第一任總統。一九一一年武昌起義時。孫氏遠在外國。蓋武昌起義。以計畫暴露。領袖正法。故不待成熟而發難。武昌戰後。革命成功。孫氏急離美。取道倫敦。以便及早回國。與諸同志合作。

孫氏回國。即被選爲民國總統。雖表示承受。旋即讓位於袁世凱。蓋孫氏以爲政治目的固已達到。滿人亦已讓位。惟百端待理。故讓位袁氏。俾得便宜行事。按孫氏極注意於中國之改造與經濟上之建設。不料袁氏野心勃勃。不久自稱爲帝皇。

孫氏處此情勢。不得不另起工程。重行組織一強有力之革命黨。旋袁氏不久於位。孫氏遂得建設一臨時政府於北京。其後與段祺瑞總理衝突。不得不出走廣州。而以海軍爲根據。旋在廣州組織一憲法政府。而被選爲大元帥。

其後數年。國家多故。風聲緊急。孫氏不得不乘英艦出走廣州。於一九二二年八月十四日抵申。遂開始與蘇俄談判。按孫氏曾爲其革命黨求助於國外。其時革命黨雖滿佈全球。然無有人願予以援助者。

此時孫氏在上海遇俄外交家越飛。經數次談判。決與蘇俄合作。蓋此舉至少可得莫斯哥之幫助。然孫氏對於金錢援助。不若主義援助之重視。以爲全世界人民。祇有俄人。願予中國及孫氏黨徒以平等之待遇。

孫氏於一九二四年回粵。組織新政府。開始聘用俄國顧問。由鮑羅廷指導一切。

一九二五年春。孫氏赴北京一行。一方面藉以養病。一方面與北京派人物。互謀諒解。並竭力倡議召集國民會議。請各派代表列席。以求中國之和平統一。

或曰。華人既得新式教育與工具。恐將與外人競爭。而與外人以不利。此種恐懼。實係庸人之憂。要知華人既係人類。當然與外人有同樣的慾望。進欵愈易。則慾望愈奢。上海奢華。甲於全國。進欵增加。則慾望似無止境。設紗廠工人。能得四倍於原有之工資。則渠當立即豐衣美食。多送兒女入學。並將備一自由車以爲榮耀矣。總之。中國一經重建。則商業必能煥然一新。而全世界須應付此驟然增加之貿易數十年內。將有疲於奔命之勢。故有意擴充其工業範圍及推廣農鑛之出產物者。對於中國經濟再興。正宜廳處與以鼓勵。正所謂「義務愈多則成功愈大」也。

▲整理之需要▼ 發展時代。必需各種整頓。譬如中國紡織工業。或大加擴充。進口棉織物。亦將減少。而對於機械與工業用具。必將從事添置。世界各國。應從時勢之變更。以公正而最有利方法。從事買賣。此係國際間貿易原則。固不能視中國爲例外也。當美國自來火燈發明。替代火油燈心時。美國之進口數額。非但不減小。且有增加之勢。當火油替代中國之菜油與菜油時。本國火油進口數額。逐漸增加。現今電氣替代火油。中國已進入電氣時代。電氣機件。及其他貨品之進口數額。必將增加。此毋庸疑義者也。查中國人民之鋼鐵消費力。以每口計算。祇及美人消費力之百分之五釐。此種比率。如能漸小。則中國國外貿易數額(以每口計算合美金二三元)將與美國之每口八十元相接近。駐華之外國商人。對於與聞中國發展將來之希望。殊屬開懷。深恐中國步日本之後塵。自建商場。而排斥外人於局外。中國從事國外貿易之公司。固必及時增加。然要知中國正若美國之地大物博。政局平靖後。將從事國內發展之不暇。安能顧及國外貿易。日本則不然。國外貿易與其經濟生活。有密切之關係。不觀日本對於國外貿易所發展之便利乎。日本之外洋輪船公司甚多。商行與銀行。在外國口岸。皆有分行。日商周遊全球。藉以採集商務消息。並與各國人士接觸。俾促助其本國商業之發展。是其絕似英國之明證。按英國亦一島國。國內財源。殊屬有限。全恃國外貿易。而賴以生存者。

▲外商之地位▼ 駐華各外商。將不得不應時勢之要求。而改變其方法與意志。美國之舊式進出口委辦所。於國外貿易中。將不能保其重要之地位。蓋中國之商人與資本家。將不藉委辦所之紹介。而直接與外國製造廠交易。將放棄其藉通信以與數千里外之外國公司來往之辦法。而與外國製造廠之駐華代表接洽。故外國製造廠。俟後當委派十分稱職。而有專門學問之賣貨員。常駐中國。而不宜託委辦性質之公司辦理。且駐華外商。欲與中國內地相接觸。須恃華人之指導。並宜與之親善。將來美國商人之能操華語者。勢必日益增多。此可預卜者也。

至對於中國出口事業。駐華外商。亦宜專心致志於營業。查中國各出口公司。欲求發展。爲期尙遠。以所遇之困難較進口貿易更大。倘駐華從事出口事業之外商。一律被召回國。則中國出口事業。將受極大之打擊。美國之情形。苟不利於駐華經營進出口事業之外商。中國必受損失。殊屬不幸之事。蓋外商之駐中國。非以殖民爲目的。而爲暫時的居民。西方人民。欲實行其殖民政策於中國。誠屬不可思議之事。外商之目的。無非爲謀營業上之利益。一切不利於華人者。亦不利於外商者也。

▲資本之需要▼ 中國欲謀重建。需用西方之資本。蓋西方資本。於利息與數量方面。皆較本國資本爲合宜。駐華外商。苟能得一有利而鞏固之營業基礎。則將引起外人之信任。而樂爲投資於中國。蓋資本有畏避性質。別人所不敢行走之路。彼亦決不敢貿然踐踏之。

余深信華人之能自籌救濟方法。並逐漸規定法律。舉凡西方各國之方法有助於經濟發展者。一律予以採用。且深信後數十年內。中國經濟上結構。行將大事改革。因此國外貿易。勢必增加。而成爲全世界進出口貿易之大商場。中國地大物博。實體上與工人上的財源。豐富非常。故實體上與人工上的待決問題。亦既繁且多。華人正宜以開誠佈公之方法。解決此種問題。同時利用西方人士之協助。並加以鼓勵。祇要於固有的特權。絕無妨害是也。目下中國政局。漸趨平靜。各種國內發展。將隨之而來。而資本與專門技藝。亦得利用。同時外國製造家與商人。鑒於中國之新發展。將建設種種永久事業於中國。而中國之國外貿易。勢必興盛。前途固未可限量也。

紀念孫中山先生

美斯慧著(刋登紐約泰晤士報)

▲南京▼ 此間正爲孫中山先生建築一富麗堂皇之紀念墳墓。此項工程。將近告竣。聞限今秋完工。該墓係築於紫金山坡。綠樹成蔭。洵稱全球美景之一。推翻北京滿政府。組織廣東革命黨。促成全國革命。厥功當屬之孫中山。孫氏遺柩。現安放北京西山碧雲寺。於最短期內。須遷南京。屆時當再舉行喪禮。而此「中華國父」將安居於國民爲其建築之墳墓中矣。

按建造祭堂陵墓。與由山陂達墓前之石級。早於一九二四年春初所策畫者。孫氏於是年三月十二日去世於北京。遺體至今安放碧雲寺靈柩內。

孫氏死後。廣州同志。立即建議。爲其築一適當之墳墓。旋以孫氏生前。曾表示願葬南京。故擇定紫金山爲地點。惟此項計畫。匪特限于建築一偉大之墳墓。忠實同志。並已在紫金山周圍。獲得一片大地。藉充建造一國民公園之用。由南京乘汽車經城牆而抵面臨揚子江之紀念墓。祇須一小時。石級上之房屋。雖未完工。我人尙未得觀全豹。然當車經平坦之山谷而達南京城後之山麓時。孫氏陵墓。固歷歷在目也。

此項石級。有一百五十英尺之闊。兩排房屋之長。灰白之靑石。與夏日相輝映。此已足動人者矣。墓頂則高入雲霄。蓋東方自古以來之紀念物與廟宇。固難攀登者也。後人之來此者。將視爲祝聖之遊行。而苟能攀登山巓。一覩此大英雄之靈柩。更爲快事。

祭堂設在石級之頂。係完全中國式。與國內各廟宇同。長九十英尺。闊七十二英尺。高八十英尺。孫氏銅像。仿華盛頓林肯祭堂格式。置於祭堂之中間。按孫氏生前。對於林肯。倍極仰慕。其三民主義。與林肯之民有民治民享主義相雷同。

祭堂作爲舉祭孫氏儀式之用。卽現在中國舉行各種重要集會時。到會人士。須

茲將該局員司。及其資格。臚列如下。

公衆衞生醫士一名　約翰霍金大學
衞生學醫士一名　仝　上
化學哲學博士一名　屋哈育大學
化學工程學士一名　仝　上
獸醫學醫士一名　阿屋淮大學
醫學博士一名　屋老而大學
醫學士兩名　北平大學醫科
獸醫學博士三名　直隸陸軍獸醫學校
醫學博士一名　北平陸軍醫科大學

此外尙有醫學博士二人。（該二人於去歲往美布斯登哈佛大學公衆衞生科肄業。將於明年七月回局服務。）及公衆衞生看護二人。一在紐約學習。一在倫敦學習。將於明年元月。連袂入局服務。

行政及人命統計之職務。除管理並查察各分部外。担任施行普及衞生教育。編訂週刊月刊。詳載人民生死及傳染病。與夫醫生產婆製藥師牙醫生登記等事宜。

衞生及淸潔街道部之職務。爲衞生檢查。掃除垃圾。整理街道。捕鼠。訓練衞生檢查員。答覆一切訴狀。檢查廁所。捕蠅。滅蚊。及檢查食物等一切工作。

獸醫及肉類衞生部。担任管理屠場。檢查肉類。查察牛奶棚及硝皮廠等工作。

預防傳染病學校衞生檢驗及看護衞生部。担任施打預防天花及霍亂傷寒針。調查一切傳染病。檢查學生體格。及施藥等工作。

試驗部担任診斷一切病症徵菌。檢察食物及藥品。以及其他特別試驗與夫研究一切公衆衞生問題等事宜。

查衞生局經常費。預算爲每年十七萬八千二百元。計每月一萬四千八百五十元。依下列預算表。支配各項費用。

(一)行政及人命統計部	三千五百元
(二)衞生及淸潔街道部	八千五百元
(三)獸醫及肉類衞生部	八百五十元
(四)預防傳染病學校衞生檢驗及看護衞生部	一千元
	一千元
(五)試驗部	一千元

共計每月一萬四千八百五十元

除上述預算費用外，本年份有特別費用九萬三千八百元。其支配如下。

看護公衆衞生	一萬六千元
學校衞生檢查	一萬六千元
鄉村衞生運動	一萬五千元
鄉村衞生維持費	一萬六千八百元
試驗室建築費	三萬元

共計九萬三千八百元

綜計以上各項費用。其總數爲二十七萬二千元。除各醫院外。上海市民。每人須捐助洋一角八分。查上海全市居民。約一百五十萬人。每人出洋一角八分。雖尙不敷。而所得成績。可預料必十分完善。查衞生局一九二六至一九二七年度。計施種牛痘六千七百二十七人。注射霍亂針一萬三千九百二十九人。以後增加甚速。計一九二七至一九二八年度。施種牛痘。達六萬三千人。注射霍亂針。九萬一千人。預料數年內。此項注射工作。當更普遍。按該局主要目的。爲預防天花及腸胃病。而對於霍亂及傷寒症。尤加注意。蓋中國人對於天花及腸胃病。苟能嚴加抑制。則現今人民之死率。當可減少三分之一。

中國國外貿易之將來

Julean Arnold

考過去數十年中。中國歷史上最顯著之事實有二。卽民族主義之啓發。與容受新式事物是也。此二者。將逐漸促成中國社會經濟結構之大改革。新式的教育。交通。農業方法。工業機械。貿易方法。暨生活狀況。將淘汰一切舊式方法。如此則民衆消費力。必致增加。而全國每口之資產。亦將隨之而增加。蓋國內交通。既形便利。荒蕪之地。均將開墾。觀於東三省而可瞭然。國內外華人市場。形將擴充。農工鑛業之出產物。藉此自由流通。同時外國貨品之銷路。亦得推廣之機會。

中國與俄羅斯或得謂爲全世界將來擴充商業之最大市場。查中國與美國。處於同度之緯線。故其發展之可能性。與各種問題。與美國所有者同。至於人力。則中國較美國爲充足。然目下美國人力之出產能力。較中國爲優。計美國一萬萬二千萬人民之出產力。八九倍於中國四萬萬人民之生產力。蓋美國工人。能得機械與工藝之幫助。而中國工人。則完全爲生產者。並非是機械之指揮者。故美國工人之以工得值力。恆二十至二十五倍於中國工人。然中國工人。有逐漸進爲機械指揮者之勢。則其出產力。必將增加。而國家之財產。與夫人民之消費力。亦將隨之而增加矣。

▲中國之農民▼　中國農民。佔全國人民百分之八十。而美國農民。則僅百分之三十五。此卽中國經濟發展遲鈍之明證。美國除百分之三十五之農民外。其餘人民。皆從事於別種事業。然農業之出產。以每口計算。較中國爲多。美人豐衣足食。國內貨品。綽乎有餘。可供出口。中國對之。有望塵莫及之慨。然中國對於教育交通農工方法。苟能加以改良。並從事墾荒。則農民卽可減少。而大多數人民。可從事於別種生產事業矣。

中國之經濟社會與政治。正由中古式。轉入最新式。故一切擾亂情形。不免隨之而來。整理手續。工程浩大。誠非一朝一夕之功。惟中國人民。素喜工作。積蓄金錢。以及培植子弟。且敎化最良。又肯耐苦。夏日冬雪。均非所畏。農民也。機器師也。商人也。捕鳥者也。舉凡一切辛苦之職業。華人最爲合格。由此觀之。中國工人。已具有新式經濟社會發展之要素。所需者爲工具。新式敎育及新式方法而已。然中國工人。現正在逐漸獲得此三者之時。

中國對於無線電。並非不加注意。自革命軍出發北伐以來。將士志在統一南北。卽覺陸地電報之不適用。且不可靠。蔣介石有鑒於此。乃組織一軍事機關。名爲中國國立無線電管理處。其後北伐進行。勢如破竹。該機關卽在緊要地段。設立分處。隨軍進行。按蔣氏北伐。爲不得已之舉。軍事結束後。或將解甲歸田。而此國立無線電管理處。將由軍事性質。改爲商務性質矣。

▲中國對於無線電之新精神▼ 查該局由蔣氏派定李範一君爲督辦。俞某爲經理。二君皆爲余所深悉者。余曾由俞君介紹。參觀上海西門蓬萊路滬局。觀於局中之整潔。辦事員之認眞敏捷。實足引起外人之器重。據俞君言。該局已在上海漢口天津廣州雲南太原奉天等處。往來通電。各該電台。已由建設廳建造。而由該局主持。並聞軍事時代所建之各電台。在洛陽南京九江汕頭徐州長沙南昌及梧洲等處。亦將於短時期內。由該局接收。其他貴州之貴陽。福建之漳州。四川之成都。及北平等電台。亦須一併接收。並擬於二個月內。建設新電台於廈門宜昌蕪湖等處。

以商務電訊通達之各電台言。兩台間互遞消息。平均需時不到二十五分鐘。且取費較普通陸地電報省三分之一。所用各傳達機。係最新式短波機。該局總工程師張君。曾在美國奇異公司實習多年。故凡該局所用各機器。俱主張一律用最精美者。

採用員司。則概由王君主持。舉凡青年之有志於無線電事業者。均由王君予以相當之訓練。學成者計已有司機員二百名。工程師五十名。又其他建築無線電機匠多名云。

▲傳遞新聞之迅速▼ 南京北平兩電台。已開始准許新聞界拍發消息。據紐約時報訪員語余。渠曾由南京拍發洋洋數千字之電報一通。一小時後。卽由上海站收到。聞該兩台將於本年九月一日。開始拍發商務電報云。

關於中國無線電事業。尚有一更形重要之計畫。緣現有人發起設立一上海無線電總局。擬橫過各海洋。各大洲與歐美及其他各地直接通電。如此則中國可與舊金山。歐洲各地。暨南美洲等處各無線電站連接。此項計畫。雖屬偉大。然余深信華人之能早日實行也。

無線電事業。雖逐漸發達。而陸地電報。斷不能廢止者也。蓋我人深望陸地電報。觀於無線電報之發達。將益加發奮。力求改良。兩事業以友誼態度。互相角逐。則庶幾乎可。

歐美各國。初時因無線電事業。非常發達。將使陸地電報事業。無立足之地。是以議論紛紜。但其後雙方均有優點。均得立足之地。八年以來。陸地電報與海底電報事業。進步較前迅速多多。非由無線電事業之競爭致成而何。

▲公家管理▼ 國民政府。對於無線電事業。現正設法加以整頓。熟悉中國無線電情形者。莫不知此舉之必要也。我人希望國民政府。速頒嚴弛適中之章程。最好仿美國無線電委員會所訂之章程。較爲適宜。查中國無線電之濫用。與管理失當。爲大缺點。往往輪船出口離上海二百英里。卽不能與之通電。而該船在太平洋中。與加拿大及美國各站。反時時能通電。按外人船隻。在港口內或中國沿海各處時。往往誤用中國無線電。此極大妨礙也。查此次華盛頓無線電會議。中國代表亦一律到會。關於改良無線電。議案頗多。中政府苟能逐條切實施行。則此項新交通事業之爲助於中國。正未可限量也。

中國市政衛生

胡鴻基

中國市政衛生。素不注意。近十年來。始有急進之象。查廣州爲中國啓發市政衛生之先鋒。於一九二一年。已有創設市政衛生局之舉。惟不過限於市政衛生及市政府暨其他各機關之一切工作。

公衆衛生工作。既逐漸推廣。人民生活情形。較前優勝。而傳染病亦日見減少。中央政府市政府暨普通人民。亦漸知市政衛生之重要。國民政府遂通過法律。核准在普通市區及特別市區內設立公衆衛生局。自此公衆衛生事宜。有完全由政府担任之趨勢。

一九二六年八月。上海公衆衛生局始設立。此外天津北平南京等處亦進行創辦。中國市政衛生工作。雖方在萌芽時代。然各衛生局。皆由有經驗者指導。將來此項工作之功效偉大。可預卜也。

▲政府管理▼ 按市政衛生工作。當聚精會神。由政府經辦。卽如公衆食水之供給。清潔食物之管理。以及醫務處之設立。皆個人所不能管及者。至其他問題。如傳染病之預防。街道之整潔。須由政府與人民。合力管理之。至個人衛生。亦有關公衆衛生與公衆幸福。市政衛生局。當設法利用教育。使之普及。上述三項工作。應逐一實行。至預防疾病藥品。及醫治藥品。初無界限之區別。衛生問題。最好從教育方面着手。使全市人民。咸得衛生常識。而對於公衆衛生。隨時加以協助。總之公衆衛生工作。應由市政衛生局專力進行。至其他地方政府之各市政處。若教育處。工程處。公安處。公用處等。辦理公務時。亦須顧及公衆衛生也。

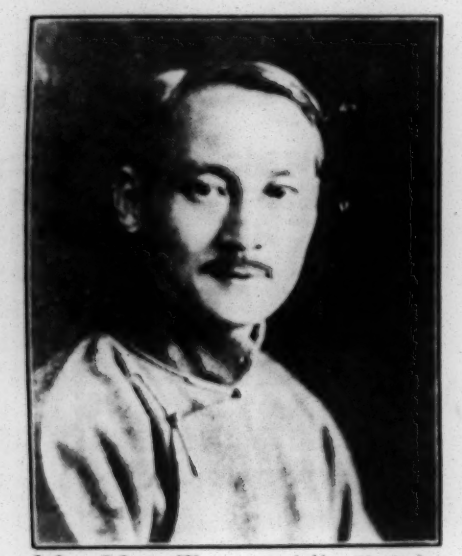
本地市民。亦有自願設立機關。扶助政府。辦理衛生工作者。惟衛生工作。究屬政府分內事。故國立衛生機關。須設法接收此項私立機關。而負完全責任。市政衛生局。對於掃除街道垃圾等工作。須直接負責。至於食水問題。當由衛生局與公用局。共同管理。而百工衛生。學校衛生檢查。貧病看護。暨看護衛生。亦係市政衛生局之職務。

▲上海特別市衛生局▼ 上海市政府。爲保持市民衛生起見。設立公衆衛生局。常開辦之第一年。卽有衛生處之設立。旋因全局改組。該處卽行裁撤。現今所有生衛條律。俱由局規訂。局長暨辦事人員。皆係具有專門學識與經驗之人。局長由上海特別市市長。呈請國民政府委任。任期無定。查該局組織。可分爲四部。

（一）行政及人命統計部。
（二）衛生及清潔街道部。
（三）獸醫及肉類衛生部。
（四）預防傳染病學校衛生檢驗及看護衛生部。
（五）試驗部。

Mr. Chu Chi chin 朱霽青

Member of Central Executive Committee.



Mr. Hsu Tsung-chih 許崇智

Member of Central Executive Committee.

Mr. Ku Yin-feng 古應芬

Secretary for Finance at Canton.

Mr. Li Shih-tseng 李石曾

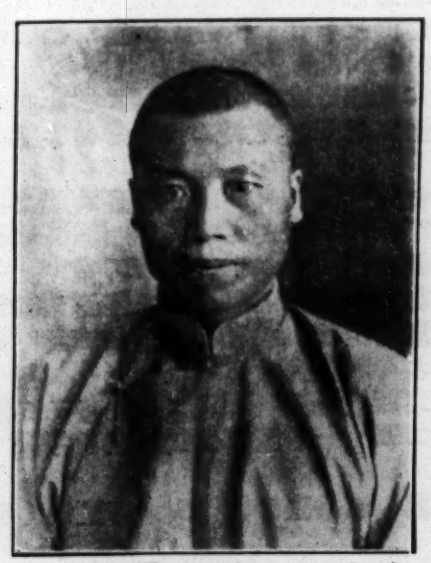
Member of Central Executive Committee.

Mr. Chow Chi-kang 周啓剛

Member of Central Executive Committee.

Mr. Ting Shao-wu 丁超武

Member of Central Executive Committee.



Gen. Li Tsung-jen 李宗仁

Commander-in-Chief of 4th Nationalist Group Army.

Mr. Wu Ti-chen 吳鐵城

Member of Central Executive Committee.

海外僑胞與新中國

梅其駒

距今五十年或百年後。將有一有志之歷史家。以中國已臻富强之境。人民安居樂業。不禁心滿意足。舉筆著一長篇累牘之歷史。詳述中華民國之來源與發展情形。該歷史對於現今大人物之事績。將詳述無遺。而對於我國之先鋒隊。即旅外僑胞。反將置之度外。我人乘此記憶力强盛尚未糊模時。不妨將華僑之有助於新中國之處。略述一二。此新中國乃能恢復以前開國祖先之榮光。而與現在或將來各列强並駕齊驅之中國也。

然則何謂新中國。新中國匪特爲如某政治家所言「曾歷過去之偉大而現自覺元氣已回復」之中國。且爲深得經驗。實事求是。能利用其已回復之元氣。使全球太平。萬國敦睦。爲民衆解疾苦。爲歷史爭光榮之中國也。

▲華僑勞苦功高之大概▼ 新中國之得以根基鞏固。華僑之功。亦屬不小。民國開國元勳孫中山先生。亦華僑之一。查孫先生一生。大部分旅居國外。當其宣傳革命時。一切實際上及道德上之協助。咸來自海外同胞。無此種協助。我中華共和。恐至今未能實現也。彼時孫氏常不避生命危險。遠涉重洋。海外華僑。爲之覓避難所。給以衣食金錢。並不顧殺身之禍。從其推翻滿州政府之主義。一九一一年。革命爆發。華僑竭其財力。予以金錢上之資助。毫無吝色。蓋彼等深知孫氏及其主義。足以救祖國之危亡也。及袁氏即位。孫氏工作。頓呈失敗之象。然華僑猶追隨孫氏左右。始終從其主義。孫氏傳記作者云。苟無海外愛國同胞。竭力幫助。我國革命。恐難告成功。我中華民國。自創立以來。國家多故。若無華僑源源資助。不知孤舟之能否支持也。

華僑對於我共和國之建設。厥功固偉。若以留學海外之同胞。日與外國風土人情相接觸者。一概而論。則舉凡新中國關於政治經濟教育哲學等之好現象。足以促其進步者。皆當歸功於海外同胞焉。

▲國外教育之價值▼ 查現在國民政府重要人員。大半係受過國外教育與訓練之人。至於先進教育家實業家及財政家。亦多曾僑居海外者。近年來。普及白話及民衆教育。爲促成我國平民進化之兩大力。此皆彼等所發軔也。

茲僅限於創業於國外。或生長於國外之數千百同胞而論。海外同胞。對於祖國之協助。可分爲心理上的。慈善的。經濟的三種。何謂心理上的協助。查此項幫助。有時竟較實力上之幫助。更爲有效。蓋我國外交多故。歷盡危險。海外同胞。每予祖國同胞以種種鼓勵。即以最近濟案而論。當日本侵略山東消息傳播全球時。海外華僑。立即倡議。抵制日貨。予祖國政府以援助與鼓勵。並匯寄大宗款項。以備與日本宣戰。此種舉動。使舉國興奮。足予祖國以心理上之援助。是乎否乎。

海外華僑。每不忘祖國。舉凡福國利民之計畫。莫不樂爲捐輸。當時局平靖時。對於學校及醫院。尤稱熱心。查廈門大學之設立。需費數百萬。皆爲福建某僑商獨力捐助。

但華僑對於祖國最有價值之幫助。爲經濟的。其價值雖不易窺見。然足使祖國經濟生活。臻於穩固狀態。蓋華僑常年匯款於祖國。足以抵銷祖國進出口貨之相差數。

▲航空事業與百貨公司▼ 絕對的經濟援助之機會。既不常有。華僑盡力於他種援助。不遺餘力。如我國航空事業。亦爲華僑所發軔。據最近報告。旅美華僑。現正組織一公司。開辦商務航空事業於祖國。渠等並爲祖國電影事業之先鋒。又發起偉大百貨商場於上海廣東香港等處。至粵省新甯鐵路之建築計畫。亦爲華僑之所有。至若草帽及襯衣之製造事業。亦多係華僑利用其國外所得之經驗與資本所經營者。華僑對於祖國之發展。費盡心機。所予之經濟援助。實不可勝計。新中國有感於彼等者殊多。目今南北統一。時局平靖。某著名教育家云。渠曾旅居海外多年。深信華僑極願供給資本於祖國。藉充普及教育。發展實業之用。總之我中華民國之產生。華僑產生之。我中華民國之蒸蒸日上。得以垂久。亦唯華僑是賴。

無線電事業與新中國

Geo. F. Shecklen

觀察全球各國現在情勢。對於無線電。以中國爲最需要。余與中國有志之士。接觸頗多。敢預言後五年內。全世界各處無線電事業。當推中國的爲最發達。華人之有心者。現皆注意於該事業。各種計畫。正在積極進行。擬將全國各省互相連接。並將使各無線電站。與外洋各國連接。

查國內有線電報制度。係用馬司電線。殊不適當。裝費既鉅。又感遲鈍。往往無故延誤。或阻斷。茲舉一例。足爲中國電報局制度不良之明證。緣有某君。旅行南京。在某日清晨十時。發短電數通至申。翌日回申。向收電人索閱電稿。詎稿上記明上海局於該日下午二時五十二分收到。計共需五小時之久。至上海局於何時送與收電人則不得而知矣。旋查其他所發電稿。則亦延誤。後經訊問電局。始悉依平常通例。陸電收發。在上海周圍五百英里內。平均須費時五六小時。或竟不止云。

增力機印刷機速率機亟宜添置完備。固屬必要之圖。惟年來電線宜常加修理。且電線所經之處。多係崎嶇之地。風雨也。水中國內亂頻仍。安得注意及此。災也。匪徒之刼掠也。銅絲及其他器具之被竊也。在在足以阻礙進行。苟欲日夜巡察電線。而時時加以修理。則太覺困難。而所費亦鉅。爲今之計。莫若裝置最新式無線電傳達機。附收音機。暨其他必要機器。分發各省。則消息之傳遞。當可迅速無誤。而我人急欲解決之問題。當可迎刃而解矣。蓋處今商務競爭之世。消息靈敏。則商務發達。猶軍事時代軍隊進退。咸依消息而定也。

▲交通不致阻斷▼ 無線電之特別優點。爲兩站間之傳質。從無損壞之慮。即使一站偶有損壞。亦不致影響他站。如某站傳質將損壞時。可先事預備機件。俾急要時立得修理。查近今最新式無線各電站。鮮有因機件損壞。而致停止至一二小時之久者。

方。修約期限不能再延。新約條件。應卽重行起草。

▲中日條約顯已到期▼緣中日雙方。既已表示願意締結新約。以代舊約。卽隱含廢止舊約之意。且日方一再還延。顯己打消第二十六條之六個月修約期限。則該條「如在六個月內。不能締結新約。舊約依然有效。」一節。當然亦應打消。總之雙方既經同意廢止一八九六年條約。則日方所應爲者。卽和衷共濟。共訂新約是也。若斤斤以二十六條爲護身符。以頑固之態度。反抗舊約之廢止。是淆惑公衆。是置公理與常識於不顧也。

▲情勢變遷學說▼廢止條約。尚有一原理。卽情勢變遷學說是也。按兩國條約。係依照當時情勢而締結。此種情勢。以後如根本改變。以致對於一方之國權幸福與發展。大不適合。該方可請求對方。修改或廢止雙方之條約。如對方不允其請求。儘可將條約宣告無效。此乃雙方訂約時之隱含條件。亦卽情勢變遷學說之釋義也。查該學說與國際公法，有同樣之悠久。非但由法人克洛休在其所著之「平時與戰爭法」中。公然承認。亦爲撰著國際公法者。素所擁護。且實用上亦予實施。茲舉最近數案。以作明證。查一八〇七年。俄國根據情勢變遷學說。將其一八〇七年條約內載明之束縛。宣告無效。依該約內容。俄國應遵守本國軍艦在黑海中不能自由行動之義務。旋俄國以多腦河各君主聯盟。列强既經默認。且海戰情形。以利用鐵質軍艦。與訂約時情形。大相逕庭。故貿然宣告該種義務失效。卒得達其目的。（見荷蘭所著歐洲對於東方問題之協謀書）一九〇三年。奧匈聯合國。拒受一八七八年柏林條約之束縛。突然併吞鮑斯泥與黑脅格維泥兩地。依照該條約條件。奧匈應尊重土耳其之君權。而奧匈出此斷然政策。蓋根據彼時土耳其情勢變遷。將影響其在該兩地之地位故也。同時布加利亞。依同樣理由。拒受柏林條約之束縛。一九一四年。德國鑒於比利時地理與軍事情形之變遷。拒受一八三九年條約之束縛。使比國中立。一九一五年。希臘不遵守一九一三年與塞國締結之條約。依該條約內容。他國侵犯布加利亞時。希臘應予協助。（其餘各案。參閱茄納所著情勢變遷學說一篇。刊登一九二七年四月份美國國際公法雜誌。）

按尋常慣例。訂約之一方。未得對方之同意。概不得單獨將條約廢止。蓋條約之性質。與平常之合同同。未曾到期。不得無故作廢。免負違背條約之罪。而危及國際睦誼。惟平常終隱含一種後隨之事。此種事情，一經發生。卽能使合同無效。故國際條件。亦有此種隱含意義。廢止條約之要求。卽根於是焉。

▲情勢變遷學說之運用▼情勢變遷學說。可作爲修改陳舊商務條約之根據。茲摘錄國民政府外交部長王正廷博士致意國公使照會之一節於左。

「自中國全權大使與意大利於一八六六年十月二十六日（卽同治五年九月十八日）在北京訂立友誼商務航海條約以來。瞬經六十載。在此長時期內。兩國彼時之政治經濟及商務狀况。已經根本改革。或竟消滅無存。查一八六六年之條約與當時情勢。有密切之關係。現在情勢變遷。爲中國與意大利利益起見。該條約不應繼續存在。」

我國締結現行各商務條約時。國際關係。範圍殊小。社會經濟及政治發展。尙未開始。國外貿易。視作等閒。而外人之旅華者亦鮮。一切關於稅則及治外法權之條件。皆係自己罔從。惟近三十年來。我國之社會經濟及政治狀况。已經根本改革。國際關係。範圍日廣。國外貿易。增加百倍。國內外僑。日見增多。政治經濟及社會之發展。日益明顯。觀於此種根本改革。則該項不平等商務條約。非但陳舊不堪。而對於我自由國之發展。殊爲一極大障礙。且此種改革。確在情勢變遷學說之範圍內。我國以之爲修約要求之根據。各列强亟應允從。否則我國儘可根據該主義而宣告該約之失效。亦不可謂爲不合正義也。條約中載明修約條款。以便按時修改。非特不致阻礙情勢變遷學說之施用。且足表示雙方願意施行該學說之意志。故王外長繼續其言曰。

「我人應憶。一八六六年條約第二十六條內固明載各條欵得按時修改。更顯中意兩方條約關係。應行整頓之必要。」

▲依公正的外交方式廢止條約▼應行修改或廢止之條約之第一類。已經上文。詳加討論。茲將第二類條約。（卽未到期條約）略事討論。此項條約。亦可依情勢變遷學說。宣告廢止。但國民政府。儘可用對美對英同樣之外交手續。提議立卽修改。按條約之成。成於雙方之同意。而其廢。亦廢於雙方之同意。固無須別種理由也。國民政府。可用公正的外交方式。使協約國允准。廢止未到期條約。而協約國或能明哲過人。以爲卽無此種不平等條約之存在。正可獲得商務上較大之便利機會。協約國中。或有爲表示友誼。體恤中國起見。願自動釋中國不平等條約之重縛者。此皆意中事也。美國務卿凱洛克。於一九二五年九月四日。公然宣布美國正擬考慮中國政府要求修訂現行條約之提議。一九二七年一月二十七日。渠在特脫立省美國律師公會常年大會中。重申其說。故美政府卽訓令美公使馬慕瑞。自動修訂舊約。承認中國關稅自主。聞英政府亦將步美國之後塵。可知修改條約。不斤斤於用專門法律或主義之步驟。祇須依友誼的外交手續進行而足矣。

▲修約手續並未操之過急▼國民政府外交部長王正廷博士所宣佈之修約計畫大都依據凡爾賽。日內瓦。洛加諾諸會議。國際互助之精神而進行。不能謂爲倉卒或急進。查國際盟約起草員。鑒於中國與上述各列强間之種種不平等條約。特於盟約中。訂定下列第十九條。「本會得時時通知聯盟會會員。對於不適用之條約。重加考慮。對於國際條約。苟予以繼續則足以危及世界之平安者。預加以愼重之考慮。」由此觀之。我國條約之亟宜修改。固早由國際聯盟會。遂爲之計矣。華人要求修約之嘗試。已一而再。再而三。至今日而達於極點。有此項計畫之發現。此次公然宣布。早在列强逆料中。當一九〇二年至一九〇八年間。（此六年爲修改商務條件之期）又在一九一九年凡爾賽和平會議，暨一九二一年華盛頓會議中。列强曾允諾爲中國解除不平等條約之束縛。一九二五年。中比條約廢止。一九二六年。西班牙葡萄牙法日等國。先後得我方正式照會。故我國民政府此次要求修改或廢止商務條約之決心。乃我方屢次嘗試修訂不平等條約之一定結果。此誠我人長時期之夙望。固不得謂爲倉卒之舉動也。

大。故該局擬在其他重要政治商業中心點。設建分台。俾應需要。

我國尙無獨立的國際間無線電交通之建設。故建設委員會正籌劃建築一強力短波電台於上海。以利中國與外國之通信。不久將舉辦一無線電廠。以供無線電料之大需求。上海已經設有一電生訓練學校。該委員會並擬增加進口無線電料之捐稅。所有稅率。已由該局規訂。呈送國定稅則委員會參攷。舊台所用之濕波機。將代以新式機具。藉以遵從一九二七年華盛頓萬國無線電會議之章程。該局正擬訂章程。經國府核准後。由建設委員會頒佈。茲擇其重要各條列左。

(一)管理船隻停船站之規程。
(二)管理學習與實驗各電台之規程。
(三)管理普通電台之規程。
(四)管理無線電生訓練學校之規程。
(五)裝置普通收電機之特許。
(六)無線電工程師證明書。
(七)無線電生之特許證。
(八)規定各電台次數表。
(九)規定呼號之章程。

以上爲無線電局的功績。及卽將實行的計畫之大概情形。

余意我國南北統一。百業待舉。目前無線電之發展情形。不過方在開始。前途希望無窮。惟成功之度量。全恃我人之努力。與公衆人士之熱心扶助焉。

中國不平等條約之廢除與修改

R. T. Huang

七月七日。中國國民政府頒佈告如下：

「所有已經到期各國際條約。應一律作廢。正與各關係列強。另訂新約。至未到期各條約。應由國民政府。依公正之外交方式。立予修改。特此佈告。」

此項佈告頒發後。外部卽照會法。意。日，丹麥。西班牙。葡萄牙。及合衆國各公使。請其將國民政府決定廢止或修改各種現行商務條約。與另訂新約之意。轉達各該屬政府。

上項照會。係專指商務條約而言。蓋商務條約。依目今情勢。最爲急切而重要。外交部之決意。固合於論理者也。

▲修改或廢止條約之兩原理▼ 按七月七日之佈告。分應行修改或廢止之條約爲兩類。第一類卽到期條約。到期條約。既經該佈告宣告無效。則中國與各關係列強間之國際交涉。當依外交部發佈之臨時辦法處理。茲錄此項臨時辦法於后。

第一條 以下各條所稱之「外國」與「外人」。係指明與中國所訂條約。已經滿期。而尙未締結新約之各列強。

第二條 外國之外交官。及領事之旅居中國者。應依國際公法原則。受相當之待遇。

第三條 外人在華之生命財產。應受中國法律之保障。

第四條 旅華外人。應順從中國法律。並服從其裁判。

第五條 自外國或由外人運華。暨自中國運送外國之各貨。在中國國定稅則未實行前。概依現行海關稅則辦理。

第六條 旅華外人須依現行章程與華人同樣納稅。

第七條 其他未盡事宜。概依國際公法及中國法律辦理。

第二類。卽未到期條約。當依公正之外交方式。立予修改。

第二類條約。應根據兩種原理。蓋有因約上載明廢止條款。而已滿期者。廢止第一類條約。係祇限於稅則與商務條件而言。惟依國際公法原則。解釋各條約之廢止條款。有雖依約上修改條款。或可依舊有效。然我人可根據情勢變遷學說。而宣告其不必拘泥於字面。須審察全約之意義。稅則與商務條件。固屬條約中之重要部分。然修訂時。其他部分。亦須顧及。否則其餘部分。將不完全。而失訂約之原意。且也。依條約原文。雙方之意。非特修改稅則與商務條件而已。卽其他與其有密切關係之部分。亦在修改之列。換言之。此項廢止條款。非僅修改條款。值是廢止條款耳。

▲別俱特異之中日條約▼ 我人解釋約上之修改條款時。尙有一困難問題。蓋有指明於每十年到期「前」六個月內。由一方通知。卽可廢止。有指明於每十年到期「後」六個月內。由一方通知。然後廢止者。關於十年到期後六個月內廢止者，日本條約。最爲特異。據密勒報言。該條約之修改條款。完全出於日方之狡詐。茲錄一八九六年中日條約第二十六條於左。

「雙方允洽。無論何方。於條約成立日起。至十年之末。可要求修改本條約稅則與商務條件。倘於最初十年末後六個月內。並無要求或修改情事。本條約暨一切稅則。應自最初十年末起。再繼續有效十年。以後每隔十年。照上述同樣辦理。

▲日方解釋不近理論▼ 八月七日，日方致通牒於我。作以下之強辯。「如雙方不能同意。本條約決無廢止之可能。又修改條約之談判。如不能於六個月內查北京政府。於一九二六年十月二十六日。(卽條約到期日)曾正式照會日政府。告以修改條約之意。日方亦表示同意。此固關心中日國際關係者。已經注意者也。其後中日雙方。立派代表。起草新約。擬於六個月限期內完事。詎經數次會議後，對於新約條件。雙方不能同意。爰由日方代表。請求展限三月。我政府准之。既而再請展限三月。一而再。再而三。至五次之多。查末次展限，以今歲七月二十日爲止。國民政府外交部長王正廷博士。於七月十九日通知日

(三)鐵路中心及路點。幷商港地。設新式市街。各具公用設備。
(四)水力之發展。
(五)設冶鐵製綱幷造土敏土之大工廠。以供上列各項之需。
(六)鑛業之發展。
(七)農業之發展。
(八)蒙古新疆之灌溉。
(九)於中國北部及中部。建造森林。
(十)移民於東三省蒙古新疆青海西藏。以營墾殖。

關於上列具體而詳細的計畫。原書詳載無遺。孫氏云。此項計畫。不過一種「概略—材料有限。皆係粗俗之見。須經科學考究。加以修改」惟皆係革新中國的需要物。倘能完全實行。爲助不少。故國民政府採取建設國家與發展經濟策略。應以孫氏計畫爲指導師。

▲進行表之需要▼ 進行順序。須依孫氏計畫。權其重要。早日規訂。查運輸交通。爲國家疏通經濟之首要物。故建築鐵道與馬路。爲目今最要之圖。依孫氏計畫。中國須有七系鐵道。橫亘全國。中國北部鐵道。較南部爲多。我人應先從南部着手。而對於水道尙且缺乏之處。更宜注意。按西南系鐵道幹線之經過廣西貴州雲南四川東南部湖南西南部及廣東西半部者。亟須建造。蓋此等地段。鑛源豐富。轉運須求迅速。目今自鑛源運貨至上列各省。費時往往須數星期之久。以視北方。則開闢蒙古新疆與移民該處。惟西北系鐵道是賴。至於現有鐵道。以完成粵漢路與展長隴海路。最爲重要。

改良電報制度。與發展長途電話與無線電話事業。足以促進國民生活之一致與實效。且此種計畫。泰半可立生利益。

▲實業與農業▼ 孫氏計畫中。主張幫助農業。及促進實業。雖爲發展交通計畫之補添物。然亦有同等的急切。河道之開濬。與陸地之灌溉。足以增多可耕田之畝數。煤源之整頓水道之利用。足以增大實業之發動力。凡此皆足鼓勵與增加國家之出產品。按精細的考察。導淮河與西江。殊屬有利。而廣東北河之水電發展。亦有完成希望。國產物增加。則人民之購買力愈大。而國際貿易亦隨之可增大矣。

有利投資之大好機會。已由上文詳述。我人極願受領依平等而有法則的外人投資。試再援引孫氏之言。渠云。「華人對於中國財源之發展。極表歡迎。惟以此種發展。須遠避官僚之腐敗。且足使中國及與我人合作之各國。互得利益爲限。」並云。「此種國際合作。足以鞏固人類友愛之誼。」爲完成上述一切理財計畫起見。我人須與放債人以種種之保證。放債人應供給組織與行政之人物。以及各項專家。換言之。我人對於完美的商業調度。甚表歡迎。

▲消息之需要▼ 歐戰後歐洲各國羣謀建設。然工程浩大。故年來國際資本市場。完全從事於此項工作。蓋資本性質。不僅流入穩固而有利之處。祇要利息優厚。卽足吸引之。目今歐洲已經恢復。對於美國財政確斷。竟有表示恐慌者。查英美兩國。最爲富庶。故倫敦與紐約。對於籌劃其敷餘金錢之出路。將繼續忙於應付。與理財家携手者。爲工業用具之製造家。彼等亟謀推廣其銷路。無時或已。至於中國市場。目下最需要者爲消息。此種消息。宜豐富而準確。且須求普遍。

中國之經濟發展。已成爲全世界的問題。孫氏伸述著「國際共同發展中國實業計畫書」之目的。爲「爲全世界與全中國人民謀福利。擬盡我個人能力。完成全世界之和平。」觀於中國之地大人衆。當知此種問題之價值。眼光遠大而心懷善意之政治家。當詣羣起解決之。

中國之無線電

張人傑

近今利用一百米達下之短波電磁。實開無線電工程之新紀元。無線電建築省費。運用簡便。故革命軍北伐以來。已得盛行於中國。現在重要軍隊中。皆設輕便無線電。而各首要都市。皆設有無線電台。傳達軍事消息。查無線電對於軍事行動。功效殊大。前方後方無法傳遞之消息。無線電能傳遞之。一九二七年秋。龍潭戰爭時。無線電之功效。益加明顯。按北軍偷渡長江。南京以東。電線均被割斷。情勢危急。革命軍軍隊調遣。完全藉空中無靜電波之力。故結果反革命軍一敗塗地。而北伐第二時期於焉告成。

▲無線電穩固的立足地▼ 無線電在軍事中之立足地。旣日漸穩固。未始不可用以爲公衆通信之媒介。按責成建設委員會担任發展無線電事業之議案。業經中央政治委員會通過。而無線電事業之各項條例。亦已由國民政府通過。經該委員會頒布。各無線電台。已由該條例規定。而普通章程。亦已規訂。並擬組織一無線電局。任担管理與建築事宜。全國將劃分監督無線電區域五處。以江蘇浙江安徽爲第一區域。河北河南山西山東熱河察哈爾及綏陽爲第二區域。廣東廣西雲南福建及江西爲第三區域。湖北湖南貴州四州西康陝西甘肅青海及西藏爲第四區域。奉天吉林黑龍江新疆及蒙古爲第五區域。監督辦公處。各自設在上海天津廣州漢口及奉天等處。公務無線電台。由無線電交通局擁有。並全權經營。而普通電台則由政府或私立商業機關擁有之。附屬海陸軍之各電台。則由各該管當局經辦。惟管理權則操之無線電局。以期各站劃一。五百噸以上之輪船。概須裝置無線電。藉以保障全船之生命財產。該局並有規定各站波長或次數。及批准新電台呼號之權。此爲「空中事業」維持與推廣之方針。

無線電交通局已依照該條例組織就緒。委任李範一君爲督辦李爲前軍事委員會交通處處長。可稱中國無線電事業之先進者。中國軍事無線電發展如斯迅速。皆李君指揮教導之功也。

▲無線電交通局之功績▼ 公務通信無線電之設置。爲該局第一次最重大之功績。爲期不及二月。而南京上海北平天津漢口廣州太原奉天雲南府歸化及張家口之短波電台。已經完成。以上各台完全經辦公務通信事宜。八月份南京上海北平天津四站之收入。達二萬元之鉅。從各方面觀之。此種事業。前途希望甚

購買外國貨。蓋經濟軍器。對於工業國。較鎗砲更爲兇猛也。外人何不放棄其陳舊不堪而難以實行之條約。而以新條約代之。以中國之誠意保護外人之權利。經濟問題。則當以經濟方法解決而不宜涉及政治。凡此種種麻煩問題。後來政治家。其將依經濟方法設法解決之乎。

利用外資以發展中國實業

孫科

當滿朝之末。中國漸知實業之重要。各種國立事業。鐵路航路。冶鐵製鋼廠。煤鑛。兵工廠。以及船塢等。次第舉辦。然不久即呈腐敗零落之象。辛亥光復。袁氏即位。軍閥得勢。一切設施。更形顛倒。費十七年之辛苦。國民黨始得將反動派剷除。而握全國政治權。在此奮鬥期中。我人經濟進行。不知犧牲多少。今幸政治革命。宣告完成。惟我人欲求適當的經濟發展。須有一新式而健全的制度。

然則國民黨下之中國。將如何而可以實行其經濟建設與發展之計畫乎。此種問題。足以引起全世界之注意。孫中山先生在其一九二一年所著「國際共同發展中國實業計畫書」中。表示深願外國資本。帮助發展中國之鐵路及道路。河道之開濬與灌溉。與夫都市海口基本實業及公用設備等。茲將孫氏計畫。臚列於后。

(一)運輸交通之開發。
(甲)鐵道十萬英里。
(乙)鋪石馬路一百萬英里。
(丙)修濬現有運河。
(子)杭州天津間運河。
(丑)西江揚子江間運河。
(丁)新開運河。
(子)遼河松花江間運河。
(丑)其他運河。
(戊)治河
(子)揚子江築堤。濬水路。起漢口。迄於海。以便航洋船直達該港。無間冬夏。
(丑)黃河築堤。濬水路。以免洪水之泛溢。
(寅)導西江。
(卯)導淮河。
(辰)導其他河流。
(己)增設電報線電話及無線電等。使徧布於全國。
(二)商港之開闢。
(甲)於中國中部北部南部。各建一大洋港口。如紐約港者。
(乙)沿海岸建種種之商業埠及漁港。
(丙)於通航河流沿岸。建商船船埠。

。苟不能加以整頓。藉使雙方滿意。則全世界不能保持和平。日本問題。固爲經濟問題。則當以經濟方法解決而不宜涉及政治。凡此種種麻煩問題。後來政治家。其將依經濟方法設法解決之乎。

(三)此種條約制度。完全由各國之陰謀嫉妒與惡意所規定。故在在足以破壞遠東之和平。列强方面。竭力維持其權利。並時時擬擴大之。同時互相嫉妒。中國方面。則滿擬脫離其以前之束縛。而恢復其自由。兩方漸趨極端。危機已經隱伏。觀於最近山東情形。與國民軍與日軍之衝突。可知此言之不虛。故廢除此種不平等條約制度。即所以廢除遠東及全世界和平之障礙也。

日俄爲中國之近鄰。關係密切。中俄關係。因俄國干預中國內政。業經斷絕。當蘇俄自願放棄其條約權利。並表同情於國民黨時。中國與蘇俄。似有聯合之勢。然其後莫斯哥共黨。在中國境內作種種顛與黨義相背之宣傳。於是中國民黨中之共產份子。皆受屏棄。去歲十二月。廣州有共產黨一小隊起事。佔據廣州三天。人民於此三天內。備受痛苦。其後查得廣州俄領事館。大有嫌疑。因此在國民黨管轄境內之俄領事館。一律被封。而俄國各種企業。亦受限制。蘇俄苟能證明不干涉中國內政。則國民政府當樂爲與其近鄰依舊來往也。

中日關係。目今爲全球所注意。自一九一五年廿一條條件及日本割據山東後。兩國關係。逐漸緊張。自一九二二年日軍依華盛頓會議議案退出山東後。情勢漸鬆。且日政府對於中國。純取和平政策。故深爲華人所器重。

一九二七年四月日。內閣傾覆。素來偏袒廿一條條件之軍閥派領袖田中得勢。爲首相兼外交總長。受任之初。即宣告屏棄一切前任之政策。對於中國。開始利用「絕對政策」。迨革命軍節節勝利。深入山東。田中突然遣兵濟南。以保護日僑爲藉口。國民政府外交部長。深恨此種侵犯國權行爲。提出抗議。並聲明如有意外事件發生。日本須完全負責。日軍旋即退回。幸無意外發生。

今歲國軍又入山東。意圖克復北京。統一中國。而日政府又重演其舊政策。外交部照例對日政府提出抗議。不料中日兩軍在濟南衝突。至濟案詳情。盡人皆知。毋庸贅述。姑無論孰是孰非。中日兩軍。在中國領土內衝突。則爲彰明昭著之事實。苟外國在中國無論何處有遣兵保護外僑之權。則中國全國必爲外軍所蹂躪。而中國之獨立與領土權。將成空談。苟日本能藉口保護千餘住居內地二百六十英里之日僑。(查此種日僑大半係小店商如怕危險搬遷極易)不顧中國國權。突然派遣二三千軍隊。則別國亦可藉口保護其五六外僑。而派遣二萬軍隊。深入中國內地一千英里矣。

日本對於滿洲之無理要求。最爲中日關係之要點。日本有經濟利益於滿洲。並需要滿洲之財源與原料。然依日本最近宣告。中國軍隊無論南軍或北軍。不得進駐滿洲。而日軍之屯駐滿洲者。則日見增多。須知此種地方。皆爲中國境界。我人觀於日本之舉動。不禁驚心動魄矣。

苟欲使山東與滿洲成爲亞洲之阿爾薩羅倫。則種種問題。必須解決。中日關係

爲實行以上各項起見。將建造試驗室與公衆實驗室。俾各商品得免夾雜或影射之弊。各種工業方法。須經過科學研究。結果應公佈全國。討論工商計畫之特別委員會。業經組織。其中委員。皆爲全國領袖製造家及專家。

(五) ▲促進勞資雙方之和協▼罷工及其他工人騷擾。素爲美國政治家所注意。中國現亦感受其影響。查勞資兩方爭執純爲自殺政策。而對於工業尙在幼稚時代之中國爲尤甚。故政府當竭力調解資本家與工人間之誤會。並指示合作爲雙方之唯一救濟方法。工會與其他工界組織。須加以相當之管束。勞資糾紛之須待政府調停者。政府當立卽設法平靜之。政府之目的。爲使全國人民處于同等地位。無論何人不准得特殊之便利。而有礙他人之利益。

(六) ▲工界之幸福▼工人爲國家實業之撐柱。故工人之幸福。政府將時時顧及。工商部正設法提高工人智慧上的地位。工廠當時時查察或監督。俾保障工人之生活。而限制童工之法令。亦將切實實行。總之政府將孜孜迄迄。務使人民日常所得之安舒。堪與他國人民所得者相比較。

(七) ▲外人之合作▼大規模之工商事業。大部分藉外人之合作。利用外資與人才。當予以鼓勵。國際商務來往。非特予以維持。且須促進之。祇要根據平等互惠精神。而尊重我國國權是已。

以上所述。不過本部於訓政時期後三年內所擬完成的重要方略之數端。其餘需要者尙多。然余深信既有根據三民主義經濟方面之基礎。在我國進入第三時期憲政時期時。工商業之發展。當有蒸蒸日上之勢。

內政部訓政時期工作概述

薛篤弼

本黨自出師北伐二年以來戡定長江收復幽燕訓政工作於茲開始而內政部分較爲繁要欲其措置盡善自非最短時期所能奏效本部當遵照本黨政綱及歷屆宣言並參酌各省地方情勢確定施政之程序計日課功以完成各省地方自治爲最終地目的

現在各省軍事甫經結束安民戡匪均不可緩治標之法擬以籌辦急賑整頓警衛爲入手先使民衆能安其居而後地方自治事業始得順利進行

欲完成自治須賴有良好之施政人才與縝密適用之法制在中央考試院未成立以前國民政府自有臨時考試官吏之規定本部當本此規定督飭各省愼選縣長及佐治人才並督飭分別設立地方行政人員及各級辦理自治人員訓練機關實行訓練以爲協助人民籌備自治試行四權之準備至於關係內政各項法制現時立法院尙未成立當由本部會同法制局草擬民政土地警政衛生各法規請由中央決定公布以爲施政根據

在實行籌備自治之初期舉凡整頓吏治調查戶口亦爲內政必要之工作關於整頓吏治卽照新頒法規實行考查成績並派視察員分赴各省詳加調查督促改進務期根本掃除軍閥時代地方官吏之各種積弊與陋習俾臻治理關於調查戶口當督促各省於最短時間將境內戶口調查清楚俾成一精確之統計以立自治基礎

此外改良市政促進衛生厲行禁煙修治道路整理土地開墾荒地興辦水利等等均爲本部要政亟應分別籌劃次第舉辦

按照本黨建國大綱縣爲自治之單位一省全數之縣皆達完全自治者則爲憲政開始時期本部自當就其職掌所存努力訓政建設逐序進行務使全國各縣人民食衣住行之四大需要漸有安定之可能選舉罷免創制複決四權之使用得有充足之訓練而後憲政時期可以開始

工作之計劃大要略如上述現在國民政府訓政時期行政綱領及其進行程序不久卽將頒布關於內政部所主管之事項亦已爲詳明之敘列嗣後進行之步驟當一本施政之程序逐序設施也

國民黨之外交關係

伍朝樞

中國國民政府之外交政策。屢經孫中山先生宣佈。並載明國民黨黨綱。甚爲明確。撮要言之。卽「中國在國際聯盟中。求實際上絕對獨立與平等的地位。凡與中國以平等待遇而尊重其主權者。中國概視爲友邦。」此種政策。世界各獨立國與其他國交際時。都經採用。並係國際禮讓原理之推論。固極普通者也。中國或因戰敗。或因罔從。受片面的條約之束縛。致處卑賤之地位。已百年於茲。故現在突然奮鬥。力爭權利。列强不免目爲革命或排外舉動。依國民政府外交政策。駐華外人之權利。概予承認並保護。與駐英美人所享者同。惟一八四二年以來。外人由治外法權而得之特權。則將受影響。蓋此種特權。實有妨中國之國權。故應予廢除也

不平等條約。已不適合中國之現勢。蓋非但爲中國發展之大阻礙。且足危及中外友誼關係。故此種條約之廢除。不僅有利於華人。抑且有益於外人。

(一)不平等條約之廢除。足以鼓勵中國之經濟發展。且得外人合作之助力。發展愈速。蓋中國固歡迎外人投資與外人企業者也。孫總理在其所著。(中國的國際發展)中。竭力倡議利用外人之資本與專門學問。藉以開採中國之富源。然外人苟不願順從中國之法律。而處處要求豁免。則生意斷難發達。依條約原則。外人企業。範圍殊小。外人所享之權利固大。然亦有種種不便利。駐華外人。在各通商口岸。固忙於經商。而外人之在其本國者。則頗願爲其出產物開闢新市場也。外人特權。苟與取消。則外人企業。當不致受任何之限制。而我人可求國際合作。開闢全國之富源矣。

(二)條約關係之整頓。足予外人以較爲鞏固之保護。目今外人之權利。全特條約之保障。然有無實行之可能性者。而外人請求其本國政府强爲實行。固無時或已也。苟不强爲實行。則不免有損外國之威權。苟强予實行。則有傷國際感情。此種進退兩難之情形。深爲列强所承認。故列强主張解釋條約上之權利。不必拘泥於字義。查砲艦政策之失敗。漸形明顯。鎗砲雖大。終不能强迫華人

新中國之實業計畫

孔祥熙

「國民皆受教育並有職業。土地得盡其生產力。天然財源得依科學方法發展。並利用適當。各種貨物。運送便利。接近市場。則……」——孫逸仙

我開國元勳孫中山先生。終其生奔走國事。其主要目的。無非爲國人謀幸福。孫氏固深知渠與諸同志所擔任之工作之重大。然其決心。從未猶豫。外界之顚沛。內部之陰謀。殊不足以餒其氣也。故其忠實黨徒。在軍事時期內得以支持者。以有此種不屈不撓之精神。爲之鼓勵也。按軍事時期。爲孫氏所定完成全國公民教育三時期中之第一時期。

現在北伐完成。訓政時期。已經開始。在此時期內。國民政府之主要目的。爲全體之重建。全國同胞。亟應竭其智力。置中國於文化上經濟上的鞏固地位。此爲應盡之天職。對於指導與促進工商事業。則爲余之責任。余前曾有實業計畫之貢獻。苟能依此次第實行。則爲助於全國幸福者不少矣。

建設實業之先。第一步須考察全國之天然出產物。(即製造原料)然後籌畫改良與增加之方法 依現在狀況。工潮發生。已成習慣。似不宜建設新事業。故調解勞資糾紛。俾雙方聯手。依三民主義互謀國家之福利。爲目今較爲切要之圖。

工商部於後三年內。除例行公事外。擬從事於根本辦法。而依下列計畫次第實行之。

(一) ▲工商條律與章程之規訂與頒布▼查良善之條律。足爲國家建設之骨骼。時會變遷。有修改之必要。茲將工商部正在規訂中之重要條律與章程。臚列於左。

管理商會章程　商標法
組織工會與其他會社章程　管理證券交易所章程
行號註冊章程　管理合作社法
管理度量衡章程　調停勞資糾紛章程
管理工廠章程
專賣特許法
保險法

工商部爲考實人民之需要起見。已組織一特別委員。名爲工商法規委員會。委員大半爲著名律師商人及實業界領袖。皆屬顧問性質。對於工商部所訂之重要法規。隨時開會討論。

(二) ▲編訂工商統計▼欲知我國工商業確實情形。必須有精密之統計。工商部採集關於全國工商業情形之消息。較爲便利。特派專員。分赴各處調查一切。下列統計。正在編訂中。

製造統計
商業統計
工業統計
出產物目錄
貿易數量目錄
生活程度目錄
商務年報

對於此項特別工作。工商部現正請求全國各本地當局之合作。查經濟討論所。成立以來。已八年于茲。現已由國民政府命令。歸工商部節制。該所現在編輯之出版物有四。即「中國經濟公報」。(係週報)「中國經濟雜誌」。(係月報)「統計附錄」。以上均用英文。尙有「經濟雜誌半月刊」。則用中文。關於經濟上之訊問。一概答覆。

該所此次重行組織者。爲應新中國實業計畫之特別需要起見也。此種組織。在外國盛行已久。深望該所增加新節目。以供公衆討論。工商部亦發行月報。詳載府令與部令。以及其他重要經濟事項。各種論述。亦時時發行。

爲促進國際貿易計。擬派遣專員。往外國考察工商業情形。並在全世界各商務重要中心點。從事調查。

(三) ▲規定度量衡標準▼度量衡制之不一律。最足阻礙中國工商業之發展。所謂「官尺」甲業與乙業。甲地與乙地。均有不同。北京曾有採用度量衡標準之建議。然結果失敗。其故有二。(一)北京政府之命令。除山西外。各省都不遵行。(二)所採用之兩標準。數學上毫不相關。致失統一之本旨。本部建設南京以來。對於現行制度。曾加以精密之考查。依本部提議而由國民政府中央執行委員會通過之兩標準。名爲二。而實爲一。國際制度。或稱適當制度。已經採爲度量衡之絕端標準。同時暫用一普通而實用之標準。爲適當制之先導。此種普通標準。係適當度量衡之簡單分數。與民衆慣用者。相差無幾。譬如……

絕對的標準	實用標準	比率	採用的理由
長短——適當	一分之三	一與三	最近乎中國之普通「尺」
重量——公斤	一分之二公斤	一與二	近乎「肇平斤」
容量——立特	一立特	一與一	近乎中國一「升」

普通標準與絕對標準之比率。既若是簡單。數年後。普通標準摒棄。而全國一律採用適當制時。人民當不致感受不便利。

(四) ▲國內實業之促進▼一國實業上不能獨立。則全球將無其立足地。中國進口貨稅。較國內物品。輕鬆多多。此種妨礙。足使中國製造家難與外國製造家相競爭。政府所定獎勵國內製造辦法。略如左列。

展覽▲若市場。博覽會。商品陳列所。中國出產品陳列所等。

給獎金特權或專賣特許。藉以鼓勵發明之物。

將進口貨逐項分類。藉以保護我國商人。不致爲不公正之外商競爭所挫折。

將出口原料與完成貨品。逐項分類並解析。俾我出口商人。不致受扣留或拒絕之損失。

Mr. Wang Loh-ping 王樂平

Member of Central Executive Committee.

Mr. Ting Wei-fen 丁維汾

Member of Central Executive Committee.

Mr. Chu Ming-yeh 褚民誼

Member of Central Executive Committee.

Mr. Cheng Hung-nien 鄭洪年

Member of Central Executive Committee.

Mr. Ma Fu-hsiang 馬福祥

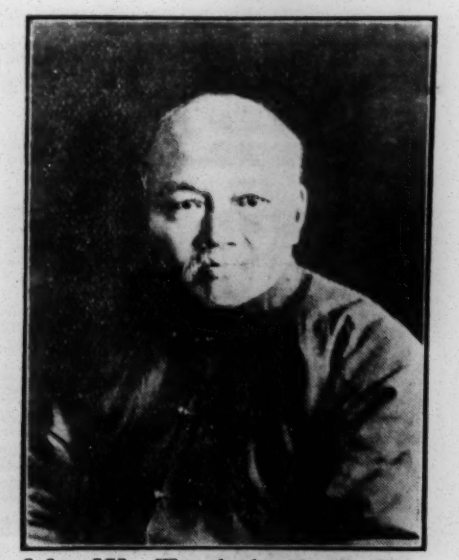
Member of Nationalist Military Council.

Mr. Chen Kung-po 陳公博

Member of Central Executive Committee.

Mr. Chiang Mong-ling 蔣夢麟

Minister of Education of Nationalist Government.



Mr. Wu Tze-hui 吳稚暉

Member Central Supervisory Committee.

又無任何概念。然交通便利。人民接觸之機會又多。西方之民主思想。固已源源流入日本矣。凡此皆係遠東情勢之要旨。讀報諸君。對於此種情勢。苟能了解。則對於中日國際間發生無已之困難問題。亦能明瞭矣。

中國條約問題

王正廷

我國在國際上所處之地位。應保持平等。並彼此尊重國權。此全國同胞素所要求者也。我國民政府之唯一政策。亦爲達到此項目的而已。即開國元勳孫中山先生。數十年來。致力革命。亦無非爲達到此項目的。臨終時。尤遺囑諸同志繼續奮鬪。廢除一切不平等條約。俾早日副民衆之熱望。時會幾經變遷。我人尚受此不平等條約之羈絆。天下不公之事。莫有甚於此者乎。查此種條約。大半已經到期。或將到期。我人要求修改。使我國國際上之地位。較我國與列强所訂現行條約。大半係三十年前。依彼時情形所締結者。

爲優勝。俾附合國際公道之原理。是無可置辯者也。

到期條約。概不續訂。我方已照會各列强。早日談判。締結新約。以平等互惠彼此尊重爲基礎。至於未到期條約。亟應修改。以應事勢之要求。我方亦已照會各關係國矣。

爲維持世界和平。增進國際感情起見。我人深信列强當及時放棄其條約上之特殊權利。不然者。始終違背我人之願望。而列强與我國之誤會。永無諒解之日。即列强與列强間。亦將引起糾紛矣。我人深信不平等條約之廢除。不過時日問題。列强曷不自動放棄其勢難保持之權利。而必欲迫而爲之乎。雖然。事勢如斯。列强對於我政府。最後必當給予相當待遇。與敬重。與世界任何新自由國一視同仁也。

查我國與列强締結之條約。其最不平等處有兩點。即關稅自主。與治外法權是也。

▲固有的特權▼ 世界各自由國。皆有釐訂稅則。管理關稅之權。而我國自一八四二年以來。此項固有權。已被褫奪。鴉片之戰。南京條約成立。五口通商。關稅訂定一律值百抽五。一八四三年。依彼時貨價。規訂初次稅則。自是年至一八五八年間。貨價逐跌。值百抽五之關稅。似乎太重。列强羣起要求修改稅則。卒於一八五八年實行新則。自此以後。貨價漸高。而延至一九〇二年。尙不修改。越十年。我方又提議修改。俾與實在貨價相附合。而列强置若罔聞。經六年之談判。始克修訂我國要求關稅自主。始於歐戰結束後。其時德奧及匈牙利。自動放棄其在華特權。旋我方於華盛頓會議中。曾提出嚴重表示要求訂立日期。廢除條約上之關稅一款。而列强堅不同意。於是我國代表。即聲明「中國當隨時利用相當時機。提出該問題討論。」

一九二五年。遵照華盛頓條約之容納。召集關稅會議初次全會。到會各國代表有十三人。我國代表。又提議要求列强承認我國關稅自主權。依前三年之時勢。我方要求。確係正當。於是美國即於去年六月。與我訂約。首先承認我國

▲自由國之無上權▼ 自由國之政治。當由自己管理。此一國之無上權也。推而論之。即在本國領土內。能完全行使裁判權是也。即無論何國人。在自由國領土內居住者。須受該國法律之節制。而我國則不然。反受治外法權之束縛。查治外法權之歷史。始於十九世紀中。當我國讓給治外法權時。列强在華通商口岸。已達五十。祇有五處。其後我國逐漸自動讓給。至今日而列强通商口岸。實際上我國無權管理之者。其他城市。姑置不論。是即我國領土內之居民。

日見增加之明證也。

▲自由國之無上權▼ 自由國之政治。當由自己管理。此一國之無上權也。推而論之。即在本國領土內。能完全行使裁判權是也。即無論何國人。在自由國領土內居住者。須受該國法律之節制。而我國則不然。反受治外法權之束縛。領土內居住者。須受該國法律之節制。而我國則不然。反受治外法權之束縛。查治外法權之歷史。始於十九世紀中。當我國讓給治外法權時。列强在華通商口岸。已達五十。祇有五處。其後我國逐漸自動讓給。至今日而列强通商口岸。實際上我國無權管理之者。其他城市。姑置不論。是即我國領土內之居民。

日見增加之明證也。

我人早已洞悉。一九〇二年。英國允准我國於司法改良後。治外法權之禍害。我人早已洞悉。一九〇二年。英國允准我國於司法改良後。治外法權之禍害。日美兩國。於一九〇三年。瑞士於一九〇八年。先後予方得取消其治外法權。日美兩國。於一九〇三年。瑞士於一九〇八年。先後予方得取消其治外法權。一九二四年。俄國我同樣之允許。歐戰後。德奧匈牙利。先後失其治外法權。一九二四年。俄國我同樣之允許。歐戰後。德奧匈牙利。先後失其治外法權。一九二四年。俄國我同樣之允許。歐戰後。德奧匈牙利。先後失其治外法權。

自動放棄其治外法國。並承認我國關稅自主。其後華盛頓會議。我國一再條陳自動放棄其治外法國。並承認我國關稅自主。其後華盛頓會議。我國一再條陳自動放棄其治外法國。並承認我國關稅自主。其後華盛頓會議。我國一再條陳計畫。擬將此種苛刻制度。酌量修改。或根本廢除。一九二六年一月。中國治外法權國際委員會。按照華盛頓會議議案。開會議於北京。

該委員會會作一度之保舉。並指明苟遵從我國之要求。則列强必須放棄其治外法權。當時列强提出反抗。以爲此種制度。不能立即廢除。緣列强對於華人是否已有處理司法之能力。多所懷疑故也。

▲中國法庭之適當▼ 然列强之懷疑。顯有謬誤之處。查德奧匈牙利。自廢棄在華特權以來。從未受若何之痛苦。又查當土耳其强迫泰西國各廢棄舊約時。(按該約載明對於旅土外國僑民。亦予同樣權利。)各國俱以爲必致發生不幸。而結果皆係杞人之憂。查列强對於波斯之治外權。已依照今歲五月十日簽訂之合同條款。予以廢棄。此深可注意者也。

按履行治外法權。須增添多數之法律與法庭。惟此項法律。性質雖各不同。而須得實施於同一地方。於是法制情形。必致複雜異常。即富有經驗之法律家。亦覺罔無適從之苦。且二三國間所訂之合同條件。各國對之。各有不同之意見。而法律之運用。遂無定例。結果使各關係人之商業。俱受無形之不便利。查外國之領事法庭。寥寥無幾。各項案件。須提交各重要通商口岸審理。以致各項必要證據及證人。不能全體到案。由此觀之。治外法權之制度。非特有損中國之國權。且弊端百出。華人與外人。皆受此項非常法律手續之害。故中國國際修約時。當以剷除此種制度爲先提。

廢除一切片面式的羈束。爲我人之唯一熱望。我國國際條約。俱屬不合法。世界各國。有與我國同等者。有不同等者。據確實消息。列强中已有數國。素享此種片面式的權利。而現已表示順從我國之民意。其他各國。當必步其後塵。此毋庸疑義者也。

之希望。然當常事整備。俾使於中國時局太平政府穩固時。立時予以援助。銀行團之方針。爲幫助中國之國家信用立於平安之地位。俾外界干預。得以逐漸消除。而借款事務與費用支配之管理權。完全操於中國之手。」

最近前中國外交總長現任駐美特使伍朝樞氏。在美國麻省惠霖公學惠霖湯政治會中演說。聲明國民政府對外人資本與企業。如外人無別種用意。深爲歡迎。並云華人不准外資得中國政治上之勢力。或用不仁手段。開墾中國之天然財源。伍氏續云。

「苟外國資助中國數百萬金。建設一鐵路。而該鐵路須由外國管理。或外國得於沿路各處。建立特殊之勢力。此種外國投資。我人絕端反對。

設外國借債於中國。爲酬報起見。訂立長期合同。指明某鑛公司之出產物。須以廉價出售於外國。致使該公司有破產之勢。而仍須日夜工作。以便遵守合同條件。以供外國之需求。對於此種借款。我人亦絕端反對。」

伍氏以爲國民政府應採取相當方法。藉以約束資本。及管理鐵路及其他公用事業。渠以爲依中國現在情形。各鐵路儘可由國家享有之。經營之。因中國土地散漫。交通不便。鐵路對於中國公衆事務之勢力殊大。伍氏云「此種勢力。不宜操於個人之手。更不宜操於外人之手。考各國勢資雙方之衝突。咸因此故。而共產主義存在之主要原因。亦在於此。政府苟能約束資本。則一切陷阱。可以避免。然後藉泰西各國之經驗。而得其益。我革命黨並無罔從西方制度而不管此種制度是否適宜於中國情形之意。我人之目的。爲保存我古時文化之精華。而採用適用於中國情形之西法。使中國成一政治上社會上經濟上最新式之國家。余深信此項計畫之成功。蓋我人之慾望。惟求國民之幸福。我人深信貴國必能予我以同情與幫助也。」

除伍氏言論外。其他革命黨領袖。亦有同樣之宣言。讀者可加以注意。該種宣言。皆聲明新中國並無沿用帝國時代或民國初數年之財政方針之意。蓋彼時外國銀行家與商人。方在北京施行其無恥之剝據政策。中國遂受無數盤剝重利之外債之重壓。至所借的款。咸消耗於一切浪費事業矣。國民政府。擬依其最近所宣告之財政方針。將各種合法外債。一律償清。然對於以後借債。擬用十分審愼之態度。查中國現今外債總數。(有擔保與無擔保者)連拖欠之息。達五萬萬美金之數。是否連日本私借之款。一併在內。則不得而知。此項外債。苟以華人每口計算而分擔之。則中國財政狀況。尙較他國爲佳。但參於國家之窮苦。達於極點。則又岌岌可危。年來內亂不息。國內各地。一貧如洗。人民咸樂從共產主義。以資補救。近數年內。中國將需用數千百萬元之經費。以助政府之進行。並充築路及建設鐵路學校及其他公用事業之用。中外銀行家。儘可籌盡清償債款及告借新款之事務。目下中國之進款財源。大半已作爲外債之抵押品。故須先發展別種財源。以作新債之擔保品。中國財源豐富。人民衆多。而又勤儉耐苦。然外國銀行家之有意幫助中國者。須知中華民國。現已爲革新之中華民國。人民中亦已啓發一種新思想。此乃過去經驗之天然結果。且新中國於其他各後進國之情形。頗形接近。按各該國曾以外債之故。致使借貸兩方。俱受重大之災厄。中國不久固將成爲外國投資場。惟一舉一動。對於各種情形。須加以完美之考慮。以上所述。不過此種情形之數點而已。

日本反對中華共和政體

鮑惠爾

日本對於現在國民政府之仇視。對於東三省(卽奉天吉林黑龍江簡稱滿州)及其他統屬國民政府各地與國民政府聯合之反對。非涉日方之新政策。觀於一九一一年初次革命時日方對華態度。而可明瞭。試參閱一九一一年至一九一二年之上海新聞紙。(其時中華民國已在南京建設)日本對於中華民國之建設。極力反對。並運動中國建設一改良君主政府。蓋深恐滿政府推翻。將影響日本民心而不利於其帝國式之政府。彼時上海報紙。競載日方消息。指示日本對於中國建設共和政府之恐懼。並披露日人運動華人捨共和而取君主之大陰謀。袁世凱之自稱爲皇。謀建新朝。日人慫恿。有以致之。而日本報紙。對英國表示忿恨。(其時英日聯盟尙有效)以英國對於日本之反對中國建設共和政府。不表同意故也。東京日報。當時有以下之評論。

「日本政府。以爲憲法君主政體。於中國最爲適宜。袁世凱接受首位時。固已隱含斯意矣。當倫敦與東京商議辦法調停北京與革命黨爭執時。東京提議。中國政體無論何種改革。須以君主爲根基。而英國無切實之答覆。雖然。日本當局。深望中國不致捨棄其君主信仰心。然觀於最近情形。中國一切事實。與日本之見解。背道而馳。故日本當局。深以爲憂。現正力謀解決方法云。」

日本對於一九一一年中國共和政府之建設。完全出於不備。故對於此次革命運動。亦毫無整備。按此次革命運動。實係極重要之社會與經濟革命。至日帝國之現代政體。以限於篇幅。不能完全暴露其眞相。總之名爲有限的君主政體。實係絕對的君主政體。人民權利。已剝削殆盡。日本國會。對於海陸軍之費用。既無加以限制之權。而最近田中內閣。採取對華政策。置國會與人民公意於顧。至日皇則等若木偶。一切財源。皆爲軍閥派與帝國主義所有。或歸其操躍不。由此觀之。日本政局。已危機隱伏。蓋新聞界田地派及各學校。咸有革命思想之表示。日本專權派。又藉外國借款。養成一種假詐的政府財政情形。與國內實有財源。完全不相稱合。此日本力主擴充疆土於亞洲。以維持其搖搖欲墜之經濟與工業所據有之理由。亦爲專權派深恐中國建設共和政體及共和主義流毒於日本之理由也。查共和主義於一九〇八年美國占據菲律賓時。流入東方。於是推翻滿政府。而中華共和政府。卽於一九一一年成立。嗣後俄國革命。而共產思想。流入太平洋濱矣。至今日而革命告成。半軍閥式滿政府式之共和政體。亦已剷除。日政府成爲東方唯一之君主政府。正若處於民主潮流中之孤島。誠有孤苦零丁之感。日本專權派。對於亞洲人民之情事。既不表以同情。

五十年後之中國

鮑惠爾

最近有一署名「一外國老居民」者。投稿於天津美報「華北明星。」預測中國五十年後即一九七八年之情形。茲照錄其原文於左。

行團之失敗。以美國之退出。第二銀行團。亦已失敗。而中國對之漠不相關。且時局紊亂。外國有愛莫能助之勢。雖然。第二銀行團之發起人。根據反面理由。深以其計畫之成功爲慰。蓋中國在內亂時。不得借外債之機會。已得益不淺。然我人對該發起人。毫不嫉妒。蓋銀行家不以不借款爲榮。渠等慣以某種利率。向公衆借款。然後以較高之利率借出。此即彼等獲利之方法。但此種討論。係出題外矣。

第二銀行團。由在華有特權之外國政府發起。歐戰甫畢。列強出其誠意。願放棄其「權利範圍」主義。俾免世界戰爭之重現。自第二銀行團組織以來。中國之不能借外債。確有裨益於中國。蓋中國內亂頻仍。黨派紛歧。銀行團不放債款。外國銀行家與商人。免受公然資助某派之嫌疑。我人此處用。「公然」二字者。以外國確有不顧銀行團規章。私自予某派以資助者。如日本之助張作霖。俄國之助南方急進革命黨。惟此種暗助。於中國政局之結果。初無影響。考日俄暗助其所愛者。非特不得利益。且反受損失。第二銀行團。爲美英法日所組織。以消除競爭。放棄「權利範圍」爲目的。華人方面。對於該銀行團。不加正式承認。以爲該團爲西方帝國主義派之機關。故常抱懷疑態度。至該銀行團之合同。以篇幅有限。未使完全披露。惟其組織意義。在一九二一至一九二二年度中國年報中詳述。茲照錄如下。

「各國銀行家。以爲依中國現在情勢。各國投資家。苟能合作。予中國以需要之資本。俾完成其經濟再造及改良交通之計畫。誠爲華人之福。各該國銀行家。預備對於此種投資事業。務使各得均等機會。而中國資本家。苟能與之合作。尤爲歡迎。」

銀行團合同。於一九二〇年十月十五日簽訂。當時規訂有效期爲五年。其後又續訂五年。所謂中國銀行團公會。於一九二三年五月。在巴黎舉行會議。對於普通華人。皆受充分之教育。且各有職業。工人之數。亦將減少。機器將佔人力之地位。而人民之風俗習慣。亦將大有改變。中國運動員。將與他國運動員相頡頏。大學校勢將次第設立。學生之多。不可勝計。中國將有強有力之海陸軍。紀律既佳。俸給又優。軍官皆係在海陸軍學校久經訓練之人。總之一九七八年時。中國將成爲一富強之國。與目今情形迥然不同矣。

中國與外人投資

鮑惠爾

中國政界領袖。苟能統一全國。得國內各派之扶助。建設一穩固之中央政府。則中華民國。將於萬國市場中。予列強以投資之機會。據八月間華盛頓報告。對於中國財政之初步計畫。已經一度之考慮。該項計畫。將包含世界史中最大整理中國財政之銀行事務。該報告之用意若何。固難探悉。然依中國現在狀況。外國銀行家之銀行團」之說又將沸騰一時。爲必然之事也。應着手整理中國財政。而「國際銀行團」計畫之實行者有二。但建設方面。毫無成績可言。第一銀

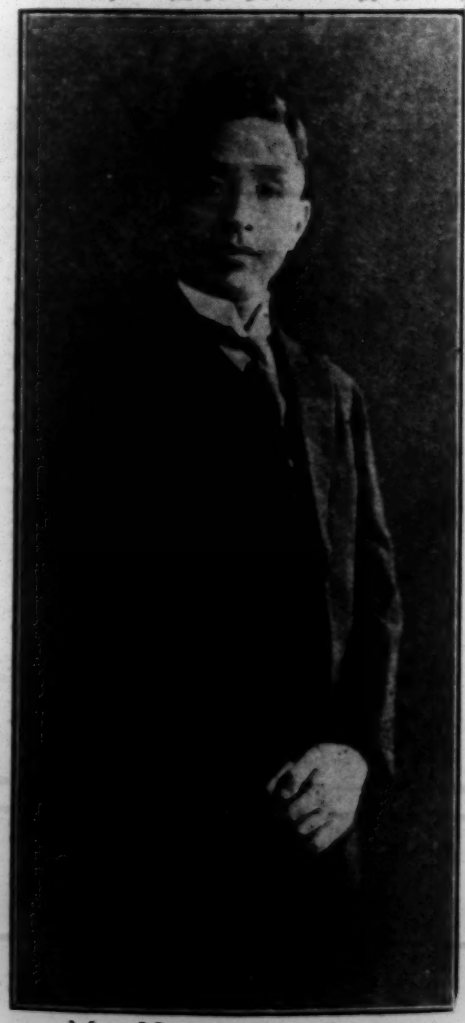
「滿政府屬下之原有官員。除實在不堪錄用者外。概予保留」關於改革計畫。孫氏云。「厘金須立即廢除。幣制改革。亦當於最短期內實行。」至治外法權問題。孫氏表示。俟「各種改革完成時。」政府當立即取消領事裁判權。旋該報記者云及政府擬養成一共和軍隊。然所募新兵。咸係從上海下流人物中選來。純係「生」料。然孫氏當即答曰。「廣州我們現有軍隊十萬人。雖不經訓練。然均若殖居南非洲之和囒國人之善戰。」

繼即談及日本之態度。孫氏宣告英國不致再追隨日本之後。渠深信日本不久反將追隨英國。對於中華共和政體。表示友誼。該報又陳述革命時南京剪辮風潮之擾亂情形。並云「全城已無一辮髮長垂者。有者惟鄉人。但一入城中。即難保留其三千煩惱絲。」孫氏雖無禁止留髮之命令。然理髮匠已自動從事於剪辮工作。全城理髮店。蜂起雲湧。咸以「上海理髮匠」爲標識。而每店每家。無有不懸五色旗者。末云「南京不動產。價格有飛漲之勢。以時局無論如何變化。革命黨終必保恃南京爲京都。而以長江以南爲管轄地也。」

▲民族主義能否成功▼ 中華民國建設之歷史。我人既已明瞭。然孫中山及其同志之計畫。十七年前。未克完全實行。現在國民黨處處依其原來計畫進行。是否能宣告成功。爲我人急欲討論之問題。考孫氏當時失敗之原因。爲(一)軍隊與經濟之缺乏(二)全球各國幾完全傾向帝國主義。彼等正豫備二年後發生之世界戰。(三)中國實在政柄操於軍閥之手。此項軍閥。皆受滿政府之訓練與感化。(四)普及教育之缺乏。與夫處理國事需用之新式人物之缺少。此種原因。既繁且多。本文以限於篇幅。未及詳加討論。袁世凱繼孫氏爲臨時總統。資格頗老。苟能具有準確之眼力。各種計畫。或能次第實行。惜乎袁氏缺乏眼力與新觀念。致受外人之誘惑。結果受外人之經濟援助。而從其謀爲皇帝之野心。按滿朝搖搖欲跌者已久。經孫氏與其同志之宣傳與設計。自然不攻自覆。然普通人民。依然喜舊厭新。故結果名爲共和。而國內實在情形。較滿清時尤壞。蓋各軍閥既股離皇帝之管束。在各省勢力範圍內反能橫行無忌。不久自相殘殺。而使全國不寧。以至今日。

將來之事。固難逆料。然我人不妨將現在情形。與一九一一至一九一二年時相比較。中國現代領袖之最寶貴資產爲人才。十七年前。中國具有新見解之人物。殊屬有限。計至多不到數百人。除少數教會學校暨遣送出洋之學生外。中國帝國。實乏灌輸新式教育之方法。此種情形。幸已改革。蓋民國時代雖無一新式之政府。對於提倡新式教育。不遺餘力。教育費雖屬有限。數千百青年男女。已得入學。對於國內外情形。深爲熟悉。查教會學校。於民國建設後。極力擴充。藉補民國之不足。故厥功最偉。此時男女出洋留學者。達數千人。開世界史之新紀元。一九一一年至一九一二年間。全國新式人物約數百人。至今日已達數十萬人。密勒氏評論報。不久將編輯近二年內之中國名人傳彙集。作爲「名人欄」之補錄。按此次革命運動之重要人物。年皆在四十歲以下。平均約三十五歲。意即此類人物。泰半生於舉匪亂時。而生長於一九〇〇年至一九一二年間。初次光復時。彼等尚在幼童時代。然大半自認曾經參與滬漢甯之政治運動。彼等即在民國建設時。受其教育。尚有一小部份人物。年在五十歲下。或五十歲左右者。蓋大半即第一批派送出洋者也。

此類人才。即中國之主要資產。爲十七年前所感缺乏者。至新聞事業。溯民國建設時。中國實際上。可謂並無新聞紙。至今日已有數百種。銷路竟有達十萬餘份者。上海領袖新聞紙。新聞報與申報。因添置新式印刷機之困難。致不能應付其日增月累之銷路。上海最大印刷所。爲商務印書館。專以出版學校用書及雜誌爲業。可爲啓發中國新式教育之大功臣。除國內教育外。中國現已與外國接觸。全球各國。到處駐有外交官與領事。從事考察他國情形。二代以前。對於受過新教育之人物。羣相懷疑。今則羣相豔羨矣。孫氏雖於一九一一年至一九一二年間以不得時而失敗。然其「孫逸仙主義。」幾成爲一種宗教。此種宗教。感人頗深。二十年前。得未曾有。孫氏發起之秘密革命黨。竟成爲全國之政治派。最後全世界情勢變遷。蓋十七年前東方之民主地點。祇有菲律濱羣島。今日東方之專制地點。祇有日本一處矣。俄既完全傾向共產。德已改爲共和國。印度正爲自治而戰。前途頗有希望。波斯已經獨立。並脫離降服土耳其條款之束縛。埃及亦正爲此而力爭。威爾遜總統之「十四主點」雖在巴黎。曾受挫折。然其「自主」之學說。固已流行全球矣。凡此國外情形。新中國與之頗形接近。故效果極大。反動份子。向則利用外國政府之政策。以與中國對抗。現則對於整頓際國條約。已無阻止之能力。而猶不識時務。尚欲在中國及其日本祖國。效困獸之一鬬。不亦愚乎。此次中國革命。祇於軍事方面。宣告成功。然已吸引一班具有新式見解之人物。出而任事。此項人物。深知中國財源豐富。人力充足。在此革新世界中。應佔何等重要的地位。故此次革命。實際雖祇有表面上之成功。然今日成功之機會。較十七年前。固一千倍優良而有餘也。



Mr. Huong Fu 黃郛
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of National Government.

。各省由各省自治。而受中央政府節制。此卽所謂內政統一是也。滿政府借實行憲法政府之名。向民間徵收苛稅。自今以後。國家費用。須依財政原理規定。藉以維持人民之幸福。此卽所謂財政統一是也。」該宣言並痛詆滿政府時之排外主義。（此種主義至一九〇〇年拳匪之亂時而達極點）此最足耐人尋味者也。關于此點。孫氏云「我人將竭力盡文明國之職務。藉得文明國之權利。滿政府時。中國因排外主義。屢次受辱。此種主義。亟應消除。而今而後。中國當以和平爲主義。對於外國。表示親善。俾在國際地位上。使人尊敬。我人外交政策。卽基於是。」第二次宣言。於一九一二年一月六日。由共和政府頒發。而由孫氏與伍廷芳共同簽字。該宣言亦曾刊登大陸報。以國際關係而論。殊覺重要。爰照錄原文如左。

「我中華人民。久受專制之壓迫。致不能得儘量之發展。欲予以根本剷除。惟有求助於革命。今特鄭重宣告。推翻滿洲政府。並建造共和。以共和政體。替代君主政體。係人民要求自由之天然結果。藉達永久知足繼續發展之目的。此爲我中華民族意旨之正式宣言。

我中華人民。素愛和平。素守法規。除爲自衛計外。從未與人爭戰。我人對於二百六十七年來所受滿政府之痛苦。默然忍受。曾用種種和平方法。以伸宿怨。而求自由與進步。然竟無效果。我人所受痛苦。實屬忍無可忍。不得不利用我人之無上權。盡我人神聖之義務。求武力之援助。拯救我人於水深火熱之中。現幸大功告成。一切束縛。立予解除。我人得入光明正大之自由世界。實開歷史上之新紀元。

滿政府之閉關自守。暴政橫行。我人之受其苦也久矣。今謹陳革命理由於世界自由人民前。並宣告我共和政府成立。

查滿人篡位之前。外人在華得自由交際。信敎亦得自由。麥考包六之著作。與陝西西安府納司托立碑之銘題。卽爲明證。

滿人無智無識。自私自利。遽實行其閉關自守政策。不准外人來華。欲以一手以掩人民之目。此種公罪。實無恕赦之餘地。

滿人意欲永遠壓服我華人。故惟擴充地盤與財源是圖。置人民之利害於不顧。其閉關自守。自私自利之政策經數朝代而不易。

滿政府規訂苛稅。既無標準。又不徵求民意。對於各通商口岸之國外貿易。嚴加限制。並徵收厘金。阻礙國內商務。

滿政府又阻礙工業之建設。國產之開採。對於已存在之事業。有意不加保護。

有定的公正的法庭制度。既感缺如。被控人民。不論有罪無罪。概加以非常之苛刑。並不依法律手續。侵犯我人之神聖權。

官場腐敗。賄賂公行。官職賣買。成爲習慣。有勢力者提拔之。有功者反貶抑之。

滿政府對於我人民改良政治之正當要求。屢次予以拒絕。迫不得已。勉强允從。而從無實踐其言之意。對於提高國際地位之奮鬪。力加阻止。對於列强予我之敎導。從不表示感激。致使滿族與我中華人民。被外人所輕視。

爲破除上述一切弊病。使我國在國際聯盟會中。得一立足地起見。我人謹此力爭。而組織新政府。茲特公然宣佈以下各條。藉免外人對於我人之好意。有所誤會。

（一）滿政府在革命起義日前所訂之一切條約。應一律有效。至條約滿期日止。惟革命起義後所訂者。應一律廢除。

（一）滿政府在革命前所欠各種賠款與外債。應予承認。並不予更改條款。惟革命起義後滿政府所欠之借款。與別人付與滿政府之款項。概不承認。

（一）革命前滿政府所予列强或列强人民之各種讓與物。一律有效。其在革命開始後所應允者。概不承認。

（一）在中華民國管轄範圍內之列强生命財產。應受相當之尊重與保護。

（一）竭力建造一穩固而永久之國家。爲我人堅定奮鬪之永久目的。

（一）我人當奮力提高人民之地位。使其安居樂業。並爲之規訂法律。以求幸福。

（一）對於安分守己之滿人。在我人管轄範圍內。我人當予以平等待遇。及相當之保護。

（一）一切民刑商鑛法律。亟須修改。財政亟須改良。商務阻礙物。亟須廢除。並擔保信敎自由。

（一）我人對於外國及其政府。當力謀親善。深望對華表同情之外國。竭力鞏固其友誼。在我人重建國家之試驗期內。力恃容忍態度。並扶助我人計畫之完成。蓋此種計畫。爲外人素所勉勵者。我人已開始實行矣。

（一）中華民國謹以此和平通牒與好意。希望准予加入國際聯盟。匪特可得正當之權利。並願與各列强合作建樹全世界之文明。

大總統孫逸仙　簽
外交總長伍廷芳　簽」

中華民國元年一月五日　南京

▲建都南京▼　中國京都。建立南京之說。甚囂塵上。查今日各報所載關于建都南京之計畫。與一九一二年上海各報所載者相同。當時大陸報。關于孫氏建都南京之計畫。有以下之消息。「中華民國不到一星期之長。而一切佈置。似已完備。舊式官僚之不雅觀。正若一乘轎與之行於倫敦或紐約之街道。」繼述孫氏之長篇談話。言孫氏所穿軍服。甚爲簡單。不若其僚屬所穿之裝潢。談話中。孫氏表示。深望全球各國。予中國革命運動以同情。詢及委派官員。則云

中華民國十七年十月十日

密勒氏評論報 新中國特刊

火貴樟譯

The editorials and articles appearing in the Chinese section are translations of similar material appearing in the English section with the exception of one or two of the English articles which were received too late for translation was done by Mr. Huo Kwei-chang, who is official translator connected with the Shanghai-Nanking Railway.

一九一一年與一九二八年之對較

鮑惠爾

國民政府前曾頒發訓令。着各界注意。本年十月十號國慶日之重要。該紀念日。衆稱雙十節。以適臨第十月之第十日故也。政府之所以促各界特別注意於本屆之祝典。以本屆爲革命軍得勢以來第一週開國紀念。蔣介石亦曾致電奉天張學良。希望東三省(卽奉天吉林黑龍江)亦於國慶日懸掛青天白日旗。張氏覆以如無意外阻礙發生。當能遵命。此種阻礙。蓋暗指阻止東三省懸掛青天白日旗之日人也。青島濟南及沿膠濟路一帶情形類同。蓋日人曾於該處。劃定二十英里中立區域。在此區域內。國民政府不得履行其職務。

滿清政府推翻以來。迄今已十有七載。我人苟欲知革命黨旗幟下之政局是否能臻穩固。必須重審彼時及現時之情勢。而加以比較。查一九一一至一九一二年之秋冬兩季。上海新聞紙競載南京之事情。關於第一次革命時革命領袖所抱之希望。詳述無遺。當時新聞報上。常常披露之人物。爲臨時總統孫中山。及外交總長伍廷芳。大陸報其時尙爲美人所有。由密勒氏主筆。對於南京之民主發展。鼓吹尤力。並派士而克六。爲南京特派訪員。一月四日。該報記載孫中山第一次宣言之要略。宣言中。孫氏詳述政府之計畫。並對於外國表同情於中華共和者。深致謝忱。英美兩國。中國之新發展。頗表同情。而日本則正若今日之極力反對。日方之仇視態度。本報曾有評論。蓋東京十七年前之反動力。與今日初無稍異也。孫氏宣言。初述被選爲臨時大總統之始末。繼云渠「正日夜工作。竭力副民衆之熱望。」「中國專制政府之腐敗。二百年來。日甚一日。現因民衆之堅決。竟於短時期內。推翻君主政體。十餘行省已經加入新政府。實開歷史之新紀元。」孫氏繼續其辭曰。

「我人苟無正式機關。與列强交涉。則百事不能進行。故必須組織一臨時政府。余並不欲邀個人之功。惟爲民衆服務。則義不容辭。我人須打破專制。建設共和政府。以副民衆之望。以完成革命之目的。余意人民爲國家之基本。漢滿蒙回藏五族。必須聯合。成一國家。此卽所謂種族統一是也。武昌起義。十餘行省。宣告獨立。獨立者卽脫離滿清之羈絆。各省之向我者。與之携手。蒙藏兩族。與之聯合。我人必須組織一政府以聯合之。此卽所謂地方統一是也。

義軍一起。各省響應。然各處軍隊。管理方面。殊乏統系。我人應與以聯合。歸公共指揮。俾爲公義而戰。此卽所謂軍事統一是也。

我國地方遼闊。各省散漫。滿政府藉憲法政府名義。擬集中政權。自今以後

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